

Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil

Crafting Modernity

Cristina Peixoto-Mehrtens

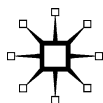


URBAN SPACE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY
IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY
SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL

CRAFTING MODERNITY

CRISTINA PEIXOTO-MEHRTEMS

palgrave
macmillan



URBAN SPACE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL
Copyright © Cristina Peixoto-Mehrtens, 2010.

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2010 978-0-230-10302-3

All rights reserved.

First published in 2010 by

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®

in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,

175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world, this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-28755-0 ISBN 978-0-230-11403-6 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9780230114036

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Mehrtens, Cristina.

Urban space and national identity in early twentieth century São Paulo,
Brazil : crafting modernity / Cristina Peixoto-Mehrtens.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Middle class—Brazil—São Paulo—History—20th century.
2. Professional employees—Brazil—São Paulo—History—20th century.
3. Urbanization—Brazil—São Paulo—History—20th century.
4. Sociology, Urban—Brazil—São Paulo—History—20th century.
5. National characteristics, Brazilian—History—20th century. I. Title.

HT690.B7M44 2010

307.760981'61—dc22

2010013323

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: October 2010

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To Maria Fernanda

Contents

<i>List of Tables, Chart, and Illustrations</i>	vii
<i>Note of Explanation</i>	ix
<i>Acronyms</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
1 Public and Private: Crossed Paths in the Paulista Process of Urban Consolidation	13
2 The Dynamics of Paulista Urban Institutions in the 1930s	41
3 The Making of Urban Middle-Class Employees in the 1930s	83
4 The Symbolic Construction of a Paulista Urban Identity	111
5 Politics and Urban Change: Building the Pacaembu Stadium	139
Conclusion	163
<i>Notes</i>	173
<i>Bibliography</i>	229
<i>Index</i>	265

Tables, Chart, and Illustrations

Tables

P.1	Average Annual Exchange Rate of Brazilian One <i>Mil-Réis</i> (<i>1\$000</i>), 1930–1940	ix
1.1	São Paulo State and Municipal Executives, 1889–1930	30
2.1	São Paulo Capital and State Executive, 1930–1945	52
3.1	DOP Engineers' Hierarchy and Background, May 1935	89
3.2	Bank Employees' Origins, 1941	92
3.3	Bank Employees' Age, 1941	92
3.4	IPT Hierarchy, 1934–1937	101
4.1	Migration to Brazil and to the State of São Paulo, 1900–1939	126
4.2	Working-Class Family's Monthly Food Expense, 1937	130

Chart

2.1	Azevedo, Severo, and Villares Genealogical Tree	60
-----	---	----

Illustrations

2.1	The Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building	49
2.2	The Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building	50
2.3	ADV Graduation Chrystal Palace, 1905	61
2.4	ADV and Family, 1920	61
2.5	Escritório's Architects and Technicians	63
2.6	The Firm's Sixtieth Anniversary 3,000-Work Poster, 1946	64
2.7	Employees' Card to Dr. ADV, 1946	65
2.8	Detail: Dr. ADV's Caricature	66
2.9	ADV's Photographs	68
2.10	The Escritório's Building Projects in Rio de Janeiro, 1941	69
4.1	Pacaembu Workers, July 6, 1939	134

Note of Explanation

Until 1942, the monetary unit of Brazil was the *mil-réis* (written as 1\$000), which was divided into thousandths (e.g., \$20 = 20 *réis* or *vintém*; \$100 = 100 *réis* or *tostão*, \$500 = 500 *réis*, 1\$000 = one *mil-réis*, and 1:000\$000 = 1,000 *mil-réis* was denominated one *conto de réis*). In October 1942, the *mil-réis* was replaced by the *cruzeiro* (written as 1\$00 or Cr\$ 1.00). The *cruzeiro* was equal to one *mil-réis* (1\$000), but divided into hundredths (*centavos*).¹ In this work the unit employed is the *mil-réis*, which was in effect during the greater part of the period studied. Throughout the period covered by this study, the city of Rio de Janeiro, known as the Distrito Federal, was the capital of the United States of Brazil.

Table P.1 Average Annual Exchange Rate of Brazilian One *Mil-Réis* (1\$000), 1930–1940

<i>1\$000/Year</i>	<i>1£^a</i>	<i>1 U.S.\$^b</i>
1930	44.329	9.24
1931	62.951	10.9–16.8
1932	48.531	13.3–15.9
1933	53.149	11.7–13.3
1934	73.423	11.8–18.0
1935	85.112	16.1–18.6
1936	86.230	16.8–17.7
1937	78.788	16.1–17.5
1938	86.387	17.6–17.8
1939	85.746	17.7–20.0
1940	79.989	—

^aVillela *Política do governo*, 352.

^bEconomic Statistics by the Associação Nacional das Instituições do Mercado Aberto (Rio de Janeiro:ANDIMA, 1994).

Acronyms

ABL: Brazilian Academy of Arts (Academia Brasileira de Letras)

Cia City: City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Co. LTDA. Cia City, the name used here, is the form by which the company is popularly known and referred to in its internal documents and logo.

CIDT: Inspection Commission of Technical Delegations (Comissão Inspetora das Delegacias Técnicas)

CREA: Engineering and Architecture Regional Council (Conselho Regional de Engenharia e Arquitetura)

DC: Culture Department (Departamento de Cultura)

DOP: Municipal Works Department. DOP, the acronym used here, stands for all other names the department received before 1936: Municipal Works Service (Serviço de Obras Municipais, 1898–1900); Municipal Works Directorate (Diretoria de Obras Municipais, 1900–1913); Works and Highways Directorate (Diretoria de Obras e Viação, 1913–1935); Works and Municipal Services Directorate (Diretoria de Obras e Serviços Municipais, 1935); and Public Works Department (Departamento de Obras Públicas, 1936–1945).

ELSP: Free School of Sociology and Political Science (Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política)

Escritório Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo Technical Firm (Escritório Técnico Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo). In 1928, Severo & Villares was added to the firm's name.

FFCL/USP: School of Philosophy, Sciences, and Arts (Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da USP)

IEG/USP: Institute of Genealogical Studies (Instituto dos Estudos Genealógicos da Universidade de São Paulo)

IHGSP: São Paulo Historical and Geographical Institute (Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo)

IPT: Institute of Technological Research (Instituto de Pesquisas Tecnológicas do Estado de São Paulo)

LEM: Materials Testing Laboratory (Laboratório de Ensaio de Materiais)

MMDC: On May 23, 1932, four paulista students, among others, died in a street confrontation with the police—a conflict that sped the 1932 movement. Their initials—Mario *Martins* de Almeida, Euclides Bueno *Miragaia*, *Dráusio* Marcondes de Sousa, and Antonio Américo *Camargo* de Andrade—designated the civil militia that planned the movement.

PC: Constitutionalist Party (Partido Constitucionalista)

PD: Democratic Party (Partido Democrata)

POLI: São Paulo Polytechnic School (Escola Politécnica de São Paulo)

PRP: Paulista Republican Party (Partido Republicano Paulista)

RAM: *Municipal Archives Journal* (*Revista do Arquivo Municipal*)

USP: University of São Paulo (Universidade de São Paulo)

Chácara: Suburban *chácaras* were small semirural holdings.

Município: A division of local government corresponding roughly to a county in the United States.

Paulista: Native of the state of São Paulo

Paulistano: Native of the city of São Paulo

Acknowledgments

During my research, I often reflected upon my interdisciplinary professional training in the late 1970s and early 1980s, from my architecture studies at the School of Architecture in the University of São Paulo (FAUUSP) and internships in governmental agencies (Conselho de Defesa do Patrimônio Histórico, Artístico, Arqueológico e Turístico do Estado de São Paulo, CONDEPHAAT, and Institute of Technological Research, IPT) to the anthropology seminars at the University of Campinas (UNICAMP) under the political *abertura* of the times. From this period, I must take note of my research experience in cataloging five thousand negatives from the Ramos de Azevedo architectural firm for Professor Carlos Alberto Cerqueira Lemos (1984), with whom I had already learned so much as an intern at the CONDEPHAAT, and the deep influence Professor Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira's lessons at UNICAMP (1985–1987) exerted in my professional and theoretical background. I must also acknowledge the rewarding experience as research assistant at the University of Miami (1992–1997) for Professor Robert M. Levine, whose inspiring professionalism and dedication reached an unforgettable example during his last seminar in 2003, which he graciously invited me to co-teach.

During the research work in this book, many different institutions were sources of help and cooperation, and their officials' and staff members' assistance was often extremely insightful and helpful. I benefited from doing research at the São Paulo State Bank (BANESPA) Museum, Casa Brasileira Museum, Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV) Karl A. Boedecker Library, and Mário de Andrade Library. A special thanks goes to the ELETROPAULO Historic Preservation Division chief, architect Vera Maria de Barros Ferraz. I would like to acknowledge the help I received from the staff of the Washington Luis Municipal Historical Archive; I offer my thanks to its coordinator, architect Isabel Maria Alves Mezzalira, and to architect Ornella Flandolini. Particularly crucial to my research at Companhia City Archives was the support of Nancy Assad, Henrique Sales, and Francisco Aparecido de Godoi. I am likewise grateful to the personnel of the USP School of Architecture (FAU), especially to FAU head librarian Eliana Marques and Dina Elisabete Uliana, and to the staff of the USP School of Engineering (POLI) internal archive. I am as well in debt to the staff of the Mackenzie Presbyterian Institute Library and its head librarian, Rosa Maria Rodrigues Correa. Many photographs in the text are courtesy of the FAU Ramos de Azevedo archive. I also thank School of Sociology and Politics professor Iris Kantor and librarian

Wilma C. Teixeira. At the University of Miami Richter Library and University of Massachusetts Dartmouth Library, I am tremendously grateful to the work of their interlibrary loan staff and their Visual Resource Center.

I offer special thanks to Marcos Villares and Paulo Villares Oliveira, who cordially made family documents and photographs available to me.

Throughout this project, I benefited from conversations and exchanges of ideas with USP professors and colleagues such as Aracy Abreu Amaral, Benedito Lima de Toledo, Carlos Alberto Cerqueira Lemos, Hugo Segawa, Maria Lucia Gitahy, Fernando Atique, Vavy Pacheco Borges, and Ilka Cohen. I am most grateful for the constant encouragement and support of Abílio Guerra (PUCC), Renato Anelli (USP/São Carlos), Silvana Rubino (UNICAMP), Cristina Meneghelo (UNICAMP), and Miriam Steinbaum (CDHU).

In the process of writing and revisiting my study, I am grateful to James Green, Barbara Weinstein, Brian P. Owensby, Dain Borges, Marshall Eakin, Pierre-Yves Saunier, and the anonymous reviewers who read parts of it and whose interest and encouragement were vital to this project.

My research upon which this book is based was made possible by a rich experience as North-South Center scholar (1992–1994), from where I gratefully thank Jeffrey Stark. I thank the University of Miami history department for summer travel grants (1996–1997) and the support given by my colleagues and professors, and especially my advisor, Robert M. Levine. I also thank the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth history department, the College of Arts and Sciences, and the Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture, whose summer travel grants (2004–2009) allowed me to refine and update my work.

Finally, my book is dedicated to my parents Enjolras and Maria Aparecida, my U.S. (Babi, Paul, Michael, Alix, and John) and Brazilian (Enjolras and Doris) families, and to my daughters, Maria Fernanda, Michelle Tess, and Kimberly Brooke.

C.P.M.

Introduction

My interest in the work that follows first arose in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when I was a professor at the Catholic University in Campinas (Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Campinas, PUCC) and an architect at the São Paulo Housing Development Company (Companhia de Desenvolvimento Habitacional e Urbano, CDHU). My professional experience as an architect at that time ranged from an internship in France to research architectural aspects of social housing to my daily architectural assignments on public low-income housing projects. As a professor, I frequently took my students to tenement houses (*cortiços*) and slums (*favelas*), trying to inject service learning into their courses of study.

In both endeavors, my objective was to understand, as best I could, the historical roots of modern Brazilian life, particularly regarding politics, architecture, society, and urban culture. In Brazil, my projects, teaching, and writing taught me about the complex interaction between professionals and academics in public life, the importance of being sensitive to and respectful of multiple narratives, and the vital role of interdisciplinary collaboration. Upon coming to the United States, I began my doctoral studies. The change from my professional status in Brazil to a quite different academic and cultural life in Miami challenged me to rethink my work experiences. The core of this book rests on an interdisciplinary exploration of Brazilian cultural history through a reconstruction of the roots of work practices, institutions, and mechanisms that were still strong and alive during my professional life—practices that were and still are deeply in tune with Brazilian social expectations and firmly grounded in its culture. *Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil* explores urban professional practices of the 1930s and 1940s by focusing on people, institutions, and sociocultural mechanisms that made possible the continued reproduction of these practices. These mechanisms, parts of a historical process, turned into culturally arbitrary procedures.

Rather than analyzing urban politics and its impact on peoples' lives, this study focuses on sociocultural ideas and practices reflected in middle-class professionals' work to explore how architecture and politics crafted the space within which this increasingly important group prospered in São Paulo during the 1930s and 1940s. By disentangling intertwined narratives in the urban space, *Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil* highlights how professionals from private and public agencies made a concerted effort to contribute to a grammar of identity that interpreted and defined the

space of the city not only geographically but also within people's minds. Hence, this book is about urban professionals and the historical space they occupied in the construction of national and regional identities.

The book stresses the unfolding regional construction of a modern identity in São Paulo, which came to define both the state and the nation in the twentieth century, through the interactions and interplay among three leading urban groups: a Paulista engineering firm, the F.P. Ramos de Azevedo Technical Firm (established 1896); a local public agency, the Municipal Works Department (created in 1900); and a private Anglo-Brazilian development company, the City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited (established 1912).¹

The Place of Space

Urban history has been a fundamental component of the paradigms that evolved within the broader field of Latin American historiography.² However, when I started my research more than a decade ago, very few scholars conceptualized urban space using a cultural historical approach.³ To place urban history in context, it is important to consider the place of space within different themes, perceptions, and accounts of urban groups as developed in varying historical paradigms.

In the late years of the nineteenth century, a patriotic local "Brazilian" history emphasized foundational urban myths. In São Paulo, professionals dedicated to history and geography founded in 1894 the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo (São Paulo Historical and Geographical Institute, IHGSP). The period between the end of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century, known in political terms as the Old Republic (1889–1930), saw IHGSP scholars (e.g., Teodoro Sampaio, Affonso d'Escagnolle Taunay, Albert Loefgren, and Orville Derby) devote themselves to the study of national and regional themes. The first histories they produced conveyed a turn-of-the-century regional discourse that reflected an inflated rhetoric emphasizing economic growth and pioneering identity. This kind of rhetoric was later translated into a language of hope for the future and development in what became known as the "classic" works on São Paulo's urban evolution. Works by Richard Morse, Glenn Beyer, and Jorge Hardoy—required reading in the 1970s for most Latin American university students of urbanization—strived to answer why Latin American cities had developed "differently from cities in other parts of the world."⁴ Though a few works analyzed the process of urbanization from the perspective of either the history of ideas⁵ or the role of "secondary" cities,⁶ most studies focused on the economic and political role of capital cities in relation to the rural hinterlands, where agricultural exports were produced.⁷

The economic approach attracted the attention of city planners and urban sociologists and stood as the basis of historical diagnoses supporting contemporary policies of urban development. In many ways, such diagnoses tended to be neglectful of a larger social reality. First and foremost, those ideas turned into

flawed tools for urban planners. In the logic of traditional zoning practices, such accounts contributed to making urban planning increasingly specialized and technical. It did this so well that it created a public political discourse revolving around the city's economic functions and neglected the specificities of its inhabitants' historical contingencies.

From the 1980s on, historians focused on the city as an economic-political space intertwined with other sociocultural practices.⁸ The urban history of Latin America unfolded and spread in a collection of histories within histories. Scholars examined core themes linked to categories of class, race, nation, and gender and paid greater attention to changes and continuities over time. Themes now included daily life and material culture, urban migration and immigration, social mobility, constructions of racial and ethnic identities, and the relationship among different forms of identity within urban settings.⁹

Drawing on the work of French scholars (e.g., Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michel de Certeau), some studies developed interdisciplinary theoretical tools to focus attention on the poor and minorities and explored "transgressive" themes such as police and crime, the regulation of drinking, hygiene, and prostitution.¹⁰ Studies dealing with gender roles considered the place of women in both the public and domestic spheres and introduced revolutionary themes such as discourses of homosexuality.¹¹ Labor historians underlined the city in their analysis on working-class formation and in studies ranging from those that gave a new direction to dependency theory to those exploring political participation in nineteenth-century cities and the place of urban workers in the context of industrial transformation under populist regimes.¹² Other works focused on daily resistance, riots, and mobilization¹³ in a disciplined urban space.¹⁴ Studies on electoral behavior focused on particular moments of intense political struggle,¹⁵ as well as on the construction of laws and the negotiation of social status in a process that silenced many urban voices.¹⁶ Scholars also explored the transformations of popular urban culture.¹⁷ Other groundbreaking contributions portrayed an urban space sculpted by entrepreneurial initiatives,¹⁸ cultural politics,¹⁹ educational projects,²⁰ notions of reputation,²¹ race,²² gender,²³ and ethnicity.²⁴

A Combined Craft

Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil makes particular use of two recent analytic trends. As opposed to studies that portray the upper and working classes as dominant players in the political arena, this study centers on the influence of middle-class morals and manners. It seeks to expand urban analysis to a diverse body of professionals, focusing on their daily life, culture, and material conditions. A vibrant literature based on this sort of approach has emerged in the past decade. For example, Brian P. Owensby studied middle-class people, mostly in Rio de Janeiro, according to their experiences of markets, homes, and politics in the 1930s and 1940s.²⁵ Owensby based his study mainly on polls, literary works, and magazines, and highlighted the importance of

U.S. society in guiding Brazilian notions of economic and intellectual consumption. David S. Parker studied the Peruvian white-collar employee after World War I as neither dependent nor in opposition to the economic elite.²⁶ Jonathan Brown studied skilled workers from old Mexican industries, who adapted the process of proletarianization to their customs and culture.²⁷ William French studied middle- and working-class changes in work practices in turn-of-the-century Northern Mexico.²⁸ Adding to those works, *Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil* focuses on middle-class representatives as key agents who negotiated and imposed their views on the city's changing process.

This work follows the path of studies concentrating on particular municipal institutions and the bureaucratic incorporation of different social sectors at the municipal level. There is a noticeable lack of political studies at the local level, a fact usually explained by limited archival sources. This lack has forced researchers to look for new and different sources. To uncover the "urban culture" (expectations, values, norms, and attitudes of people toward the city) of Brazil during the first decades of the twentieth century, I have made use of original oral history, interviews, and primary materials from a wide variety of Brazilian and foreign archives, university and private collections, dissertations from different periods, municipal agencies' reports, magazines, and other sources that only became available in recent years, including private company archives.²⁹ Most of the existing studies taking this sort of approach analyze the pre-1930 period in Mexico,³⁰ Colombia,³¹ and Argentina.³² There are also studies in comparative history focusing on municipal employees and services in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³³

Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil combines these two approaches and also considers the history of urban planning and design. The technocratic planning practice of the 1970s gave way to an approach that related architectural ideas to the public realm and acknowledged people's multiple needs and purposes.³⁴ The actual process associated with land use is not only economic but also political and social.³⁵ This book uses the case of São Paulo to analyze the way urban planning was structured in and through the institutional arrangements of local governance as well as through sociocultural ideas and practices reflected in the work of middle-class professionals.

Entrenched Practices and Entangled Narratives

Architecture and politics crafted the space of the city within which an increasingly important professional (i.e., intellectual and technical) middle class prospered in São Paulo during the 1930s and 1940s. The work of this group, composed of an array of public- and private-sector professionals, literally and metaphorically contributed to the construction of urban life in São Paulo in this period. Urban politics and its impact on people's lives is a much-studied theme, and the approach taken here combines ethnography and history. Anthropologists have introduced

useful new concepts in urban analysis (e.g., insurgent citizenship, liminality) to study sociopolitical identities and ambivalent spaces as crucial aspects of urban segregation.³⁶

Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil focuses on the role of urban professionals in imposing, through their work, the rules of the “state.” Professionals, employed or contracted by the government, were the agents regenerating and reinforcing entrenched practices imposed on different social layers. Between the “formal” state and the “informal” population at large, these professionals actively brought the government’s sociopolitical projects into reality.³⁷ At the same time, professionals who interpret and deliver the laws are many times the recipients of such actions.³⁸ During the Vargas-era critical period (1934–1938), the idea of citizenship framed the sociocultural and political expressions that the analysis here strives to investigate. The formation of technical groups in the early twentieth century gave rise to the most significant middle class in the nation’s history. However, the work of intellectuals, technicians, and the state expressed conflicting claims of modernity.

Paul Ricoeur once observed that “[c]rossed narration is the best way of sharing in the memory of others . . . and thus of lifting impediments to the practice of justice and recognition.”³⁹ *Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil* employs a hermeneutical cultural history approach that balances micro- and macrolevel perspectives to analyze how the development of public and private urban organizations were key to the formation of middle-class urban professional groups and the breeding ground for scholars and politicians who ruled São Paulo in the 1930s and 1940s. Social agents were classified under both quantitative (e.g., wage, occupation) and qualitative categories (e.g., builders of the social reality). Decoding those agents’ role and the historical documents they produced requires an interpretive approach. In considering objective and subjective methodological points of view, this approach sheds light on the historical context within which social agents acted. A “fusion of horizons” of this sort involves a constant dialogue engaging contemporary historians and social scientists as agents and their professional work as sources. In this sense, there is not an “outdated” source. This dialogue situates the agent and the source in specific historical contexts and considers how this interaction was and has been presented over time. This book outlines the contemporary urban setting and historical contingencies from which given scholars’ interests have departed (e.g., Donald Pierson, Durval Borges, Philip Goodwin, Ernestina Giordano, and Robert Moses)⁴⁰ and is presented in an essay format with sections offering comparative, criss-crossed information within the different chapters.⁴¹

Those different researchers and scholarly studies revealed the way a strong cultural and scientific U.S. influence took shape during the 1930s and 1940s, and they helped illuminate its effects on the Paulista intellectual, technical, and professional community. At the same time, these investigations showed how Brazilian technical researchers—or “liberal professionals,” as they identified themselves—selected problems, used quantitative data, and looked for solutions. Their practices and biases, crystallized in “official” publications, disclosed a cultural construction of identity and class differences. These writings provided a

methodological tool for exploring actual patterns of living and working practices among the people doing the research and those researched. In this sense, the sources delineated the special attention paid to the role of ideas about class dynamics and identity in shaping perceptions and the implementation of public urban policies.

Most of the people dealt with in this book represent the technical, professional, and intellectual urban elites of the 1930s, and this study understands them through the social space they shared and analyzes this space according to the economic, cultural, and social capital assigned to them by different sources at different times.⁴² Sources from the 1930s and 1940s included visual materials (posters, drawings, advertisements, and photographs) and written materials from the media (magazines, newspapers), private agencies (office, professional, and associational records), academia, and public agencies (institutions' annals, biographical publications). Those data were crossed with new reports about these same people and events as they later appeared (or not) in the media, encyclopedias, dissertations, interviews, memoirs, biographies, institutional reports, school annals, or official journals. *Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil* focuses on the ways in which professionals made their contributions (e.g., research, teaching, and publishing) and traces their influence through the development of local urban agencies. In this process, unpublished materials became indispensable resources.

Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil considers the work of various influential people, some of them well known (e.g., Barry Parker, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Robert Moses), but most of them not (e.g., Samuel Lowrie, Horace B. Bancroft, Lois Marietta Williams). Biographies of famous European and U.S. professionals say almost nothing about their influence as consultants in Latin American countries. Here, their work is discussed in the different chapters, and some of the lesser-known facts about this cohort of guest professionals express how their cultural and political perceptions and visions influenced their assessments of what effective urban planning should be in places such as Brazil or elsewhere in South America. By the same token, local Paulista professionals who led or implemented modernizing processes in their different occupations (e.g., public works officeholders, politicians, entrepreneurs, professors) embraced in their own way different kinds of international connections and translated them into official links ranging from the creation of association memberships to official international professional exchanges.

A feature common to most biographies of local professionals is the differing weight given to their private and public service experiences. The bureaucratic and social nature of public work sometimes seems to impose invisibility on a kind of work that often had no apparent authorship. For intellectuals (e.g., Mário de Andrade, Paulo Duarte, and Sérgio Milliet), such bureaucratic jobs were subordinate and sometimes completely irrelevant to the description of their professional production and practical work. But for some "technical" engineers (e.g., Luis Anhaia Mello, Plínio Branco), a much greater importance was given to their hierarchical public-sector positions than to their professional accomplishments. *Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil*

classifies “technical” engineers as those who did not have an influential position in either academia or politics. Engineer-architect Luis Anhaia Mello stood as an exception to this rule. Mello mastered all the relevant fields, whether technical, intellectual, or political. He was an influential scholar and “intellectual engineer” who taught in a variety of schools at the University of São Paulo and influenced generations of professionals. Mello worked as an advisor in many different engineering firms, and served as mayor and vice mayor of São Paulo during critical periods.⁴³

By the same token, legitimized intellectual production came from the private publication market, and people did not report their work in public official reports. Intellectuals published their case studies in the private publishing market of the 1930s, which followed its own market demand. Nonetheless, many professionals were also studying and publishing about São Paulo in official reports, and their work appeared in limited internal circulation. There is no catalogue or study related to this production or to the work of public publishing houses (*gráficas públicas*).⁴⁴ In what follows, however, special attention is given to government publications, their sources, and the contributions they expected to make. For example, the *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (RAM), the only representative municipal publication of the period, provides key insights into the municipality, its officials, and its practices.

By simultaneously considering content and context, some “secondary” sources become primary sources par excellence. São Paulo’s quadricentennial in 1954 became a kind of landmark for urban analysis. Both Richard Morse and Ernani da Silva Bruno based most of their pioneering works on materials available by this time. In his work, Morse acknowledges the assistance of Brazilian and American informants such as Oscar Egydio Araújo, Paulo Duarte, Sérgio Milliet, Donald Pierson, Lucila Herrmann, Luis Saia, and Francisco Prestes Maia,⁴⁵ and he emphasizes the intellectual production of those professionals of the 1930s and 1940s that are also the focus of this book. However, here I wish to bring to light their business, professional, and technical roles in the larger process of urbanization that Morse was describing. In a similar elision, this time involving politics, Bruno completely ignores the name of Mayor Fábio Prado in his book.⁴⁶ Having been immersed themselves in the sociopolitical network of people and institutions that led the country to modernity, Morse’s and Bruno’s works cannot be seen as merely secondary sources, but as refracted documents of an era that this book seeks to understand. Hence, from a hermeneutical perspective, works such as Morse’s and Bruno’s are important primary sources.

By the same token, on aspects of daily life, this study considers data from Brazilian newspapers during their transition from a *presse d’opinion* (until 1937) and state propaganda machine (1938–1945) to a *presse d’information* in the 1950s.⁴⁷ It analyzes contemporary advertisements and writings in *O Correio Paulistano*,⁴⁸ *O Estado* group,⁴⁹ the *Folhas* group,⁵⁰ and the *Diários Associados* group—including its 1930s annals.⁵¹ In relation to cultural changes over time, photo magazines have provided an acute social lens, either through elitist coverage as in *Fon-Fon* (1907) and *A Cigarra* (1914–1933), or in more popular publications such as *O Cruzeiro* (1928) and *O Mundo Ilustrado* (1950s).⁵²

Further seeking to mine what otherwise might seem to be inconsequential sources, *Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil* also considers the three *Who's Who* (1948, 1967, and 1971) on Latin America as contemporary documents bestowing social recognition and whose biographical selection and often dated information was a rich primary source of contemporary symbolic capital.⁵³ *Who's Who* books also provided a comparative tool in relation to those people considered important in the 1930s and 1940s.⁵⁴ As one might expect, women and minorities were rarely noted. Moreover, the books shed light on how entrepreneurs, landowners, politicians, intellectuals, and technicians wanted to be remembered, i.e., which works they valued and the importance they gave to public service in their careers. Not insignificantly, they are also a vital source for locating people's origins and contemporary addresses. The mapping of these addresses helps to draw the history of different forms of spatial segregation in the city of São Paulo. Other important sources of "micro-information" were office records, student files, and university annals.⁵⁵

Entrenched and Entangled Spaces

In Brazilian historiography, studies on the middle class received new impetus in 1970, after the publication of Boris Fausto's *A Revolução de 1930*.⁵⁶ Scholars agreed that before the 1930s, people from the upper-middle groups were either self-employed or received wages for nonmanual work (e.g., small entrepreneurs and traders, public officers, trade employees, liberal professionals).⁵⁷ On the other hand, the lower representatives of the urban middle class (e.g., porters, clerks, office boys) followed a living and wage standard close to the proletariat. By considering intermediate social groups under a Marxist classification, ordinary urban middle-class features tended toward quantitative insignificance.⁵⁸ The problem resided in the political status of white-collar workers. Though they were ideologically separated from the "working" classes, they were also employees who struggled for better wages, rent, and necessary daily goods.

Subsequent historical works followed two different paths. One group kept the traditional Marxist position and envisaged the middle layers as "groups swaying from one to the other side."⁵⁹ The other group recognized that the extraordinary heterogeneity (occupational, social, and cultural) in the middle did not prevent these middle sectors from conquering unity and cohesion for various collective projects, and that this heterogeneity did not necessarily lead different middle-class segments to live either in isolation or as mere followers of other social groups.⁶⁰

In relation to the study of urban middle classes and their political role during the First Republic (1899–1930), scholars suggested that middle classes were synonymous with the urban population; that is, in a rural economy based on latifundia, a rural middle class never came to exist.⁶¹ Revisiting this theme, recent scholarship has challenged the idea that the rank-and-file industrial working class fared better than the immigrant coffee tender in the interior. Accordingly, "the *colonato* afforded many immigrant families the opportunity to acquire their own

piece of land, itself an indicator of significant social mobility,"⁶² and "the countryside witnessed a great deal of geographic mobility on the part of *colonos* themselves" for better pay.⁶³

Using social class, middle sectors, social layers, or any other similar term, scholars acknowledged that after 1930 intermediate groups had active participation in the process of social change. The middle classes were not an inert aggregate group, which was simply used by the other two classes above and below them. Their members were influential and active agents, responsible for long-term political projects that defined and defended middle-class collective interests. In the 1930s, change permeated all groups, from those at the ends of the social spectrum (planters, industrialists, proletariat) to those in the middle (professionals, tertiary, white-collar employees).⁶⁴

Historically, middle-class professionals in Brazil have performed occupations traditionally labeled as conservative.⁶⁵ In an interesting opposing wrinkle on this theme, some scholars have recently analyzed the political importance and role of those in the urban middle classes who shared a leftist political position.⁶⁶ In São Paulo, the connection between occupation and political affiliation has been historically linked to its contingent place in the broader international scenario. This varying relationship took specific forms in the urban and social fabric of the 1930s, a period full of ambiguities and contradictions reflected in professional practices that mixed patronage and merit.

Scholars from different paradigms within disciplines have not achieved a consensual definition for the concept of middle class. Marxists did not acknowledge an in-between class, which was seen as residual forms from former historical processes (small bourgeoisie and *campesinato*). C. Wright Mills's new middle classes, composed of white-collar workers, are seen by Bob Carter, an orthodox Marxist, as "proletarians to be."⁶⁷ On the other hand, in consumer reports, the middle class encompasses those social sectors presenting average income and level of consumption. Among the people ranked in this category, one finds both employees and owners. Hence, this book considers the activities of this intermediate fringe, so well depicted by Marx-influenced authors such as Adam Przeworski, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and Francisco de Oliveira, as well as by those in more recent scholarship.

The problem surrounding a binary conceptualization of class (upper and working classes) is similar to that faced by anthropologists when dealing with the dichotomous concept of family (nuclear and extended families). The latter "problem" becomes diluted when one considers that both nuclear and extended features express different moments in an individual's life cycle according to his or her trajectory through social space. Immersed in the social world, the notion of class is also a product of different moments and objective and subjective forms of knowledge. Social classes share a space of differences based not only on objective economic principles but also on subjective social differentiation. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu, one can view social class as an analytic construct sometimes transformed by social scientists into ideology. As ideology, the concept of social class became part and parcel of the reality of the social world. Both the idea of classes and that of occupational groups signify collectives having an economic

and social base. Groups are always the product of a complex historical work of construction. A class—perceived through the words used to name it, such as “working class,” “proletariat,” “workers,” “labor,” or through the organizations supposed to represent it, with their acronyms, offices, councils, flags, and so on—is a “well-founded historical artifact.”⁶⁸

In its analysis, this book makes use of Bourdieu’s four fundamental forms of capital: economic, social, cultural or informational, and symbolic. For instance, it considers the economic capital reflected in the municipal employees’ different occupations and wages; the social capital reflected in their educational and professional backgrounds; the cultural capital based on their social trajectory and resources related to connections and group memberships; and the resulting symbolic capital from the other three capitals when perceived and recognized as intellectual or technical contributions. All of these forms of capital expressed the world of professional employees in the 1930s and 1940s. At the same time, it is important to note the connections among these forms of capital. For example, the neighborhood where different individuals lived expressed not only their economic capital, but also their choices according to their social, cultural, and symbolic capital.

Class here was then supported both by the “sense of one’s place” and by the divisions of the social world. Accordingly, factors of ethnicity and identity as reflected in occupational, communal, and local divisions must be considered. For instance, public works engineering personnel provide a sample of people characterized by a similar contingent condition, where divisions were nevertheless imposed by their ordinary daily experience as well as their participation in political events.

The obvious differences of economic and cultural capital between the upper class and working class help to frame the less compelling differential characteristics of the intermediate zones. It was in the middle positions of social space that the indeterminacy and fuzziness of the relationship between practices and positions was the greatest, and the room left open for symbolic strategies was the largest. In all social layers, people manipulated symbols of social position, such as occupation and social origin. It was in the middle positions that agents struggled to construct their social identity.⁶⁹ This was clear in the manipulation of the trajectory one built between the place one chose to live and the place where one worked.

Therefore, my approach accepts the existing divergences about the concept of middle class and does not see these as seriously diminishing its efficacy. By the same token, the acknowledgement of the multiplicity of middle classes does not underestimate the concept’s quantitative and qualitative importance. There is an intermediate class, and to deny it is to take away from its members the important role they had in twentieth-century capitalist society. In this study, middle classes are neither synonymous with the new middle class (employees from the tertiary sector and salaried liberal professionals), nor with the classical small bourgeoisie (small farmers, craftsmen, and small traders). Rather, middle-class, “in-between” positions result from people’s social struggle, the effectiveness of this struggle, and their social identity as a group. The effective middle class is manifest in its common project, its struggle, and the group’s identity as class.

The Chapters That Follow

In Chapter 1, "Public and Private: Crossed Paths in the Paulista Process of Urban Consolidation," we begin by examining São Paulo's turn-of-the-century urban growth, focusing on the origins of three organizations (the F.P. Ramos de Azevedo Technical Firm or "Escritório"; a local public agency, the Municipal Works Department (DOP); and a private Anglo-Brazilian development company, the City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited or "Cia City") that shaped urban architectural styles and zoning policies and contributed to the process shaping emergent middle classes in São Paulo during the 1930s. Drawing on the Azevedo and Villares families, the chapter explores the extensive sociocultural and professional network weaving together industrialists, merchants, technicians (mostly immigrants), and a Brazilian-born middle class that had little economic power. It identifies the multiple roles that national and foreign professionals played, whose resulting connections and relationships shaped contemporary notions of cultural capital. It further explores the importance that domestic business developments had in strengthening São Paulo's place in the fragile intra-oligarchic clientelistic system of the First Republic and how such developments mingled interstate compromises and made regionalism versus centralism a key part of political strategies during this period.

Chapter 2, "The Dynamics of Paulista Urban Institutions in the 1930s," considers the interlinked activities of urban development companies and private engineering firms. It focuses in particular on engineer Arnaldo Dumont Villares, one of the owners of the most influential engineering firms in the city of São Paulo, the Escritório Técnico F.P. Ramos de Azevedo, Severo & Villares Limited Co., and one of the directors of the private Anglo-Brazilian development company, the City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited, best known as Cia City. It also examines the work of expert professionals and technicians (e.g., public officials, lawyers, engineers, urban planners, social researchers, professors, and publicists) and their central place in São Paulo's politics and technical practices in both the private and public sectors.

By detailing the structure of the social network presented in the previous chapter, Chapter 3, "The Making of Urban Middle-Class Employees in the 1930s," explores how the body of municipal employees influenced new work practices and cultural values in São Paulo. Common organizational ties linked professionals in the private and public apparatus. Professionals occupied multiple positions and were able to represent different social groups according to the specific activity they performed in a given social network. During this decade, the manifest importance of associative activity (both political and entrepreneurial) in knitting together Paulista society reflected the adaptation of old strategies and the development of new ones. Though technical professions welcomed the sons of the previous oligarchic system, they were relatively open to newcomers, who followed a contemporary meritocratic trend and created a new pattern of their own. The chapter explores the terms of hiring (e.g., economic, occupational, educational criteria) and the way wealth (urban property or capital) reaffirmed its power in

determining access and positions. Political participation and social acceptance became important elements favoring social mobility, bringing integration according to an individual's general social standing or reputation. Yet, while social standing intersected with both economic and political power, it embodied its own form of symbolic power, which flowed from complex sources not reducible to economic or political considerations. The book's title, *Urban Space and National Identity in Early Twentieth Century São Paulo, Brazil*, refers to those "technical" professionals whose work delineated São Paulo's urban sociopolitical life and whose names can still be found in streets all over the capital city and the hinterlands. They were middle-class professionals who became civic leaders and brokers suspended in the center of a great web of relationships.

Chapter 4, "The Symbolic Construction of Paulista Urban Identity," considers the international traffic of local and foreign professionals in the multifaceted reality of the 1930s. Paulista professionals navigated an interconnected urban fabric pulsing in the mesh of relations that formed social life in the capital city. Urban symbols from this period reveal pre-Estado Novo features and President Getúlio Vargas's successful handling of the Paulista elite in his goal of satisfying broader urban social groups. Both the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building (1935), which extolled São Paulo's regional strength (and its constitutional 1932 values), as well as Pacaembu Stadium (1940), were symbols of projects from the critical years. However, the first was forgotten and the latter became synonymous with the Estado Novo's national force and its dictatorial power. Vargas actively manipulated Brazilian identity and regionalist symbolism. In this process, São Paulo's new professional middle class had their projects satisfied and Getúlio Vargas adapted this social confidence into his larger political project. This was a result of Vargas's distinctive political gift, which was completely in tune with contemporary abilities to form new alliances between center and regional forces at both the national and state levels. Urban symbols provided a more nuanced negotiation with these relationships within the new middle classes, comprised of professionals, technicians, and intellectuals who reread, reinterpreted, and reinvented modern projects.

Though 1937 is mostly remembered in Brazilian political history for the Estado Novo coup, which happened in November of that year, Chapter 5, "Politics and Urban Change: Building the Pacaembu Stadium," shows how events in the urban arena followed a dynamic of their own. The urban context of the 1930s set the stage for the role São Paulo reclaimed in the nation's economic and sociopolitical development in the coming decades. Negotiations behind the construction of Pacaembu Municipal Stadium brought upon the scene competing factions within private and public institutions. In this phase, São Paulo's struggle for autonomy gained legitimacy through the mobilization of urban popular support and not through the rule of a specific class or political group. During this process, the relationship between the state and the different economic groups structured roles and outcomes that located and relocated different social clusters in the political game, and these groups were in turn affected by this relocation and the considerable ambivalence of the process.

Chapter 1

Public and Private: Crossed Paths in the Paulista Process of Urban Consolidation

In 1916, having been forced to leave his work in Belgium after its invasion by Germany at the beginning of World War I, the English architect Barry Parker embarked upon a new project in Portugal.¹ There, he was contracted as a consulting architect for the City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Ltd., the largest owner of land in the city of São Paulo, Brazil.² The company had sought his advice mainly for the development of its estates in the Pacaembu Valley, but seen in retrospect Parker's work offers a window onto an important turn-of-the-century, cross-cultural connection. Parker's report on the São Paulo of his day provides both a rich account of contemporary practices and discloses many vicissitudes between the private and public urban sectors at that time.

After designing the construction of at least a dozen houses in São Paulo, Parker reflected upon how much he had learned, since English architects were usually confined to working in Great Britain. He described what for him were very different building practices stemming from both construction techniques and contractual arrangements. In Brazil, there was a variety of materials different in nature and size, which formed distinct components from roof to floor and had to be adapted to the metric scale. He was amazed at the manner in which building cost estimate methods and specifications were dealt with, and how contracts were based upon methods of subdividing the work among tradesmen. Parker learned the only help he could get in preparing drawings was that afforded him by civil engineers, who had no experience whatsoever in preparing architectural drawings. Eventually, he assembled an engineering and architectural staff whose cosmopolitan character "was also somewhat interesting as nearly every quarter of the globe was represented at one time or another in it."³ Parker described his efforts in getting the actual building work carried out, and defined it as a "rule of thumb" work, in which: "Foremen and tradesmen on the work are very little accustomed to work to detail drawings; many of them can not read drawings at all, and others only read them very imperfectly. The extent to which I had to have work pulled

down and rebuilt was distressing. Frequently I had to resort to cutting a little model of what I wanted in whatever came handiest, a potato, a piece of soap, a pear or else to modeling it in clay, [so] that a man unable to understand drawings might grasp it.⁴ He described the unusual working arrangements between his work and the municipality. Parker explained that first the architect planned the construction of the houses and the streets, and then he had to convince the municipal authorities to modify the laws in order to have the estate developed “the way [the company] wished.”⁵

In its improvised solutions and overtones of cultural and socioeconomic change, Parker’s experience touches upon the first concern of this chapter: the transitional ambiguities of São Paulo’s urban evolution. Originally anchored in an agrarian landscape, the city underwent a process of rapid technological change and economic development after the mid-nineteenth century. In tandem with these changes, elite groups negotiated their own specific circumstances by importing North American and European models of modernization and development into the urban space. In capturing the shifts in work practices as a key characteristic of São Paulo in this period, his report leads to the other main concerns of this chapter: the relation between local politics (municipal agencies) and architecture (private urban firms); the role played by immigration in shaping the professional market; the labor conditions of salaried professional workers and their relations with the private and public spheres; and the role of private firms in the development and training of middle-class professionals linked to engineering, architecture, and urbanism.

In exploring São Paulo’s turn-of-the-century urban growth, this chapter examines the origins of three urban organizations that shaped urban architectural styles and zoning policies, and that were vital to the process shaping the emergent middle groups in São Paulo during the 1930s. These urban organizations are: 1) an architectural firm, the F.P. Ramos de Azevedo Technical Firm (or the *Escritório*); 2) a local public agency, the Municipal Works Department (DOP); and 3) a private development company, the City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited (*Cia City*). The sociopolitical context surrounding the establishment of *Cia City* and the company’s place in shaping the incipient urban legislation illuminate the role foreign assistance played in the 1930s. Urban planning history serves as the context within which the practices of the two private urban institutions intertwined with the growing political importance of a public technical agency. It also sets the stage for the role those institutions played in creating a new market for middle-class professional, technical, and bureaucratic jobs.

São Paulo’s Urban Evolution: A Society in Development

Through the political arrangements between private and public practices, Parker’s reports and perceptions of contemporary urban experiences illustrate a society in

development. The “classic” works on São Paulo’s urban evolution (e.g., Bruno, Morse, Langenbuch) convey a rhetoric of industrial growth, strengthening identity, development, and hope.⁶ These traditional contributions have since been reworked by new generations of historians.⁷

Parker’s account of the city’s foundation by Jesuit missionaries in 1554 notes their educational vocation and their strategic choice of a triangular plateau.⁸ In 1822, at independence, São Paulo replaced the port of São Vicente as the provincial capital and administrative center. Six years later, the founding of a law academy reinforced the idea of a paulista inclination toward betterment and learning that helped to instill the paulistas with a distinct patriotic tradition, encompassing a sense of regional difference linked to self-reliance and leadership.⁹ Until the 1870s, the city remained isolated and impoverished, although over time it exerted critical influence as a dominant regional trading center within which a radial network of paths converged.¹⁰ Richard Morse explored this network of paths in the city’s urban development and the basis for the city’s geographical site.¹¹ The city’s topography permitted an urban occupation parallel to the deepest valleys, following a level sufficient to free people from floods. Such a topography made the principal arteries converge upon the city in a linear pattern of settlement with underdeveloped interstices. The regional trade network, located mainly on elevated places that avoided flooding, fed the city’s internal market, and made it a natural link to the agro-export commercial route through its port in Santos (São Vicente).¹² Most of the land vulnerable to flooding became land in the possession of the municipal authorities.

In the nineteenth century, the rustic city had changed little and retained its early colonial features. An estimate of occupational groups in 1818 included a total of approximately three thousand people, half of whom were farmers; one-third were military, merchant, and skilled workmen; and a minority were laborers and clergy.¹³ The majority of these people lived in small estates (*chácaras*) surrounding the core of the city, forming the so-called *chácara* belt. This belt, created by the city and for the city, was mainly a residential area. But it also contained resting places for mule trains (*tropas*), hospitals, schools, storage for gunpowder, and cemeteries. This belt was surrounded by another—the *caipira* belt—where rural laborers (*caipiras*) lived on small subsistence estates.¹⁴ The *caipira* belt enclosed the *chácara* belt, constituting an extension—half urban and half rural—of the city. In its scanty fertile land, this belt produced subsistence cultivation and supplied the local market with foodstuffs. The core of the city—known as the “triangle,” delimited by three streets that enclosed the summit of a hill where the Jesuit school stood—and the surrounding *chácara* belt defined the urban zone.¹⁵ By 1881, main roads to certain important estates defined the city limits. An embryonic São Paulo downtown enclosed by *chácaras* delineated the model of occupation, but the sprawl of this arrangement continued beyond the city limits.

Socioeconomic segregation was linked to the city’s radial configuration. The inhabitants of the inner urban ring, the *peças de categoria* (people connected to the coffee industry, the law school, and the Church), were isolated from those living in the outer, rural ring, the *caipiras* (poor manual workers). This pattern was endemic to the way the different layers of São Paulo’s society came to develop.

Eventually, the historical city center became the arena for the emergence of a new middle group and the place where the tensions between that group and *peças de categoria* and *caipiras* arose. This radial configuration logic spread to the state social configuration. Accordingly, the inhabitants of the inner urban ring, the capital city, occupied a higher social position than those in the center of all municipalities in all state hinterland, which gravitated around the city of São Paulo.

The coffee boom benefited São Paulo, which occupied an infertile zone, but which drew the production of a vast agricultural hinterland to itself and its port, Santos.¹⁶ In 1867, the British owners of the São Paulo Railway Company started to build a railroad from the port in Santos to Jundiaí, passing through São Paulo along the way. The São Paulo–Santos route became a significant component of the burgeoning coffee industry. The São Paulo Railway Company enterprise became known either by its acronym, SPR, or *Inglêsa*, or *Estrada de Ferro Santos-Jundiaí*. Its rail tracks reached São Paulo through the city's northern part, where the station stood in front of a public park. The station and park were named after the already existing neighborhood of Luz.¹⁷ The railroads brought immigrant labor to the coffee estates (*fazendas*), and this served as the basis for the subsequent industrial surge. Many urban workers were subsidized immigrants who drifted cityward or who simply found employment and stayed in the capital to become craftsmen and workers.¹⁸ The influx of this population changed city life.¹⁹

The 1870s witnessed the coffee boom and large-scale immigration, factors that contributed in turn to the growth of banks and railway stations. Eventually, these factors, plus important political events, such as the Paraguay War (1864–1870), allowed São Paulo to become hegemonic over Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's capital.²⁰ São Paulo became the major axis for coffee commercialization and exports in the nation. These structural changes made it possible for the state to become the biggest potential market in Brazil for industrialized goods.

Furthermore, these factors stimulated urban reorganization.²¹ Railway stations located along the tilled plains, in combination with deltas (*várzeas*) of the Tiête and Tamanduateí rivers, spurred the creation of new sites for industrial and residential development. Paulista industrial concentration started along the São Paulo Railway, and so did proletarian neighborhoods (e.g., Brás and Moóca). Intense industrial settlement along the railroads favored the construction of working-class housing close to the rail stations, located outside the core of the city, where the labor force “could acquire land, or find low rental houses—at the same time they benefitted from easy, fast, and affordable transportation from home to the workplace.”²² Later, this concentration spread along the tracks of the main railways (Sorocabana and Central do Brasil). This process contributed to a growing web of radial services connected to the railway stations.

The hectic enterprise of opening avenues and streets and constructing buildings along the railroads marked the districting of *chácaras* into urban lots. This process fostered new neighborhoods and led to the reorganization of the business district of the city, where streetcar lines arrived following the railway pattern.²³ The city expanded radially on a north–south axis that connected the historical center to the new neighborhoods. As late as the 1940s, this process was depicted

as “a burst of undisciplined energy, in which industries and homes are scattered with prodigal use of space that leaves unexpected open and unimproved areas. One has at least a visual sense that São Paulo is built on land, that it occupies a geographic setting.”²⁴

These changes reflected both the new process of suburbanization and the development of the city’s different social groups. The metropolitan region grew alongside the railways and created different independent nuclei. Following their own centrifugal movement, each of these nuclei became the center point for new development, within which areas prone to flooding (*várzeas inundáveis*) continued to be rejected or abandoned.²⁵ The railway-driven form of occupation reinforced a peripheral pattern of clusters already present in the coastal occupation of the national territory. Architects later identified in this dispersed cluster organization the root of urban problems faced by various social groups in the 1930s, when the city had to adapt to the expansion of industry. The city configuration and its outlying areas formed a structure completely oriented outward, without any articulation at the inner level. Different metaphors were used to illustrate the city of São Paulo’s position and pattern: an array of different nuclei forming a rosary,²⁶ the place in a tree where the branches meet the trunk,²⁷ and a hen’s foot.²⁸ Thus, amid the expansion from the small city of 1872 to the burgeoning city of the 1930s, industry built upon the old agricultural structure and maintained the city’s pattern of streets. In fact, the pattern remained radial even after 120-fold population growth.

Literature on the turn-of-the-century reforms of the early republican period, mostly written after the 1930s, dealt with the issue of urban occupation and city growth by taking an ideal, comprehensive, planned city as a parameter. With this ideal planned city in mind, various scholars from the mid-1900s selected different turning-point events in São Paulo’s urban development, and periodization turned out to be a difficult problem. For Ernani da Silva Bruno, São Paulo’s urban history reflected two economic moments: the city of coffee, from 1872 to the end of the Great War in 1918, and the metropolis of industry, from 1918 on. Accordingly, the end of World War I marked the transition from an agro-oriented to an entrepreneurial São Paulo. Morse stressed cultural patterns: from the old community (1554 to the 1870s), through a transitional period (1929–1945), to the frantic metropolis (1945 on). For Juergen Langenbush, the transitional process of metropolization covered the period from 1915 to 1940. However, scholars seemed to agree that the process of city growth entailed a kind of “city mind” formation. This “city mind” forged a new planning mentality. The following sections explore how the different themes in this literature reaffirm a regional identity constitutive to the process that forged an entrepreneurially “unique” city mentality that sewed together a network of public and private urban services.

Suburbanization: The Districting of Chácaras

The Paulista Railway, which brought an accelerated rhythm to people’s lives, was built during the provincial presidency of law professor João Teodoro Xavier de

Matos (1872–75).²⁹ João Teodoro, as he became known, expended half of the state's annual budget on urban improvements. These included: 1) the opening of streets, provoking expropriations and the demolishing of colonial landmarks; 2) the substitution of gas lighting for kerosene streetlamps—a public service rendered by a private agency, the *Companhia de Gás*, headed by British engineer W. Ramsay; 3) placing mule-drawn transport and horse-drawn stage coaches on rails;³⁰ and 4) the improvement of the city water and sewage system, later considered the best in Brazil.³¹ The modernizing and liberal orientation of João Teodoro's presidency was immersed politically in the clash between provincial government and local authorities.³²

Urban improvements made it possible for coffee planters and other capitalists to build permanent residences in the city, instead of temporary domiciles to be used while away from their estates. João Teodoro chose the central area's core to build the government palace. Downtown became the vital point where different social groups, newly arrived immigrants, and established urban inhabitants shared the new city life. In 1873, affluent paulistas created the *Sociedade Propagadora*, an institution to discipline and train the immigrant laborers under a reformist (republican) and positivist approach. From 1882 on, the institution was renamed the School of Arts and Crafts (*Liceu de Artes e Ofícios*), and some of its masters were brought from Europe.³³

In the fifty-year period between 1870 and 1930, São Paulo changed from a city built with mud walls (*taipa*) to a brick city.³⁴ By the 1870s, *taipa* was looked upon as drab and rustic, and change came with immigrant builders whose expertise “revolutionized the construction business, at the very time when the coffee planters were building more magnificent city residences.”³⁵ This transition, initiated with the first urban improvements, accompanied basic architectural changes in the way the paulista elite lived. French geographer Pierre Monbeig dubbed this period of urban transformation and social change as the São Paulo coffee belle époque.

The needs of the new reformist elite favored a definitive move to the city and the emergence of a suburbanized dominant social cluster.³⁶ In 1884, Veridiana Prado, the mother of future Mayor Antonio Prado, demanded that her elegant mansion (*palacete*) be built in her *chácara* on Santa Cecília hill, initiating the selective occupation of what was to transform the traditional *chácara* belt into an upper-class neighborhood. Prado's decision to build a house inside a beautifully designed park set the model as “other rich people [had] their *palácios* built in the paulistano suburbs. Skilled architects such as Ramos de Azevedo and Tommazo Bezzi . . . were hired for this enterprise.”³⁷

New large streets and houses followed recent architectonic trends and started to redraw the city scene. Urban changes also found expression in daily practices and new spatial solutions developed in the paulista residential architecture.³⁸ The new residential plan emphasized three distinct areas: public, private, and services. The circulation was planned in a way that people would be able to pass from the public area (e.g., living room) to the private areas (e.g., bedrooms) without noticing the service areas (e.g., kitchen and other places dedicated to manual work). This solution was possible through the hall, first introduced in paulista

houses in the 1920s. The halls of the *palacetes* reached a monumental height. This solution was not adaptable to the twin two-story houses (*sobradinhos*) of the working class and lower middle class.³⁹ All two-story houses had basements where architects tried to locate (and hide) the kitchen, the site of manual labor. This solution did not work out in practice. Nevertheless, as a result, the middle-class kitchen became smaller. This new residential plan existed as a kind of analogue to the clustered and interconnected physical and social structures of the city's and state's urban settlement patterns. These residential plans and patterns were not the mere echo of the larger scheme but the considered product of the builders of these spaces.

Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo

Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo's professional activity and his architecture firm—the *Escritório*—help to bring agency to the broad urban transformations of turn-of-the-century São Paulo city and state. References to Azevedo and his firm are many, though extensive studies are relatively recent and few.⁴⁰ Azevedo (1851–1928), the most influential architect in São Paulo at the turn of the century, was born in the city of São Paulo and raised in Campinas, a northwest coffee region. Campinas, at that time, enjoyed a more notable urban life and position than the capital city.⁴¹ It was after the war with Paraguay (1865–1870) that Campinas became the province's political core of republican propaganda and was known as “the capital of Brazilian democracy.”⁴² This was another addition to the already built-in myth of paulista exceptionality. In 1872, Azevedo got his first work as a nonremunerated apprentice practitioner (*praticante*) in the construction of the Mogiana and paulista branches of the São Paulo Railway.⁴³ As a reward for his hard work and competence, Azevedo became the protégé of Antonio de Queiróz Telles, baron of Parnaíba and the future president of the province.

Azevedo epitomized the republican liberal generation of men who rose in importance in Brazil's political life in the late years of the imperial period. They were an urban, educated, and youthful elite, united by the desire to propel Brazil out of its backwardness and set the nation on the path of modernity. Since the only way one could pursue a technical career was to study in Europe, Azevedo made use of his family connections to prepare for an engineering career in Gand, Belgium. Despite these connections, his own family was not rich. Azevedo's mother had to cater food in order to save money for Azevedo's trip, and his father, “a merchant haberdasher who was also a local politician of lesser importance,” had a very humble origin.⁴⁴ There is a possibility that Ramos de Azevedo was himself a mulatto.⁴⁵ All of Azevedo's sisters married influential republicans who were brothers and sons of a former slave. (Sisters from one family marrying brothers from another family was a common practice of the times and pervaded all social classes.⁴⁶) In 1879, a Europeanized Azevedo returned from Gand to become a successful engineer, architect, educator, and entrepreneur.⁴⁷ Chroniclers of this period emphasize the generation's dedication to hard work. However, the recipe for success at this time was still a combination of contingency and various forms of capital (social, economic,

political, and symbolic). Blood ties helped, but Azevedo masterfully knew how to balance social pluses and social minuses according to the way they were valued in his time. The architect “walked easily among barons, counts, and fanatic republicans. He was a protégé of a baron who gave him access to the great public works in São Paulo and he befriended a Viscount [who] invited him to finish the celebrated works of the main church [in Campinas]. He also was like a brother for well-known republicans who gained power.”⁴⁸ Before the military coup of 1889, Azevedo could be metaphorically considered a godson of the monarchy.⁴⁹ Under the republican system that followed, he was the actual brother-in-law of republicans.

The period covering Azevedo’s return from Gand in 1879 to his move to the capital city, in 1886, exemplified the way upper- and upper-middle-class groups moved in their singular sociopolitical networks during the last decades of the empire. Azevedo, as a citizen and expert, participated in local commissions for public improvements; as an architect, he designed upper-class residences for coffee planters; and as an entrepreneur, he searched for innovations and possibilities in the field of building and construction technology. It was mostly during the republican period, when Azevedo lived in the capital city, from 1886 to 1928, that São Paulo changed from a city built on mud walls (*taipa*) to a brick city.⁵⁰ In those five decades, Azevedo produced more urban construction than anyone else, ranging from private residences to important public works. It was in 1886, when Azevedo worked for the União Bank Housing Division, that he was able to open his private firm, the F.P. Ramos de Azevedo Technical Firm (the *Escritório*).

Ramos de Azevedo, Citizen Entrepreneur

Azevedo’s life and works provide a window onto work practices during the early republican system, which reflected the extreme federalism of Brazil’s postimperial politics. Commercial, intellectual, and social exchanges occurred overwhelmingly on a regional basis.

Started at the end of the monarchical regime, Azevedo’s first important public work, the Campinas Cathedral renovation (1874), was for the municipality. The local county officials hired him after reaching a stalemate with all previous builders, both for technical and political reasons. Wages were a very complicated issue then, since slavery was still official in Brazil and there were many different categories of workers, who were classified according to their specific relation to the different labor hierarchies (e.g., foremen, assistants) as well as in relation both to their “racial/ethnic” status (e.g., slave, freedman, immigrant) and to their different tasks (e.g., bricklayer, painter). Faced with this complexity, Azevedo’s first measure was to raise all workers’ wages, including those of slaves and immigrants. Azevedo also developed his own relationship with workers. In a consistent and elaborate ritual, the crew chiefs would ascend periodically to his office for a detailed talk on daily problems related to technical and working issues. On payday, Azevedo would listen patiently to those chiefs, then he would turn his chair around, open the strongbox, and take from it money for payments. In accordance with a paternalistic and populist style of management, Azevedo was an effective

mediator, somebody who inspired authority and who could effectively relate to the lowest employee as well as to those in the highest positions. In 1890, during Azevedo's birthday dinner, which included two hundred friends and other influential people, he received a gift offered to him by five hundred workers. The gift was a set of office accessories, including an inkwell (inscribed with the positivist phrase "Order and Progress") and a pen adorned with a brilliant jewel.⁵¹

The lack of capable and specialized labor led Azevedo and others to create first an institution to train a skilled workforce, the School of Arts and Crafts, and then another one to provide competent professionals, the São Paulo Engineering School (*Escola Politécnica Paulista*, best known as POLI) in 1893. The latter was created at the state level as a public school comprised of a faculty of competent professionals who studied abroad, including Azevedo, and some invited foreigners, who would "infuse in our cultural milieu a new center capable of bringing international experience to systematize and produce knowledge, and to create a body of capable and skilled professionals."⁵² These skilled professionals would furnish technical personnel to private, federal, state, and municipal services. Both schools became Azevedo's "proving ground," the place from where, as a rule, all of his "artisan" workers passed through before being hired by his firm.⁵³ By the same token, Azevedo's professional collaborators were mostly "chosen" from among his students from POLI. One of those students, Luiz Ignácio Romeiro de Anhaia Mello, reminisced that Azevedo's firm felt like a practical extension of their classroom. However, it symbolized more than that. Azevedo's firm was a microcosm of the paulista republican machine's structure, whose main characteristic was the interweaving of private and public practices. It was still a "government of *compadres*," which maintained important traits from the empire. For instance, Mello's father was Ramos de Azevedo's friend and one of POLI's founders. After graduating, Mello worked in Azevedo's *Escritório* and later directed one of Azevedo's subsidiary firms, the Vila Prudente Cerâmica. Another privilege extended to those who were part of the *Escritório*'s staff was the possibility of an educational career—one might become either an instructor at the School of Arts and Crafts (Liceu) or a professor at the School of Engineering, as eventually Mello and many others did.

Of São Paulo's 40 percent Italian population at the turn of the century, at least 90 percent were workers dedicated to the construction industry. From these, a majority was engaged in some fashion by Azevedo, whose firm contracted with tradesmen, porters, bricklayers, foremen (*capomastri*), artisans, decorators, architects, and engineers, among others. Ultimately, these contacts extended to all those involved in the production of construction materials, including marble specialists, tile makers, carvers, and locksmiths. Azevedo's did not invent this dynamic; patronage and personalism sewed the "connecting web"⁵⁴ that stretched from the humblest porter to the foreign-educated engineer.

Citizenship, Immigration, and Entrepreneurship

The incessant process of suburbanization of the *chácara* belt that originated São Paulo's "traditional" neighborhoods and avenues also created its own speculative

logic. From 1882 to 1890, German entrepreneurs Victor Nothmann and Frederico Glette transformed the city. Very little is known about them. Nothmann started out as an ordinary peddler and by 1879 was a successful businessman—the owner of the largest textile wholesale houses in the city. In 1878, Glette built and became the owner of São Paulo's first upscale hotel, the Grande Hotel, which received European nobles and artists such as Sarah Bernhardt. Glette died in Rio de Janeiro in late 1886.⁵⁵ Nothmann and Glette bought the Mauá *chácara* and sold its units (*lotes*) for nine times the price they spent to district it. This huge profit set the standard for what became a real estate epidemic in the city. Nothmann and Glette resumed buying land and selling it until they transformed the old Capão Redondo *chácara* into the upper-class Campos Elíseos neighborhood. Maps drawn during the empire illustrate the city's urban expansion over this period and the way it merged private and public interests.⁵⁶ In 1881, the Cantareira Sewage Co. gained a total public concession and hired British engineer Henry B. Joyner to execute the contract. Ten years later, a new map, the "New City of São Paulo Plan," drawn by a municipal officer, architect Victor Dubugras, located important and recently built buildings and showed how the city had tripled in size.⁵⁷

Nothmann and Glette exemplify how urban entrepreneurs in São Paulo financed their own work of districting neighborhoods and opening public streets, which were usually named after them. Municipal concessions and official support for private projects legitimized and blurred boundaries separating private from public competence. For instance, after the opening by private interests of Paulista Avenue (1891–92), the municipality promoted regular, popular tram tours along its 2.8 kilometers (1.74 miles), provided police, and extended illumination, water, and sewage services to the area. The turn-of-the-century reformist municipal government's interests coincided with those of the private sector.

The first urban development firms were important sources of jobs, but very little is known about the many urban entrepreneurs (*loteadores*) and speculators of this period. They were part of the extremely heterogeneous intermediate group, including a variety of liberal professionals of different backgrounds who struggled for the upper positions. In the 1930s and 1940s, the most successful representatives of this group were seen as visionary and idealistic men, who formed a heroic and pioneering generation. This category included people like architect Azevedo and agronomist Joaquim Eugênio de Lima, the builder of Avenida Paulista. Lima was born in Montevideo, Uruguay, and raised in Europe, where he studied agronomy in Germany. Once back in South America, Lima visited different Brazilian states before settling in São Paulo, where he married Margarida Joaquina Alvares de Toledo from an influential paulista family. Mostly known as an entrepreneur, Lima districted the Liberdade, Móoca, Perdizes, Paraíso, and Tatuapé neighborhoods.⁵⁸

The following episode illustrates the interaction between the traditional upper-class paulista and the middle-class entrepreneur in this moment of intense urban speculation and social change.⁵⁹ In 1893, the current neighborhood of Higienópolis was part of a *chácara* owned by Baron Ramalho.⁶⁰ Ramalho, an exemplary nineteenth-century representative of the upper class, was a renowned lawyer, professor, and director of the Law School. French entrepreneur Martinho

Buchard presented a particularly high offer for what Ramalho considered the worst part of his land—Ramalho agreed to the deal. Nevertheless, not even having signed a contract, Ramalho declined a second, much higher offer by another potential buyer. This story reinforces an image of integrity and a sense of honor coexisting in an equivocal relation to accelerating capitalist interests. However, literature of the period came to portray the urban entrepreneur as a canny type. Contradictory traits were attributed to local investors, who were sometimes depicted as “good citizens” with “good backgrounds” (when referring to the paulista entrepreneur) and other times as “bad foreigners” with a lack of social connections (when referring to an anonymous urban speculator).

Later, historians depicted a faceless speculator, who reflected a turn-of-the-century unplanned city, “a city still in its quest for rational and abstract borders.”⁶¹ This rhetoric emphasized “an open city to *haphazard architects* and *foreigners without scruples* who found in the city the place for an activity without constraints.”⁶² The process of change reflected an exploitative regime of private districting: “Local investors bought up lands at minimal prices or simply appropriated them with no payment at all to the city. They would then lay out whole districts in a chessboard style that bore no relation to topography and sell off their lots. The goal was to cram as many lots as possible, all of identical size, into a given area.”⁶³ Accounts of foreigners, architects, local investors, and entrepreneurs voiced these same common appraisals. These perceptions were closely associated with the development of paulista society and its link to immigration and a political machine anchored in the practices of private and public urban authorities.

Between 1882 and 1930, more than two million immigrants came to São Paulo. The influx of Italians, who by 1897 outnumbered Brazilians two to one in the capital, was a decisive phenomenon of the period.⁶⁴ In contemporary debates about immigration, politicians perceived and described immigrant labor in conflicting ways. During the search for labor for the construction of the provincial capital of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, the 1891 *Constituent Congress Annals* regularly disparaged São Paulo’s large immigrant population. For example, “a representative from a colonial mining town tried to win support for Ouro Preto [Minas’s former capital] when he reported that Italians just recently had sullied the Brazilian flag and had dragged it through the streets of São Paulo’s capital city.”⁶⁵

The 1891 report brought together the image of rebellious anarchist foreigners and the perception of a chaotic capital city inhabited by an insurgent working class.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the 1892 report on the Paulista Avenue opening, presented by the newly created Municipal Works Division, praised agronomist and local investor Joaquim Eugênio de Lima’s pioneering spirit in a progressive capitalist city made up of hard-working immigrants: “Under the expenses and initiative of the citizens João Augusto Garcia, Joaquim Eugênio de Lima, and Jorge Borges de Figueiredo, owners of Bella Cintra Estate (*chácara*), an avenue was opened [and] today it is one of the most enjoyable and talked about tours (*passeios*) in this capital. . . .”⁶⁷ It is interesting to note that the report did not make any references to the entrepreneurs’ occupation or nationality, but rather identified them as owners and citizens.

Classic literary works about the period have boldly treated race, gender, and economic success as key variables in relation to foreigners' social status—e.g., Graça Aranha's *Canaã* (1902), Antônio Alcântara Machado's *Brás, Bexiga e Barra Funda* (1927), Mário de Andrade's *Amar, verbo intransitivo* (1927), Jorge de Andrade's *Os Ossos do Barão* (1964). In these fictional works, the contracted foreign technician (always male), independent of his original status, was openly accepted into the Brazilian upper strata. The immigrant ascended through hard work and by marrying the Brazilian capitalist's daughter. On the other hand, the foreigner, who did not grow rich, faced urban segregation and rural miscegenation. If the immigrant were an educated single woman, preferably a French or a German tutor, she could be part of the elite family's domestic servants; and if married, she would become part of the new middle clusters of paulista society.⁶⁸

After World War II, UNESCO sought to study peaceful alternative systems of race relations through research in Brazil. As part of a group focusing on a number of Brazilian regions, sociologists Octávio Ianni and Florestan Fernandes, among others, formed a group to study social and racial relations in São Paulo.⁶⁹ Most scholars had centered their studies on the processes of industrialization and immigration as the basis of class and ethnic perceptions. In contrast to that approach, Ianni and Fernandes emphasized the network of human social interactions in their analyses on the development of urban industrial society. This approach recognized the turn-of-the-century paulista entrepreneur as the combination of three social types: the innovator (one who had an idea and went for it), the manager (one who executed the plan and had the know-how), and the capitalist (one who had the money and financed projects).⁷⁰ This approach fits, for example, the relationship between modernizer/capitalist Senator Rodolfo Miranda, technician-engineer Manoel Buarque de Macedo, and speculator Martinho Buchard in 1893. Miranda and Macedo bought a *chácara*, and their development company, the *Construtora Empresa Obras do Brasil*, executed all works of "urbanism" (districting lots and opening public streets). After doing this, they awarded planning and selling responsibilities to the speculator, Martinho Buchard. This process bypassed the mediation of any local authority.

The many possible combinations among these three types reveal a social dynamic permeated by class hierarchy and ethnic and racial perceptions. In order to characterize this dynamic, Ianni proposed a structuralist approach and suggested the consideration of a new methodological variable—social configuration. Within Ianni's general category of social configuration, Pierre Bourdieu's further category of symbolic capital added substance to the structural methodology and provided a new dimension to the analysis in this work.⁷¹ Urban space provided the different possible situations and arrangements of social agents, such as "urban entrepreneurs," by locating them in clear relation to contemporary conceptions of economic and cultural capital. Drawing on Ianni's three types of entrepreneur—the innovator or modernizer, the venture speculator, and the technician—as well as Bourdieu's various forms of capital, one can glean how the speculative real

estate process was interwoven within different urban institutions via some of the representative paulista urban agencies.

Private Urban Groups

The São Paulo Tramway, Light, and Power Co.

Much in the spirit of Ianni's social configuration, PRP governor Bernadino de Campos employed his family and political networks to lay the groundwork for São Paulo Electrical Company public services and the coming of the São Paulo Tramway, Light, and Power Co. In 1895, Francisco Antonio Gualco met the governor and made him aware of and interested in implementing electrical service in São Paulo. Francisco Antonio Gualco was an Italian entrepreneur and labor contractor who lived and worked in Montréal, Canada. In 1890, Gualco had participated in the Canadian Pacific railway construction, where one of his main activities was to provide Franco-Canadian labor force emigration to paulista coffee plantations. It was in this context that he met and influenced the paulista state governor.

Two years later, the governor's son, Carlos de Campos, and his father-in-law, Antonio Augusto de Souza, obtained the municipal concession to implement the public service of electric transportation. During a government mission to Canada, Carlos de Campos and Gualco met to make the enterprise's feasibility study on the technical and financial aspects of the project. Souza and Gualco consulted the American engineer, Frederick Stark Pearson, from Canadian Tramway, Light, and Power, who planned the profitable aspects and suggested the extension of the municipal concession (granted for another forty years).

In 1899, Pearson gave the green light to Canadian Railway's president, William Mackenzie, to buy Souza's and Gualco's concession rights and to establish São Paulo Railway, Light, and Power Company Limited (headquartered in Toronto). Pearson became the firm's first technical advisor. Carlos Campos and A.J. Pinto Ferraz also belonged to the firm's first executive staff. Pinto Ferraz, an important player in this process, was a law school professor and legal advisor for the most important institutions in the country: the Dumont Coffee Company and the London & Brazilian Bank (both based on British capital). In 1900, the first paulista tram line was inaugurated.⁷² Light, as the company became known, was the most influential and powerful transport company and electric utility provider in the country. In 1905, the firm encompassed other public services, among them the São Paulo Gas Company (established 1872), and became the only provider of public electric energy. Among other companies so subsumed were the Water and Light Co., the Viação Paulista Co., the City of Santos Improvements, and the State Telephonic Co.⁷³

The districting process and the creation of primary urban facilities (such as electric service) were practices imbued with a variety of social and cultural mechanisms that blurred the private and public spheres. Municipal sphere responsibilities intertwined

with private urban investment and became part of the strategies used by many people for making a living. Real estate activity and concessionaire public services, both powerful sources of investment, infused practices that permeated everyone's lives.

Ramos de Azevedo's entrepreneurial force was also built on family and professional networks that expressed the dynamics of a paulista urbanization process marked by patronage and personalism, fraud and favor, corruption and clientele-building. Azevedo exemplifies the private entrepreneur who held public functions, and his practices help to uncover the dynamics behind the management of private urban agencies as well as the process behind the creation of public urban improvement initiatives and urban facilities. The formation of private urban groups was linked to a set of rules that reflected and reinforced the union of local entrepreneurs with international capital in a network marked by the practices of patronage.

The Escritório: The Dynamics of an Urban Firm

Azevedo ran a tight, hierarchically structured firm known as the *Escritório*. As owner and manager, he oversaw a team of immediate collaborators (architects or engineers) who supervised projects and the work of other professionals, auxiliaries (technical and clerical workers without a diploma), and foremen and tradesmen. The latter were not full-time employees but could be hired for specific tasks, as they were subordinated to labor contractors and paid daily.⁷⁴ The *Escritório* was responsible for all aspects of the construction process, from the drawing board to the site, from elementary bureaucratic proceedings to the training of the workforce. The firm had a diverse range of clients, from planters, government officials, and industrialists to middle-class housing investors.

Azevedo established a comprehensive firm capable of fulfilling any kind of official or private demand by efficiently organizing an importation business for bringing in materials for construction. Illustrating this point, Roberto Simonsen, who was a powerful entrepreneur and Azevedo's client, hired architect Gregori Warchavichik to come to work in São Paulo. In 1930, Warchavichik wrote to architect Siegfried Giedion explaining how difficult it was for him, a "modern" architect, to work in South America, where cement, iron, and glass were imported, and how their use considerably increased the price of construction.⁷⁵ Yet the decade witnessed a reversal in this situation: the high and constant rhythm of urbanization, reflected in the total consumption of cement (from 410 tons in 1926 to 660 tons in 1938) paralleled a decrease in cement importation (from 397 tons in 1926 to 51 tons in 1938). Cement production turned into a domestic industry and generated the rapid growth of national production (from 13 tons in 1926 to 605 tons in 1938).⁷⁶

The following ventures were among many in the vast commercial network Azevedo built:⁷⁷

- School of Arts and Crafts (*Liceu de Artes e Ofícios*): This institution was responsible for all finishing and decorative items. It was directed by Luis Scatollin.

- Casa Ernesto de Castro (established 1903): A trading house that imported construction materials, from glass to bathroom fixtures and tiles. Its owner, POLI engineer Ernesto de Castro, was Azevedo's son-in-law. It was located in the same building as the firm.
- Iniciadora Predial Co. (established 1908): A mortgage company that financed the entire building process, including down payments, installments, and loans. During the construction process, the firm mortgaged the estate as a guarantee. This branch was headed by Ricardo Severo, Azevedo's Portuguese partner, who also had decision-making power in the firm. Severo held the positions of director and manager-engineer. He was responsible for securing loans.⁷⁸
- Vila Prudente Ceramica (established 1910): A company that manufactured compressed tiles (*ceramica prensada*) and bricks. It was administered by engineer Luis Anhaia Mello, São Paulo's mayor in the 1930s.
- Ítalo-Belga Bank (established 1911): Among Azevedo's partners in this bank were Antonio Carlos da Silva Telles, Eugênio Terroir, and Felix Delaborde.
- Suburbana Paulista Company (established 1913): The firm districted *chácaras* into residential and industrial sites between the southwestern neighborhoods of Butantan and Osasco. Azevedo's partners were Richard Lacourcière and Francisco Ferreira Ramos.
- Serraria Azevedo Miranda or Serraria Central (established before 1920): The firm was a supplier of wooden frames and wood products in general. It was directed by engineer-chief Alfredo Miranda from the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios.

This business and social network responded to the diverse tasks brought to the Escritório and facilitated its role as official firm for public works. It depicts how, through kinship and marriage, paulista families were able to consolidate their control over land and business. This arrangement included upper-class connections (e.g., planters, merchants, bankers, industrialists) and high-status liberal professionals in a quite incestuous group, which was nonetheless open to new blood. Family involvement in landownership, commerce, politics, and the liberal professions facilitated the concentration of resources and political power. The network gave Azevedo the capacity of self-financing, which permitted him to bear frequently delayed payments. Within this professional, corporatist group, collaborators and auxiliaries were carefully selected and trained according to the needs of the work to be done.

Revered by his subordinates, Azevedo headed a firm that reflected the myriad technological, economic, and political changes brought to urban São Paulo and its society. The management of Azevedo's architectural firm reflected and reproduced the management of the city. Work relations, the organization of the political apparatus, contemporary issues such as education, social mobility, and the creation of jobs were all present in some manner in the microcosm of Azevedo's firm.

The DOP, Municipal Management, and Local Power

During the eighteenth century, Portuguese military and astronomers demarcated the national territory. The beginning of an urban public policy was the work of private topographic associations in different regions. During the early nineteenth century, urban institutions exercised few roles and had little continuity in Brazilian provinces. In São Paulo, the first Works Department was created in 1844 after a previous Topographic Cabinet had been created, annexed, and closed in a short period of time. For twenty years, urban issues were in the hands of commissions, councils, and sections specially created by the provincial government (e.g., the Engineers Council in 1851). With the “green wave” coffee economy of the 1860s and the city’s growth, a Section of Public Works (1865) was created to provide land ordinances and delimit entrepreneurs’ rights and duties.⁷⁹ This public section turned into the Inspector General for Public Works (*Inspetoria Geral de Obras Públicas*) in 1868.⁸⁰ Public administration did little in the face of frantic urban growth and relied on private initiative to provide for the lack of necessary public goods.⁸¹ In the 1880s, the construction of an important viaduct linking the traditional downtown to the new city center across a valley was the initiative of Uruguayan-born Joaquim Eugênio de Lima, who invited French professional Jules Martin to lead the process.⁸²

The First Republic (1889–1930) continued the provincial dynamic in line with the previous imperial logic. It was marked by private initiative and repeated clashes between the municipal and state spheres now under the aegis of a governor. The municipality was responsible for public works (e.g., alignment, cleaning, paving, demolition, street numbering, garden construction, gates, sidewalks, bridges, fountains, viaducts, roadways, transport, hygiene, water, sewer, and electricity) as long as those tasks did not interfere with state-level responsibilities, which, however, included very similar tasks! The fact is that taxes on the sale price of lands (*imposto territorial urbano*) were still paid to the state. Thus, the majority of public works were state responsibility. In 1889, the fourth section of Public Works became the Public Works Superintendence (SOP).⁸³ The SOP administered public works, supervised railway enterprises’ concessions, marked lands, and planned the state geographical and geologic charts. The SOP was also responsible for basic works (water, sewage, and cleaning the rivers), for which it had the help of departments and commissions specially created after 1892. Thus, the last decade of the nineteenth century saw a growing process of centralization at the local level and the beginning of an autonomous municipal posture in relation to the organization of urban space.⁸⁴

In the 1890s, the continuous process of centralization at the local level brought about the Municipal Works Division (*Intendencia de Obras Municipais*, an embryonic DOP) in 1892 and the POLI in 1893. In 1896, the Municipal Works Division created the Technical Commission for City Improvements, an

administrative organ responsible for developing a general plan for the city. In 1897, Municipal Works Division director Pedro Augusto Gomes Cardim put together a general city plan.⁸⁵

If before 1899 public works were a concern of councils and a municipal sector nominated by the governor, the creation of the (nominated, not elected) position of mayor in 1899 changed this provincial dynamic for good. In 1900, the mayor replaced the Works Division and its urban commission with a reinforced and powerful agency, the Municipal Works Department (*Diretoria de Obras Municipais*, DOP). The DOP hired engineers, most of them coming from POLI, as supervisory engineers.

The Municipal Works Department, responsible for urban administrative procedures and regulatory laws, provides a window on the shifting relationships between the private and public sectors at that time. The department's urban projects were negotiated with, sponsored by, and planned with private companies such as Azevedo's building firm, and the Cia City, an Anglo-Brazilian development company. These negotiations expressed the mentality of the times and the mechanisms of urban control and management brought about by the paulista republican machine.

A Mayor for the City: Antonio Prado

On November 19, 1898, State Law 374 created the position of mayor and the provincial council (*Conselho de Intendência*) ceased to exist.⁸⁶ São Paulo's first mayor, Antonio da Silva Prado, shaped a new municipal administration during his thirteen-year government, which guided the city's responses to change, kept the republican political machine under control, and orchestrated a surge of urban improvements. Historians have focused on Prado's capitalist vision to portray his administration as the setting for a "second urbanization boom," after João Teodoro's first one. Prado replaced the Works Division with a reinforced and powerful agency, the Municipal Works Department (*Serviço de Obras Municipais*) and invited Portuguese engineer Victor da Silva Freire to head it.⁸⁷ As table 1.1 shows, Freire led the DOP for twenty-six years (1899–1925), under ten different governors and under four of the five mayors São Paulo had during the period of the Old Republic.⁸⁸

Conselheiro Antonio Prado (as the mayor became known), Freire, and Azevedo were important "civic leaders" of the process of urban beautification and suburbanization.⁸⁹ On the whole, these urban leaders seemed to believe that beauty and financial prosperity went hand in hand. Urban beauty was synonymous with elegance, symmetry, and monumentality—adjectives constantly used to depict public works of the time, such as the Municipal Theater built by Azevedo's firm (1903–1911). Beautification and land use were tools to enhance the city and promote its economic growth. Capitalist growth fostered the alliance between civic design and commercialism, demanding efficiency and technical expertise on the part of the state through municipal power.

Table 1.1 São Paulo State and Municipal Executives, 1889–1930

Term	Brazilian Presidents	Governors	Mayors	Municipal Works
1889–1891	Marechal Deodoro da Fonseca	Prudente J. De Moraes Barros (1889–1890) Jorge Tibiriçá Piratininga (1890–1891) Américo Brasiliense A. Melo (1891)	Vicente Ferreira da Silva (1889–1890) Clementino de Sousa e Castro (1890–1891)	Antonio F. de Paula Souza (1890–1891)
1891–1894	Marechal Floriano Vieira Peixoto	Sérgio T. Castelo Branco (Dec 1891) José A. de Cerqueira César (interim 1891–1892) Bernadino José de Campos (1892–1896)	Carlos A. Ferreira Garcia (1891–1892) Pedro Vicente de Azevedo (1892–1895)	Joaquim F. Camargo Jr. (1892–1893) Cesário Ramalho da Silva (1893–1894) Joaquim T. Piza Almeida (1894–1896)
1894–1898	Prudente José de Moraes Barros	Manuel F. de Campos Sales (1896–1897) Francisco A. Peixoto Gomide (1897–1898)	Antonio Proost Rodovalho (1896–1899)	Firmiano de Moraes (1896–1897) Pedro A. Gomes Cardim (1897–1898)
1898–1902	Manuel Ferraz de Campos Salles	Fernando P. de Albuquerque (1898–1900) Francisco P. Rodrigues Alves (1900–1902)	Antonio da Silva Prado (January 1899–January 1911)	Víctor da Silva Freire (1899–1925)
1902–1906	Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alves	Bernadino de Campos (1902–1904) Jorge Tibiriçá Piratininga (1904–1908)		

1906–1909	Alfonso A. Moreira Pena Nilo Peçanha (1909–1910)	Manuel J. Albuquerque Lins (1908–1912)	
1910–1914	Marechal Hermes Rodrigues da Fonseca	Francisco P. Rodrigues Alves (1912–1916)	Raymundo da Silva Duprat (January 1911–January 1914)
1914–1918	Venceslau Brás Pereira Gomes	Altino Arantes Marques (1916–1920)	Washington Luis P. de Souza (January 1914–August 1919)
1919–1922	Epitácio da Silva Pessoa	Washington Luis P. de Sousa (1920–1924)	Alvaro G. da Rocha Azevedo (August 1919–January 1920) Firmiano de Moraes Pinto (January 1920–January 1926)
1922–1926	Artur da Silva Bernardes	Carlos Campos (1924–1927)	
1926–1930	Washington Luis Pereira de Sousa	Antonio D. da Costa Bueno (April 1927–July 1927) Júlio Prestes de Albuquerque (October 1927–October 1930)	José Pires do Rio (January 1926–October 1930) Luiz Machado Pedrosa (1926–1928) Arthur Saboya (1928–1935)

Note: Before the creation of the position of mayor in 1899, the municipal rulers were called *intendentes*.

Sources: Mezzalana 1998, Scherer 1987, Hoehne 1941, Cardim 1953, and *RAMs* 1935.

Urban Improvements and Cia City Origins

Just like any other contemporary Latin American city embellished through public works improvement and sanitary measures, São Paulo became a city that “deserved to be visited,”⁹⁰ a beautiful city—as Prado’s urban modifications represented in part a Brazilian reading of the City Beautiful Movement in U.S. urban planning, whose central features culminated in Daniel Burnham’s 1909 Chicago Plan. Beautification meant making the city suitable for the demands of international capital, mainly British, which dominated the Brazilian agro-export economy.⁹¹ In 1907, the beautification program, sponsored by businessmen and civic leaders, fostered grandiose public programs of large-scale urban intervention, civic buildings, and public parks. By contrast, policies related to housing were neglected. Launched in 1907, the first low-income housing, the Vila Economizadora Paulista, was a private initiative for housing the proletariat, adapted from the French model.⁹² Most of those low-income housing projects (*vila operárias*) were private initiatives, and most of the building associations’ members were either politicians or municipal officers. For instance, Raymundo Duprat, the second mayor, was a member of the Vila Economizadora Paulista directorate and financial board.

In 1911, municipal and state interests clashed on a bid for the best project intended to organize downtown.⁹³ The different plans led public institutions into a stalemate. Following DOP director Freire’s suggestion, politician Alcântara Machado invited French architect Joseph Antoine Bouvard, the city of Paris’s honorable-director of Architecture Works, Roadways, and Planning, who was in Argentina, to come and consider those plans for the paulista downtown area. This invitation exemplified what was becoming an interconnected foreign network, as in 1906 Argentina’s government had invited Bouvard to remodel its capital, Buenos Aires, and the city of Rosário.⁹⁴ The paulista Municipal Chamber hired Bouvard, whose resulting “Bouvard Plan” simply harmonized the already existing proposals. This episode reinforced an increasingly powerful dynamic between international private associations and local public departments in attracting foreign experts—an exchange that sought to bring cultural legitimization to private and political leaders as partners in an era of large-scale international capital investment. Between 1911 and 1930, 318 foreign enterprises were authorized to work in Brazil; among these firms, ninety-two were British and 111 were American.⁹⁵

Bouvard’s ability crowned Freire’s strategy. Though Bouvard’s plan in Buenos Aires became pharaonic and by 1923 turned out to be a complete disaster,⁹⁶ his works in São Paulo proved to have a lasting effect on both the history of urban planning in the state. Belgian entrepreneur Edouard Fontaine de Laveleye had introduced Bouvard to members of São Paulo’s government, including DOP director Freire, who then introduced the Belgian entrepreneur to paulista real estate entrepreneurs Cincinato Braga and Horácio Sabino. In 1911, following Bouvard’s glowing prophecies of São Paulo’s future, Laveleye bought up some three thousand acres of city lands for investment.

On September 25, 1911, the City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited (Cia City) was created and named Bouvard as its first

vice president. The company's London headquarters included Laveleye as one of its fourteen-man board of directors. The composition of the company's 1911 directorate board is remarkable: Its president was Lord Balfour of Burleigh, governor general of the Bank of Scotland and president of São Paulo Railway Co. Among the directors were Campos Salles (senator and Brazil's ex-president), Cincinato Braga (lawyer and São Paulo federal deputy), Pierre Carteron (French ex-minister), Gaston de Cerjat, Harry-Ernest Cradock (Russian and English Bank), Eduard Fontaine de Laveleye, Herbert Guedalla (delegated director of Imperial and Foreign Co. Ltd.), Ralph Peto, Edouard Quellenec (Suez Canal engineer), Belfort Sabino (lawyer and landowner), Sir Gerard Smith (Australian ex-governor, director of São Paulo Railway Co.), and Leslie R. Vigers. The Brazilian legal representative was S. de Barros Pimentel. Cia City had offices in Paris and São Paulo. The first administrative body for the São Paulo office was made up of a heterogeneous composite of different social origins, professions, and nationalities. Though the board suffered changes throughout the years, it comprised some of the most influential people in São Paulo.⁹⁷ In Paris, the company was named the *Société Générale et Immobilière et d'Embellissement de la Ville de São Paulo*. In 1912, Lavaleye contacted the Boulton Brothers (London bankers) and sold his estates to the Cia City company.⁹⁸ Cia City acquired a total of 12,380,098 square meters (4,779 square miles) of land in the city of São Paulo. Cia City officially began its work in Brazil on March 3, 1912, by making long-range plans for upper-class housing in residential districts.

Cia City and Its Planning Innovations

Cia City recruited influential European town planners and used its connections and influence to mold rules and laws relating to the districting of neighborhoods. In 1916, the company engaged the services of the English architect and urban planner Barry Parker, known for his planning of the English garden cities of Letchworth and New Earswick, and the civic center of Oporto in Portugal. In February 1917, Parker arrived in São Paulo mainly to give advice on the company's estates in Pacaembu, but he also worked on other company's estates, which became the Jardim América and Lapa neighborhoods.⁹⁹ He was also commissioned by paulista municipalities to develop public parks in São Paulo and Poços de Caldas, activities that extended his stay in São Paulo until the end of World War I. Parker left in January 1919.

During its existence, Cia City developed housing for all social groups; however, the company became best known for its early aristocratic neighborhood, the Jardim América (America Garden). Cia City's development practices added innovative rules and guidelines related to both urban zoning and speculative practices to the process of urban change.¹⁰⁰ Cia City provoked and gave added impetus to the functional, financial, and planning dimensions of urban construction and growth. In 1916, Cia City completed its first development in Jardim América, planned by architect Raymond Unwin, Parker's brother-in-law. The

company resumed the construction of other units by making deals not only with the municipality but also with private companies, such as Light Co. Cia City archive include documents from a series of meetings with Spencer Vampré, the company's lawyer, who advised its directors on the scope of contemporary public acts and laws and the different possible arrangements offered by urban legislation that could favor private interests.

Earlier urban projects (e.g., Buchard's districting of neighborhoods and Lima's Paulista Avenue construction) followed the city's geographical circumstances and topographical conditions to select the highest and driest places. Rather than following this pattern, Cia City invested in the city's most inauspicious and notoriously poor areas in the southwestern region. The southwest region's main path, Rebouças Avenue (called then Itapirassu Street), was customarily avoided. People preferred a parallel route, Cardinal Arco Verde Street, because rainwater used to concentrate in such a manner that Itapirassu Street would become a lake during times of flooding. Cia City acquired land in extremely humid and inaccessible locales many times known as virtual swamps. The area, cheap when purchased, became extremely expensive when sold. Most of the company's projects were supported, to differing degrees and circumstances, by the municipality and from the 1910s on, land occupation came to reflect the population's degree of acquisitive power.

In 1918, Cia City of Brazil was administered by its joint manager and chairman Albino de Castro Lima. In November 1926, Cia City's English directorate nominated, for the first time, a São Paulo local board. The administrative office was made up of a heterogeneous composite of men from different social origins, professions, and nationalities. Though the board underwent changes over the years, it comprised some of the most influential people in São Paulo.¹⁰¹ The close relationships between local entrepreneurs and the municipality gave rise to a silent, interdependent arrangement between the private and the public sectors. The new urban pattern was the result of different overlapping spheres of urban power that made it possible for foreign and local capital to develop their paulista version of the garden city and to socially and symbolically recast its inhabitants in the space of the city.

Politically, the success of Cia City was an accomplishment originally linked to the paulista political machine and its network of influential people with their international, national, regional, and local sociopolitical exchanges. It is noteworthy that the powerful political network that Cia City enjoyed in the early 1910s kept growing and taking different shapes during the unstable 1920s. In the 1920s, the company had in its Brazilian directorate both Cincinato Braga, who was then president of the Banco do Brasil and Sampaio Vidal, who was Brazilian treasury minister. The ideas, role, and efforts of paulista economist and congressional representative Cincinato Braga illustrate these connections, as well as the contemporary political, historical, and urban context.

Cincinato César da Silva Braga was born in the city of Piracicaba, in São Paulo state, on July 7, 1864. He was a lawyer, landowner, and one of Cia City founders and directors. Although he was one of the founders of the PRP still under the empire—that is, a historic republican (*republicano histórico*)—he was a dissident in 1891. Braga firmly supported Brazil's agro-export economy and fought for

the coffee export sector's interests in the national congress. Braga's efforts began with the favoring of immigration policies (1901), followed by regional support of a federal protectionist policy (1908).¹⁰² As an entrepreneur, he devoted himself to urban speculation in the city of São Paulo. His business practices were consistent with a number of public- and private-sector commitments of his time. The cultural milieu was permeated by foreign influence and international exchanges, which shaped views, tools, and policies in the city. In this context, flows of foreign capital interacted with domestic developments, in particular the growth of public- and private-sector banks and other financial institutions. Braga's activities shed light on these important issues (private capital transfers by multinational companies, loans from international agencies and financial institutions, and loans from the commercial banks).

Between 1910 and 1915, when, with others, Braga created Cia City, he was politically involved in a "new agro-civilization" project.¹⁰³ Braga created the Municipal Party (Partido Municipal) in 1918. During the 1920s, Braga was president of Banco do Brasil (1923–25). In 1924, a year of political rebellion in the city of São Paulo,¹⁰⁴ Braga voiced his ardent convictions on federalism on "*Magnos problemas econômicos de São Paulo*" ("São Paulo's Great Economic Problems"), the only piece written before the 1930 revolution that justified São Paulo state's leadership position in Brazil.¹⁰⁵ In his writings, Braga stressed São Paulo state's economic independence as "practically a nation."¹⁰⁶ In contrast to the traditional and cultural regionalism of the European countries, the regionalism of São Paulo seemed to rest mainly on economic premises. The regional patriotism "was often narrow in its outlook and understanding of the interests of other parts of Brazil" and worsened by the fact that "politicians sometimes presented misleading statistics."¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, Braga never advocated secession. Instead, he favored Brazil's subordination to "paulista economic paths"¹⁰⁸ and supported a strong central government as a necessary evil.¹⁰⁹

According to Horace Davis, the standard of living of Brazil's urban proletariat in the 1930s was distinctly lower than in northern Europe, but it was much better than that of its rural population, which comprised the mass of the people.¹¹⁰ Nonetheless, Braga firmly held that workers should be kept in the countryside, and drew on Marx and Engels to justify why a rural country should make strenuous efforts to secure its population in rural areas¹¹¹ and avoid industrial concentration.¹¹² In Europe, entrepreneurs contracted specialists to resolve the working-class housing question. For instance, in England, Joseph Rowntree turned to the expert guidance of architects Unwin and Parker in planning the Garden Village of New Earswick.¹¹³ Braga did not apply European lessons regarding housing to the Brazilian working class. Instead, he backed Cia City, which also made use of Parker's work to adapt the ideal of garden suburbs to the needs of an urban and industrial upper class in São Paulo.

The U.S. historian Richard Morse observed that the exploitative regime of local investors, imposed at the turn of the century, caused the relocation of the rich to the well-planned "Gardens."¹¹⁴ Looking at this from a different angle, notably the silent, interdependent agreements existing between the private and the public sectors, the new pattern was the result of different overlapping spheres

of urban power that made it possible for foreign and local capital to develop their paulista version of the “*cidade-jardim*,” which socially and symbolically recast its inhabitants.

The recasting of communities produced in this short period gave various neighborhoods a special character, from Higienópolis to the *jardins* region. The three elite areas, Higienópolis, Paulista, and Jardins, tell the history of a city in rapid change, the product of impositions and renegotiations between public and private actors to set the rules of the game. These negotiations were part of an urban consolidation that rearranged the norms of how one should live and where. The *jardins* provided utilities, strict zoning regulations, and clear land titles (which were difficult to obtain at the time). Cia City also required that the purchaser comply with its stipulations for the size of residences and the upkeep of grounds. Writing in the era of Brazilian modern-architecture fever, Morse stated that “Jardim América is an attractive and peaceful district, if one accepted its architectural heterogeneity and the graceless style, for which the cinema was in part responsible, of English bungalows and California-Miami dwellings. The City, however, did not eliminate speculation by those who bought its lots and could at best provide only occasional planned and stable islands in the urban maelstrom...”¹¹⁵

The experience of urban planning in São Paulo can be even more vividly grasped if placed in a comparative context. In São Paulo, there was considerable faith in an idealized vision of a city life. In Europe, the years immediately following the Great War led to a loss of faith. The war and its consequences had been a huge demoralizing event. Even in the United States—which was physically untouched by the war—all the social optimism behind the “City Beautiful” movement started to evaporate. But this reaction did not have the same strength in Brazil. Even when such urban movements started to fade and lose momentum in Europe and the United States., they did not in Brazil. To the contrary, based on a “garden city” model, new public rules relating to the districting of neighborhoods were created and enforced. Another irony is that, in direct contrast to Brazil, in Europe the garden city movement was initially thought of as a process of suburbanization in order to house the worker away from the expensive city center area. For the Italian historian of architecture Leonardo Benevolo, all garden districts were similar.¹¹⁶ Perhaps they were similar in form, but these neighborhoods nevertheless had particular histories made by distinct urban groups that unfolded in different countries in specific ways. While garden neighborhoods were improved forms of workers’ housing in Europe and a preferred locale for the U.S. middle class, in Brazil they came to be the place where the elite lived, and they marked the innovative experience of the city of São Paulo.

The DOP and Its Planning Authority

In 1913, the municipal administration underwent reorganization and the DOP became one of the five directorates created to directly assist the mayor.¹¹⁷ It

became a privileged section of the municipal administration.¹¹⁸ The department was divided into five sections: 1) Central Office and City Planning; 2) Private Buildings; 3) Works and Roadways; 4) Conservation, Repair, and Materials; and 5) Registry of Employees and Information.¹¹⁹ In 1913, the city of São Paulo was composed of an assembly of secluded, compact areas. Although the urban space available for housing was greater than demand,¹²⁰ the speculative land values for certain areas provoked a shortage of low-income housing. The city manifested a fragmented spatial structure ruled by the real estate logic of social occupation. The poor could only afford either to buy or rent units very far from downtown in areas that lacked infrastructure. In 1913, a municipal register (*cadastro*) was created, together with enforcement mechanisms, such as laws relating to street paving, including a requirement for one municipal inspector in each neighborhood.¹²¹

Mayor Washington Luis Pereira de Souza's administration (1914–1919) witnessed the continuing and intertwined work among Azevedo's firm, the DOP, and Cia City. Under Washington Luis, the process of embellishing São Paulo resumed, and the important projects were completed (e.g., the remodeling of the Anhangabaú Park). This period, marked by high inflation rates and working-class mobilizations, experienced strikes in the public sector and the devastating Spanish influenza epidemic, which caused eight thousand deaths in two months. In 1918, a municipal health directorate was created to deal with the calamitous results of this epidemic. There was virtually not a single paulista family that had not lost a relative or a friend in this episode.¹²² Urban historians refer to Washington Luis as a vigorous mayor who fostered impressive projects, including the three hundred-kilometer construction of local railroads throughout various municipalities. Later, he became PRP governor of the state of São Paulo (1920) and the last president (1926) of the Old Republic.

Elected for two consecutive terms, Mayor Firmiano de Moraes Pinto (1919–1926) underwent difficult socioeconomic and political times. The 1920s were times of unrest marked by debates on labor laws, unionism, and the electoral process.¹²³ At the administrative level, the beautification project continued through preparations for the commemoration of the Independence Day Centenary on September 7, 1922. This included landscape works, the inauguration of plazas, new parks, and official buildings. Two years later, on July 5, 1924, the *tenentista* revolutionary movement upheaval reached the capital city and occupied it. That experience left strong marks in the city and forced the municipality to take significant steps to enforce urban planning: it promulgated a preliminary Works Code (*Código de Obras*); it created departments to supervise the process of opening streets (1923) and private street paving concessions (1924); and it organized technical commissions to budget and to study new urban improvements for the city as well as to elaborate a city plan.

This plan was headed by DOP chief engineer João Florence Ulhôa Cintra and became known as the *perímetro de irradiação* plan (1924). Cintra believed that the city's sanitary and transport problems could be solved through a scheme of avenues that followed the city's valley intersections.¹²⁴ The commission gave rise to a special section, the DOP Division of Urbanism, assigned to Cintra's

direction. When director Freire left the municipality in 1925, the DOP was a well-structured and powerful agency.¹²⁵

Between 1926 and 1930, São Paulo's mayor, engineer José Pires do Rio, maintained and completed previous administrations' works. By this time, the DOP's concerns included smaller and more specific plans, such as the Cardoso Plan (1928) for light rail in the northern area of the city, the plans for the Tietê River drainage, and the Pinheiros River rectification. These works were undertaken by the DOP and the São Paulo Tramway, Light, and Power Co. (Light). In this partnership, Light furnished all public lighting, and the DOP's Section Eight supervised the works. However, the municipality completely ignored any large-scale plans, such as the 1927 plan for the city elaborated by Light.

In 1929, Pires do Rio requested the elaboration of a building code and a plan for the city. The building code was executed by municipal engineer Arthur Saboya. The code came to be known as the *Código* Arthur Saboya. The *Código* defined four zones (central, urban, suburban, and rural) and prescribed modest limitations on the height and area of buildings within these districts. While it set up specific requirements for the design and construction of buildings for particular use within each district, the *Código* did not establish areas for residence, commerce, and industry—these were only by special exemption.¹²⁶ State engineer Francisco Prestes Maia and municipal engineer Ulhôa Cintra drew the plan for the city, the Plano de Avenidas (1930). The most conspicuous and basic oversight—which would persist in the 1930s and the 1940s—was the lack of an official city map. In 1930, Pires do Rio requested the Empresa SARA Brasil to produce a municipal topographic map. This map illustrated well the city of the 1930s: The Avenida Paulista (1892) boldly drew an urban dividing line. To the north stood historical downtown with its traditional irregular plan and some nineteenth-century neighborhoods (e.g., Campos Elíseos, Bexiga, and Bela Vista);¹²⁷ in the space between Avenida Paulista and these neighborhoods stood the Higienópolis neighborhood, which was a transitional zone. To the south, contiguous to Vila América, emerged modern twentieth-century Garden neighborhoods (*Jardins*) with sinuous borders, zoning, and regular design. This map announced a new era.

The 1930 coup d'état ended the seigneurial first republican period and brought Getúlio Vargas to power. All municipal councils were closed and Pires do Rio left office in the middle of his second term. This political moment, filled with tensions and uncertainties, led to a new era in municipal affairs. In a new political setting, municipal officers as well as private urban representatives renegotiated their positions and roles. This moment "represented a transition between the previous administrations that dealt with [urban issues] on a specific basis and a new encompassing vision that pervaded all issues related to the city."¹²⁸ This transition and the renegotiation of social and political urban postures are discussed in the following chapters, which consider how these issues unfolded in relation to São Paulo's urbanization under the technocratic and authoritarian context of the Getúlio Vargas years (1930–1945).

The political changes brought about by the international economic crisis of 1929 reinforced authoritarian, nationalistic, and statist tendencies and weakened

capitalist market economic orientations all over the world. In Brazil, these economic changes were to be implemented by a new political system that replaced the former one-party neo-feudal system of the republican rule (1889–1930). A main ingredient in Brazil's coup d'état of 1930 was regional conflict. Throughout the Old Republic, São Paulo dominated the Brazilian economy because of its huge coffee exports. Politically, the paulistas shared power with the neighboring dairy state of Minas Gerais, forming the so-called *café com leite* (coffee with milk) coalition. When the informal agreement ended in 1930, politicians in Minas Gerais joined those from peripheral states and the military in the Liberal Alliance, which came to power in the 1930 coup. São Paulo's fortunes might have appeared glum. The worldwide depression undermined demand for coffee, and the new president, Getúlio Vargas, imposed state administrators, or interventors, thereby ending traditional state autonomy. The 1930s, then, marked the end of the coffee oligarchy's hegemony and radically transformed the public administrative apparatus. The growing subordination of the local and regional powers to the federal level fostered a period of great discontent between paulistas and the new regime.

Scholars agree that the national state did not emerge from the 1930 revolution as a strong state. Rather, the provisional government sounded out most of its first decisions, faced discontentment from regional political partners, and was hit by rebellion from its military factions through pressure from a group known as the *tenentes*. During the period from 1930 to 1937, São Paulo captured the national market for industrial goods, as Brazilians substituted paulista manufactures for foreign products, and São Paulo consolidated its dominant position in the national economy. Moreover, from the outset, São Paulo's militia rivaled the national army. With those assets at its disposal, São Paulo revolted against the Vargas regime in 1932, seeking a return to constitutional rule.

Chapter 2

The Dynamics of Paulista Urban Institutions in the 1930s

Let us set a scene in what could be an ordinary day in September 1936 in an upper-class paulista residence (*palacete*) in Pirapintiguy Street, in the neighborhood of Liberdade. It is a gray Friday *garoa* morning on a late-winter, almost-spring day, the sort of weather about which the paulistas used to be constantly on the defensive. The owner of the house, Arnaldo Dumont Villares, an influential architect who has recently celebrated his forty-eighth birthday, leads his visitors, an aging PRP politician and his son, a recent engineering graduate from the University of São Paulo Engineering School, into the living room of his seigneurial home. In this *palacete*, built close to the home of the host's in-laws, he has raised his three children with his wife, Laura. The room has striped curtains, heavy oak furniture, huge windows, and is impressively large and filled with books. The older visitor notices the works on architecture and engineering, and the imposing frames containing photos of inaugural ceremonies, graduation at the London Chrystal Palace, family members, and foreign landscapes. The young graduate observes the volumes on sports cars, when one intriguing title catches his attention, *Vertigem* (*Vertigo*), both because it reflects his own feelings and because it bears the host's wife's name as its author.¹ A female maid offers a *cafézinho*. After coffee, Villares and the politician talk.

Some few kilometers away, downtown in the Palacete Prates at Rua Líbero Badaró, which houses the Municipal Hall, a journalist waits for his appointment with the mayor of the city of São Paulo. He sinks into a leather couch and takes in the ambience, which is dominated by a magnificent view of the Anhangabaú Valley morning fog. While waiting to be received, the journalist uses his time to observe the frantic workplace. Office boy Fabrício and attendant Orfeu, both unskilled workers, check on him frequently as they wait for orders from their superiors. Engineers Mário Meirelles and Alexandre Rodrigues ignore him and converse incessantly while “always turning maps.” The mayor's engineering advisor, Maneco Lopes,² “that good soul,” comes and goes from the mayor's office.³

Stopped by the journalist, Lopes mutters monosyllabic answers to the few questions he tries to pose.⁴ The high-ranking official engineer and DOP director Dr. Pedro Vicente also frenetically comes and goes from the mayor's office. The mayor calls to the journalist, who quickly enters his office. Fabrício offers him a *cafézinho*, considered the best in the city. After coffee, Prado and the journalist smoke two cigarettes and talk.⁵

* * *

There are few systematic studies about the place of development companies, private engineering firms, and public local urban agencies in Latin American cultural history. This chapter considers the importance of associative urban activity in knitting together society, and explores São Paulo's urban professionals' socio-political and economic paths, their transnational connections, and their influence and role in the formation of technical groups in the early 1930s.

The initial section delineates the historical context breeding urban professional forces, a context that was marked by the 1932 revolution. The "revolution" set the tone of how local power was structured in the early 1930s, when public works assumed a central place. By assigning a key political place to the technical work of engineers and ex-combatants, the 1932 revolution rearranged local municipal power. Under Fábio da Silva Prado (1934-1938), the spirit of the 1932 "Paulista War" and its revolutionary engineers was kept alive and expressed in the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building and numerous other urban interventions in São Paulo's social fabric. The municipal administration, part and parcel of this contradictory and ambiguous political period, built on the energies of regional identity to address housing and other important social issues. The second part of this chapter focuses on engineer Arnaldo Dumont Villares (ADV), who, during the 1930s, was one of the owners of the most influential engineering firm in the city of São Paulo, the Escritório Técnico F.P. Ramos de Azevedo, Severo & Villares Limited Co., and one of the local board directors of the private Anglo-Brazilian development company The City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited, best known as Cia City. First, the chapter presents ADV's biography and his role in these different urban institutions; next, it illustrates Cia City's sales and advertising policies during this period; finally, it explores how, in his professional path, ADV was able to translate wealth into political power. This translation was not a given; it demanded skilful political sense and intense deal-making, which resulted in following, absorbing, and transforming a set of cultural rules that came to influence the work of paulista urban professionals.

The 1932 "Paulista War"

The 1932 revolution in São Paulo crowned a time of political turmoil with deep roots in the political culture of the previous regime.⁶ The old republic (1889-1930) had been mostly a one-party system built on the significant position held

by both dissident politicians and the army's officer corps.⁷ Writing shortly after the event, Horace Davis emphasized the economic causes of the revolt, which involved the paulista coffee growers' and manufacturers' unhappiness with the 1930 provisional government coffee control program.⁸ On July 9, 1932, an insurgent movement directed against Getúlio Vargas's political measures in the state enlisted the support of even the federal interventor, as well as the whole of the state of São Paulo, together with parts of the neighboring states of Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso. The paulista leaders demanded the return to a democratic and constitutional order and the end of Vargas's dictatorship. Virtually the entire state joined the struggle for autonomy, "for a civil and paulista government."⁹ The resulting armed conflict (from July to September) was supported and conducted by the state population, which included its upper and middle classes, and parts of its working class.

Insufflated regionalist expressions provided motivation and impetus to the movement.¹⁰ Though most of the "inflammatory propaganda against the federal government that circulated during and after the 1932 movement advocated confederation,"¹¹ the prevailing official idea was not separatism. Rather, São Paulo stood as the auto-assigned state to speak against the dictatorship.¹² Popular symbols used during the movement included the unofficial flag. It was said that, during the conflict, "in every window and in every street [in São Paulo city] streamers and flags fluttered with the colors of all states."¹³ Those flags enforced local regional identities, but their display reinforced a common durkheimian quest for one national whole—an idea very well expressed in modernist writer Mário de Andrade's *Noturno de Belo Horizonte* (*Belo Horizonte Nocturne*) (1924): "Spain split up into a dust cloud of Latin-American nations. But under the sonorous trunk of its language, Portugal united 22 unique, uneven orchids."¹⁴ However, in the map drawn by municipal officer José Wasth Rodrigues, crafted during the conflict, paulista flags stood in opposition to the Brazilian ones, which were used to indicate the Legalist positions.

Hostilities ended on September 29, 1932. According to contemporary studies by U.S. scholars Horace Davis and Samuel Lowrie, it is possible to affirm that although neither the longest nor the bloodiest, this conflict proved to be the most extensive civil war the country had ever had. Relatively speaking, the Constitutionalists had the most combatants, since "fifty to sixty thousand men were in arms in São Paulo, and about as many took the field for the federal government."¹⁵ These paulistas composed a significant sample of the state population's socioeconomic and cultural diversity. The state population grew from 5,626,127 in 1928 to almost six million in 1932. The years between 1928 and 1932 saw a slight decrease in births (from 201,000 to almost 180,000 people) and deaths (from 102,000 to 96,000 in 1931; no data for 1932) and a significant increase in immigration (from 28,000 to 102,000 people).¹⁶ Though immigrants were not allowed to not fight in 1932, there was a significant number of second-generation immigrants (mainly of Italian descent) in the ranks of the paulista militia.

In the years immediately following the conflict, the movement's political influence (and writing about it) soared. The 1932 revolution seemed to have been

“more felt than known,”¹⁷ as more than 60 percent of the memoirs and essays about it, published until 1995, had been written between 1932 and 1937.¹⁸ The Estado Novo interrupted this flow of works and became an important point of reference for understanding the sociopolitical context of the other 40 percent of written material. This was noteworthy in the following decades, especially in the material published in 1954 during São Paulo’s four hundredth anniversary celebration, and during the 1960s under the 1964 coup context, when those young 1932 memoirists returned to their accounts and rewrote them as biographies (e.g., Vivaldo Coaracy, João Fontoura, Benedito Valadares, Aureliano Leite, Joaquim Bastos, and Paulo Duarte). Each different wave of publishing material has its own dialogue with the past showing a narrative in which memory and biography blur. The narrative from the 1930s is in itself a privileged window into the sociocultural values of the 1930s.

The various memoirists belonged to different hierarchies within their own professional milieu and they provided an exemplary sample of 1930s society (e.g., military, “liberal” professionals, politicians, religious men, employees, students). Their accounts shed light into the sociopolitical process embedded in the different campaigns supporting the movement and in the complexities of the battlefield. Most belonged to a same middle-class cohort raised in the state of São Paulo during the 1920s and 1930s. This paulista generation shared the same meticulous calligraphy, was self-taught, imposed a rigid patriarchal discipline within the family, and manifested a ceremonious reverence toward culture and education—characterized by a grandiloquent style, fatalism, and strict moral conduct.¹⁹ The great majority represented the way of thinking “of an urban middle class who was directly committed to a struggle they did not control [but that became] the cause of their lives.”²⁰

The written production appeared in three main forms: The first was ultrapatriotic (*ufanista*) as it was based on paulista regional myths built on its economic production and hegemonic position in relation to other states. Accordingly the state deserved political dominance and some writers advocated confederation. The second kind was represented by critical narratives focusing on local events, which linked the war to both the 1930 revolution and the dictatorship. Finally, the third form was made of episodic narratives and personal accounts of 1932. The first approach explored a historical treatment of nationalism, which put forward and fostered paulista claims to hegemony and special attention, the second stressed discontentment with Vargas’s assumption of power, and the third expressed personal experiences from those who fought on the different sides. The effective dialogue exchanged among memoirists through their intensive publication efforts contributed to the creation and enforcement of a tradition and history of not only the movement, but also the role of different cities and different public institutions (e.g., the Força Pública). As a further consequence, the movement became a political turning point and reference point for ranking political positions, which were interwoven within new arrangements for public institutions all over the country. As a further result of the shifts in power brought about by the Estado Novo, politicians’ biographies gravitate around Getúlio Vargas’s history as synonymous with official Brazilian history, and very little is said about other local performances or biographies.²¹

In all of these writings, a broader national context seemed to recast personal experiences into the ideal of a quest for a nation. In this quest, urbanization helped to turn regional differences into a homogeneous reality. The 1932 revolution and the urban structures that facilitated and supported it were to forge a sociopolitical process that influenced all political outcomes in the decade. One can see this urban and social network in the way contemporary accounts used the city and its heterogeneous population to interpret the Paulista War. In a catalogue, *Revolução de 32*, published in celebration to the sixtieth anniversary of the “revolution,” a CPDOC/GV team researched images from the movement in magazines, newspapers, and personal archives to analyze the links between politics and photography. Among the many conclusions, it highlighted the amateur character of the movement. Among the pictures were many showing a studied carelessness with firearms, as in one that showed “an elegant Constitutionalist holding [a Winchester rifle] to protect the streets of São Paulo and kept his fingers far from the trigger.”²²

The media wrote cautiously about the political movement; however, it boldly captured the political conflict in photographs, which simultaneously portrayed a parallel urban revolution taking place in Brazilian cities. For instance, though the main intent of the May 1932 issue of the paulista magazine *A Cigarra* was to praise seventy-two-year-old federal interventor Pedro de Toledo’s battle against the dictatorial Provisional government, it devoted most of its pages to photos illustrating the very “reformist” city of São Paulo.²³ Without even referring once to Getúlio Vargas, the magazine showed the city’s new parks and presented an optimistic, mobilized, orderly population that acclaimed the new governor in a business district filled with skyscrapers.

One month later, the magazine *O Cruzeiro* exclaimed in its headlines, “Political Agitation in São Paulo,” and the photographic coverage of the movement presented a selection of urban pictures similar to those shown in *A Cigarra*. On the first page, under the photographs, in smaller fonts, was an advertisement about the few available special magazine issues covering the “still” successful 1930 revolution. Thus, in the same pages, two revolutions expressed the beginning and the challenge to the same dictatorial regime.²⁴ This issue covered, with equal billing, the news about political turmoil and reports on the Improvement and Urban Works program in the federal capital.²⁵

In October 1932, the carioca magazine *Fon-Fon* published a special issue on the events following São Paulo’s retreat. It presented in its main pages photographs of Vargas and his generals Góes Monteiro and Waldomiro Lima, followed by those of paulista politicians and journalists arriving in the Rio railway station in compliance with the terms of defeat. Accordingly, those prominent paulista rebels had been “invited” to take a “special train” to Rio de Janeiro, where they were sent to jail: “Upon their arrival in Rio, the Brazilian Press Association president, Herbert Moses, awaited in solidarity for the journalists, and he greeted them before they were led to prison.”²⁶ None of these pictures depicted subjugated expressions. Rather, the magazine praised images that showed pride and majesty, with paulistas being interviewed at the station, and snapshots of the war, when paulista iron helmet volunteers impressively paraded in the central streets of downtown São

Paulo. Paulistas had not been fully defeated since, by the peace terms, the Vargas government “agreed to grant São Paulo greater independence in its own affairs, and promised to reconsider the coffee question. It even underwrote the expenses of the revolt by guaranteeing the 400 thousand *contos* of bonds which the government had issued . . . and summoned a constituent assembly.”²⁷

Another publication from the time led with the title *The Piratininga Quest: São Paulo in Arms for Brazil's Grandeur*, and nurtured images of successful campaigns. The magazine confirmed the expressed support of the population, and revered not only paulista heroes such as Commandant Bertoldo Klinger and Governor Pedro de Toledo, but also “the inestimable work” of diverse socioeconomic, professional, racial, and ethnic groups that, “with heroism, defended São Paulo.”²⁸ Middle-class employees and factory workers were motivated to join the battle because around two thousand commercial establishments and factories guaranteed full payment to their families.²⁹ Among the photographs taken of different social groups were those of teams of white officials, white soldiers, white women (nurses and seamstress), black soldiers and black women, Indian soldiers and Indian women, and groups of associations, such as those from the Italian colony that gathered donations for the war effort. These pictures never referred to hunger or blood—there were very few accounts about deaths in general, although several reported on particular deaths and what they represented for the conflict.

Three main forms characterized civil society activities related to the 1932 movement: rallies (civic commemorations, party gatherings); campaigns for donations; and assistance and propaganda commissions (groups, associations, and clubs). One of these efforts took the form of the remarkable Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo donation campaign. The Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo campaign, planned as one of the seventeen supportive departments organized by the São Paulo Commercial Association in August 1932, surpassed its creators' expectations, and “in less than 20 days more than 10,000 marriage rings were exchanged”³⁰ for another made of iron, on which was engraved, “I gave Gold for the Benefit of Sao Paulo.”³¹ Money poured in and many donations came from anonymous donors; some of it represented the generosity of humble people who gave everything they had. Those who could not volunteer for the battle front, including foreign residents and women, embraced the cause by contributing money and working as volunteers. Within a month, the campaign for gold received 87,120 wedding rings and other gold articles valued at nearly ten thousand *contos*.³² Part of this money was used during the conflict. After it ended, six thousand *contos* were distributed to the state's Santa Casa da Misericórdia charity hospitals. Each Santa Casa received an amount proportional to the contribution made by its city. In 1935, the Santa Casa da Misericórdia in São Paulo used its money to raise a building, the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo edifice, a symbol of honor built in the core of São Paulo's downtown. The location chosen, Mercy Square (*Largo da Misericórdia*), was in itself a traditional symbol of the capital city's past. The square had once housed the important colonial Mercy Church, which in the nineteenth century had equal status with the capital's cathedral

(*Igreja da Sé*). Who were those planning and building the new paulista urban symbols and rearranging the urban fabric? What had been their role in the 1932 movement?

Revolutionary Engineers

When the revolution broke out, a municipal act demanded that the School of Engineering (POLI) and its laboratories (LEM) engage in the production of war material. This effort united in the same production the school and the state army, the Força Pública do Estado de São Paulo. Both institutions, located in the same neighborhood, easily adapted to the new alliance. Photographs from the period portray this interaction, from those showing a battle tank (*blindado*) in front of the Força Pública headquarters to military personnel and engineers posing on the bomb production line.³³ The principal implication of this union was the beginning of a strong link between the technical engineering and the state military spheres. POLI furnished hundreds of engineers for the war effort. Another crucial aspect from the engineering contribution was the technical development their work brought to various needs of the state, such as bridges and communication. When the fighting was over, the state of São Paulo had benefited from thousands of miles of roads, trails, and telephone lines.

The last issue published in 1932 of the most important engineering journal, the *Revista Polytechnica*, expressed the important role engineers had and still maintained in São Paulo politics. Among other such stories, the journal referred to the exile of engineer Francisco Emygdio Fonseca Telles, the 1932 state secretary of works, who was deported by the dictatorial government. There were also reports on the imprisonment in Rio de Janeiro of engineer Oscar Machado de Almeida, one of the MMDC organization heads, and biographies of the twelve young engineers who died in the “heroic revolution.”³⁴

The journal was proof that this professional category had not lost its political strength and place in paulista politics. Most of those leaders who had held key positions in the state and municipal departments and had gone into exile either in Portugal or Argentina were simply replaced by counterparts who stayed behind. Following the end of the conflict, POLI engineer and DOP director Arthur Saboya³⁵ was nominated as São Paulo’s mayor, and major engineer Francisco Machado de Campos (1879–1957), who commanded the Campos do Jordão Inspection Commission of Technical Delegation (CIDT *Comissão Inspetora das Delegacias Técnicas*), was the state work department director in 1933.³⁶ Throughout the republican system, the position of mayor of the city of São Paulo had always been an appointed rather than an elected office, and the political position that most clearly represented regional loyalty.

In spite of the revolution, this last issue of the engineering journal also kept up the presentation of innovative articles on problems related to technical and theoretical issues, such as urban zoning and city growth (e.g., comments on the recent carioca capital urban improvement program). There were pieces written

by French urbanist Donat Agache, Constitutionalist colonel engineer Alexandre Albuquerque (responsible for the CIDT organization),³⁷ and São Paulo's Constitutionalist Vice mayor Luis Anhaia Mello.³⁸

The Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building

In the realm of politics, it was during the republic that engineers joined in and, in some areas in the public spheres, surpassed the influential role lawyers played during the empire.³⁹ After 1932, in São Paulo, engineers continued and enlarged their influence and prestige in the local power through their public and private professional and political activities. This section reflects how the 1932 revolution permeated these professionals' practices through an explicit example, the construction of the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building in 1935.

Open to public competition, two studies for the execution of the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building project were selected. The winning design was chosen by a committee of five representatives of influential paulista institutions: the Transport and Works State Secretary, the municipal DOP, the State School of Engineering (POLI/USP), the private School of Fine Arts, and the Engineering Institute.⁴⁰ The design selected was by the construction and architectural firm Escritório Técnico Ramos de Azevedo, Severo & Villares, the most important and best-known firm in the city.

Under Ricardo Severo and Arnaldo Dumont Villares, engineers and architects used new technology and a poignant sense of history to design one of the most striking new buildings in Brazil. The facade, taking the form of the state flag, memorialized the 1932 Revolution and the state's proud assertion of independence. The flag, the state's paramount symbol, had acquired official status through the conflict. The state flag, displayed during and after the 1932 revolution, had a Portuguese shield, in which the red stood for glory and blood, and the silver for constitutional government. Coffee branches represented the source of wealth, and the words "For Brazil great things are done" meant solidarity with the nation.⁴¹ Nonetheless, details from maps drawn during the period show that these words were not shown on the Portuguese shield during combat. Both the paulista flag and coat of arms were officially adopted at this time.⁴² Contemporary photographs show women carrying paulista flags to gather contributions for the Gold for São Paulo campaign.⁴³ State flags adorned every window and every building in the city as the 1932 civil war raged. Eyewitness modernist writer Oswald de Andrade described scenes where "windows waved with flags and walls with posters."⁴⁴

The flag, after all, exemplified the paulista identity and fused São Paulo with the ideal of nation. The building's flagstaff represented a collection of marriage rings and coins arranged in a spire (see Illustration 2.1). This tower was crowned by a helmet, the symbol of the paulista warrior. Anchored and supported by this tower stood the flag itself, undulating in concrete. Window sills on the building's twelve floors depicted the state flag's twelve black and white stripes. Not coincidentally, the civil war had lasted twelve weeks.⁴⁵ As Illustration 2.2 shows, the

lead architect's official description explained that the building represented "the synthesis and allegory of the heroic São Paulo people's love, wealth, and life"; it concluded by stating that the building "will be a mark that will, forever, symbolically represent an era, the most glorious historical moment accomplished by the people [of São Paulo] . . . a singular monument that will restore to the people part of their sacrifice in the form of medical assistance by the most noble, altruistic institution."⁴⁶

The building stood as a cause for collective pride, an expression of São Paulo's identity. The assertion that paulistas lost a battle but won the war—based on the fact that, despite São Paulo's armed defeat, Vargas agreed to convene a national constituent assembly and enacted a national constitution in 1934—assumed new contours here. The revolution's ideals became a paulista motto, and the same industrial engine that had not been able to convert effectively its energies into warfare was able to mold the citizenry's collective memory by means of a new visual language spread into the city. One of the maps depicted industry, a female word in Portuguese (*a indústria*), symbolizing the map of the state in the

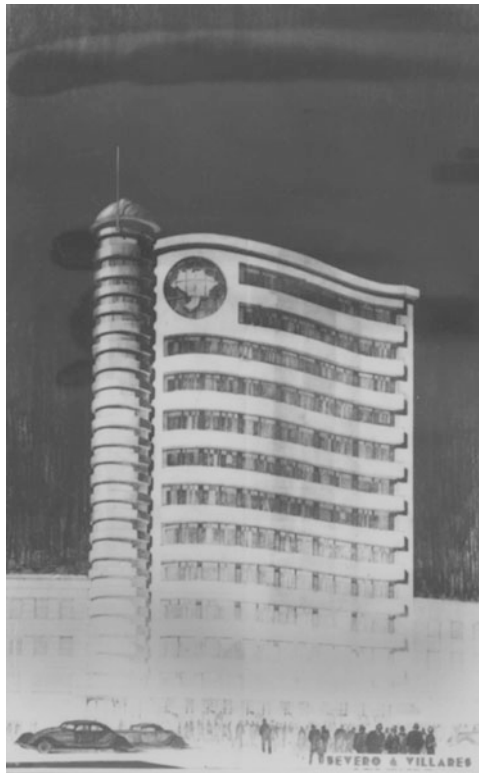


Illustration 2.1 The Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building⁴⁷

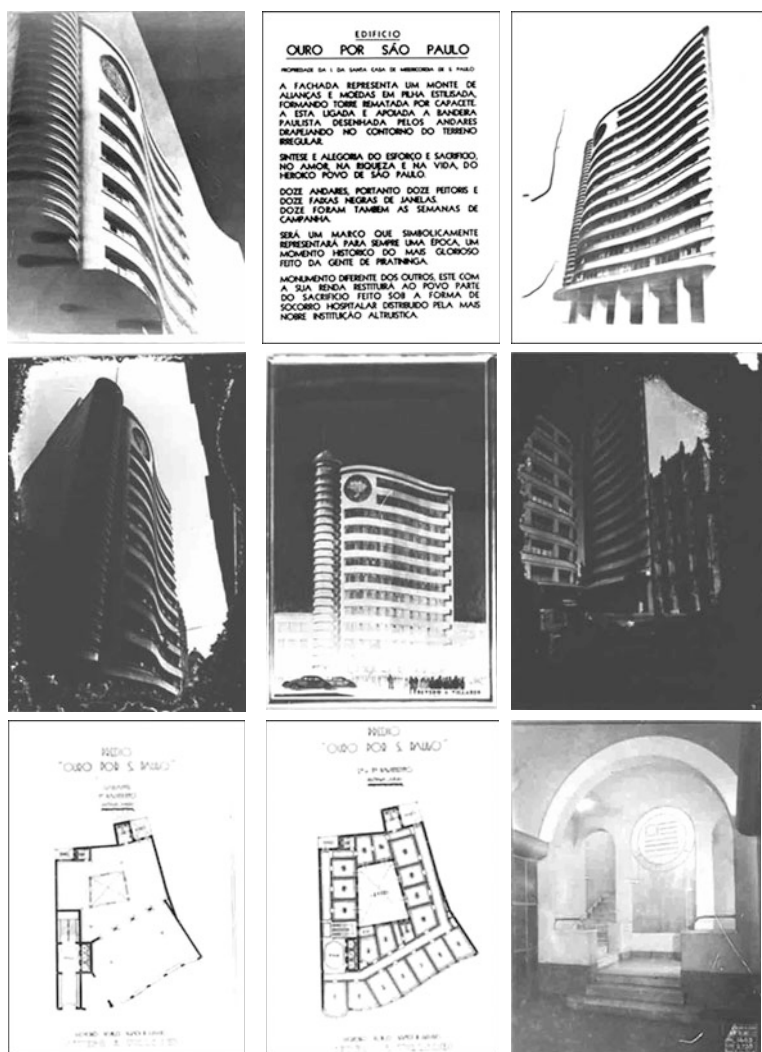


Illustration 2.2 The Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building

figure of a woman.⁴⁸ This political context permitted the construction of an architectonic symbolic language and the tenets of the urban practice during the decade.

Writings about the 1932 movement emphasized how the cause's noble constitutional ideal overshadowed the combat's brutality and triumphed over the dictatorial gains in the battlefield. Though differently manipulated—ranging from its use as a patriotic tool for gathering people for combat to a regionalist tool in the

struggle for state autonomy and identity—the constitutional ideal was the unifying factor that glued the whole population together.

In an interesting sociocultural phenomenon, the conflict has always been more acclaimed and remembered by the losers than the winners. Though “more than three decades passed by, [people] still ask why São Paulo did not win the movement.”⁴⁹ In this process, the search for accountability or “blame for the loss” receded (it was alternately directed toward the Força Pública high command, various politicians, or to sabotage and treason). On the Legalist side, Clóvis Gonçalves attributed the conflict to the Paulista Republican Party, “the agitators (*agitadores de proclamações*), meeting creators,” and to the paulista newspapers.⁵⁰ Vargas credited the revolution to “an attempt of antiquated groups with oligarchic mentality to assume their former position of domination.”⁵¹ At the same time, the recognition for the brave fighter who lacked equipment, training, and a single powerful command soared. The “fighter” was the paulista majority as represented by civil volunteers who resisted a professional army performing a brutal military intervention. This process turned the civil conflict into a war between citizens and soldiers, which rendered the paulistas sympathy, civic pride, and support from people all over the country.

By pondering 1932 visions and their residues almost eighty years later, one may conclude that the movement has remained a powerful memory through its unique legacy of having both mobilized the population under a common moral and civic ideal and having kept alive the myth of São Paulo’s role in the Brazilian federation.⁵² It is remarkable that the Ninth of July became the most notable paulista event, remembered on its anniversary at key moments during the past six decades and reinstated as a state holiday in 1997.

The next section explores how the city capital municipal administration was part and parcel of this contradictory and ambiguous period of Brazilian history.

Local Power in São Paulo, 1930–1934

The period between 1930 and 1934 saw generalized political turmoil with at least twenty-five different executive chiefs (interventors and governors) alternating in the government of São Paulo (see Table 2.1). As opposed to this apparent general economic and sociopolitical instability, those years saw a relatively stable municipal administration in São Paulo, ruled by engineer-architect Luiz Ignácio Anhaia Mello. Mello handled many different positions: he was mayor, but for a time he also acted as state secretary of Transport and Public Works (from November 1931 to March 1932). It is fair to say that from 1930 to 1933, Mello governed uninterruptedly as either mayor or vice mayor. He had the support of a powerful DOP, which in the previous thirty years had become a key institution in the administrative apparatus. The presence of municipal engineer Arthur Saboya as mayor right after the 1932 revolution (with Mello as vice mayor) was symptomatic of the DOP’s strength, as the municipal department was a bulwark and stronghold of the 1932 ideals. Table 2.1 also indicates that the eleven-year period between 1934 and 1945 witnessed uninterrupted municipal administrations, including

Table 2.1 São Paulo Capital and State Executive, 1930–1945

Year	Mayor	State Executive
1930	Joaquim José Cardoso de Mello Neto, lawyer (Oct./Dec.)	Military governor Gen. Hastifilo de Moura (Oct.) Provisional Government Chief José Maria Withaker (Oct./Nov.) Provisional Government Chief Plínio Barreto (Nov.)
1931	Luis Ignácio Romeiro Anhaia Mello, engineer (Jan./July) Francisco Machado de Campos, engineer (Aug./Oct.); Vice mayor: L.I.R. Anhaia Mello (Aug./Oct.) Luis Ignácio Romeiro Anhaia Mello, engineer (Nov./Dec.)	Federal Interventor Captain João Alberto Lins de Barros (Nov./July) Federal Interventor Minister Laudo Ferreira de Camargo (Aug./Nov.) Federal Interventor Colonel Manoel Rabelo (Dec./Mar. 32)
1932	Henrique Jorge Guedes, engineer (Jan./May); Vice mayor: L.I. R. Anhaia Mello, engineer Jan./Sep. 34); Goffredo Teixeira da Silva Telles, lawyer (May/Oct.) Arthur Saboya, engineer (Oct./Dec.)	Federal Interventor Pedro de Toledo (Mar./Sept.) Interim Federal Interventor José da Silva Gordo (Apr./May) Acclaimed Governor Ambassador Pedro de Toledo (Sept./Oct.) Military Delegate Col Herculano de Carvalho e Silva (Oct.) Military Governor Gen Waldomiro Castilho de Lima (Oct./Jan. 33)
1933	Theodoro Augusto Ramos, engineer (Jan./Apr.) Arthur Saboya, engineer (Apr./May) Oswaldo Gomes da Costa, military architect (May/July) Carlos dos Santos Gomes, military engineer (July/Aug.) Antonio Carlos de Assumpção, lawyer (Aug./Sep. 34)	Military Interventor Gen Waldomiro Castilho de Lima (Feb./July) Federal Interventor Gen. Manoel de Cerqueira Daltro Filho (July/Aug.) Federal Interventor Armando de Salles Oliveira (Aug./Apr. 35) Interim Federal Interventor Marcio Pereira Munhoz (Sep./Oct. 34)

1934 to 1938	Fábio da Silva Prado, engineer (Sep./Apr. 38); Vice mayor: Paulo Barbosa de Campos Filho	Elected Governor Armando Salles de Oliveira (Apr. 35/Dec. 36) Interim Constitutional Governor Henrique Smith Bayma (Dec. 36/Jan. 37) Governor José Joaquim Cardoso de Mello Netto (Jan./Nov. 37) Federal Interventor José Joaquim Cardoso de Mello Neto (Nov. 37/Apr. 38) Federal Interventor Gen Francisco José da Silva Junior (Apr. 38) Federal Interventor Adhemar Pereira de Barros (Apr. 38/June 41) Interim Federal Interventor José de Moura Rezende (Nov. 39) Federal Interventor Fernando de Souza Costa (June 41 to Oct. 45) Substitute Federal Interventor Federal Substitute Sebastião Nogueira de Lima (Oct./Nov. 45)
1938 to 1945	Francisco Prestes Maia, engineer (May/Nov. 45); Vice mayor: João Florence de Ulhoa Cintra, engineer	

Sources: Isabel Maria Alves Mezzalana and Luis Antonio Francisco de Souza. *Relação dos Oficiais da Câmara de São Paulo, dos Conselhos de Intendentes Municipais e Prefeitos da Cidade de São Paulo (1555–1997)*. Pesquisa nas Atas da Câmara do Estado de São Paulo de Circulação interna do Arquivo Histórico Municipal Washington Luís, 1998; Rebeca Scherer, “Decentralização e planejamento urbano no município de São Paulo” (Ph.D. Diss., FAU/USP, 1987); and Eduardo Hoehne, “Cronologia dos presidentes, governadores e interventores de São Paulo: 1822–1939,” *Separata Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (1934).

the singular, complementary, and yet paradoxical administrations of Fábio Prado (1934–1938) and Francisco Prestes Maia (1939–1945). The position of mayor increased in power and influence, and, as Table 2.1 shows, came to be a place in politics for engineers.⁵³ On the other hand, in relation to the previous period, the powerful old-Republic state presidents' sovereignty was weakened almost to elimination after 1937. This position assumed a key role in the Vargas's struggle against regionalism. Though still influential, it was not autonomous, and the position of governor became a nominated post under the Estado Novo interventors.

In a crucial moment in 1933, in order to achieve political stability, Getúlio Vargas nominated Armando de Salles Oliveira interventor of São Paulo state in a political maneuver that Vargas depicted in his diaries as giving power to one of his enemies. On August 23, 1933, Vargas wrote: "I am giving São Paulo to those who made a revolution against me. There cannot be a bigger expression of political opening. Am I putting arms in my enemies' hands, allowing them to turn back against me? What are they going to do in the Constituent Assembly?"⁵⁴ Salles Oliveira first nominated lawyer Antonio Carlos de Assumpção as mayor (August 1933 to September 1934), then he moved him to the São Paulo state bank (BANESPA) presidency in 1934, and designated engineer Fábio da Silva Prado, an active supporter of the 1932 revolution, to rule over the municipality in a period that became known as the liberal democratic years (September 1934 to April 1938).

In 1934, São Paulo was a city in size on the order of Rosário in Argentina or Minneapolis in the United States, and striving in a country whose largely agro-export character posed an obstacle to industrial development. Economically, Latin America was considered as developed as central Europe and seen as endowed with ample natural and human resources, skilled and entrepreneurial immigrants, and substantial foreign capital. The Brazilian economy was fundamentally agricultural. The output of the principal activities (coffee growing in the center-south, sugar cultivation in the northeast, and rubber extraction in the north) represented an average of 80 percent of total exports. The growth of the Brazilian economy was basically a function of the expansion of foreign trade. Although there was a rapid growth of industrial production in the thirties, this was counterbalanced by the continued coffee crisis and the stagnation of agricultural output, resulting in the stagnation of real income.⁵⁵ Economically, compared to other big cities' municipal budgets at the end of the 1930s, São Paulo collected Cr\$181 million (1943), while Buenos Aires took in Cr\$585 million (1941), Rio de Janeiro took in Cr\$800 million (1940), and New York took in Cr\$12 billion (1940).⁵⁶

Culturally, São Paulo had turned to European and U.S. models. Accordingly, São Paulo and Brazil were so turned to the outside (European and U.S. models) that when selecting foreign professors for USP, in the early 1930s they turned to Europe and did not even contemplate the idea of contracting professors from Latin American countries like Mexico or Peru, which traditionally had strong academic faculties.⁵⁷

In 1934, the municipal power was marked by a peculiar social composition that combined different social sectors. Municipal autonomy set the tone for political changes through acts and laws that oversaw the rapid formation of representative

professional associations and societies. Most of these associations were municipal initiatives, such as the Municipal Engineer Society (Sociedade dos Engenheiros Municipais, or SEM, linked to the DOP) and the Ethnography and Folklore Society (linked to the Culture Department, or DC). These societies' links to public administrative departments and universities emphasized an intrinsic dynamic in São Paulo's scientific production, which was at the service of the city and the state. Though the members' professional interests technically bounded these societies' responsibilities, their practices went far beyond these parameters. These legally constituted middle-class professional associations planned and carried out many important public social projects.

The political system had liberal inclinations, but sought a kind of market socialism, which tried to combine central planning with market institutions along center-left lines. It was leftist because it was supported by intellectuals such as Paulo Duarte and the DC group, who backed a socialist-oriented policy and whose political history was mostly linked to the Democratic Party. It was center because it was backed by industrialists, who mostly represented the Paulista Republican Party, and that, at this moment, recognized the necessity of working through alliances. Most paulista intellectuals in 1934 believed that any political arrangement with Vargas was out of the question. They referred to Vargas as a dictator even after 1934, when he was an indirectly elected constitutional president. In Paulo Duarte's words: "a 1932 exile could not accept anything from a dictator, even if he had become an ex-dictator."⁵⁸ On the other hand, paulista industrialists believed the time to negotiate had come. During and right after the enactment of the 1934 constitution, negotiations reflected a general feeling that business had to resume, things had to be kept going. In this context, federal centralization influenced, but was also influenced by local administrative responses.

Municipal power in the city of São Paulo performed a vital role in shaping the sociopolitical outcomes of the period, since the social corporatist state that was being contrived on the federal level found its foundational echo in municipal responses. In this period, Mayor Fábio Prado's political practices mixed old patronage recipes to a modern rhetoric in a quasi anticipation of the populist style that was to characterize the Estado Novo. Prado's political enemies deemed his practices "romantic" and referred to him as "the Count and his body of aristocratic secretaries."⁵⁹ The term count was used because Fábio Prado was married to Renata Crespi, daughter of the rich Italian immigrant industrialist Count Crespi. The recruited "aristocratic" collaborators came from the vanguard intellectual elite and included Paulo Duarte, Mário de Andrade, and Sérgio Milliet, among many others. This intellectual elite had strong affinities with the 1932 ideals and the *O Estado de São Paulo* group that created the University of São Paulo (USP) in 1934 and brought a French mission of leading scholars to teach in the city. Prado became best known for his creation of the Culture Department (DC) in 1935.⁶⁰

The mayor was also acknowledged for the comprehensive administrative reform concluded in 1936, which made it possible for his successors to enjoy a vast field of action. The 1936 administrative reform organized a series of departments under strict municipal control and put into place a technical ideology of apparent neutrality.⁶¹ But, most of all, Prado's administration played a decisive role in

Sao Paulo's urban development. Prado initiated the "Avenue Plan," developed by DOP municipal engineer João Cintra and state engineer Francisco Prestes Maia in 1930, which linked downtown to other neighborhoods in the city. He developed policies related to districting neighborhoods and the opening of streets. He brought about urban laws such as the Improvement Tax and other municipal acts involving low-income housing as well as residential impositions for garden-city neighborhoods. Among other important urban initiatives were the Ninth of July (*Nove de Julho*) Tunnel, the new Tea Viaduct (*Viaduto do Chá*), and the construction of municipal facilities such as a new library, a municipal stadium (Pacaembu), and a hospital.

The following section highlights and puts into context the mayor's populist discourse as shown in a series of interviews that *O Estado de São Paulo* conducted with Fábio Prado during the first months of 1936. Though the journalist's name is never revealed, the newspaper's overt intention was to cast an industrious image of the executive's municipal daily routine and to praise Prado's administration urban achievements. The journalist's questions and commentaries were intended to express the ordinary citizen's concerns and perceptions about the municipal apparatus and urban initiatives. These perceptions help us frame our understanding about prevailing social dynamics and the municipal professional network.

Fábio da Silva Prado's Administration, 1934–1938

The 1936 interviews mainly stressed four topics. First, they depicted the ongoing financial and bureaucratic municipal reform; then they discussed the anticipated employee's health care and working-class housing social plans and the Culture Department's children's park educational and cultural program, and finally, explained the outreach DOP Public Works Improvement Program.

The first topic, dealing with DOP reorganization and the creation of the Culture Department, emphasized the importance administrative reform had in optimizing municipal autonomy. Prado's criticism of Vargas's political centralization was clear in his assertion that "in these days, the municipality was the only executive power that still maintained its legislative function."⁶²

The second topic stressed social welfare as a tool to serve and boost the interests of a middle class in expansion. Trying to appease his political contenders, Prado reaffirmed that this plan did not seek to promote wealth distribution, and the mayor was careful to never refer to a general paulista working class. Instead, the policies' target was the working-class municipal employee. On this subject, Prado commented that the "notion that the social question in Brazil is a police case rests far behind our current times. For us—as my administration sees it—the social question has received the most administrative attention and care."⁶³

Prado anchored his assertion in recent municipal initiatives that brought stability and security to the municipal employees through health care and public housing policies.⁶⁴ According to Prado, the municipal hospital being built on a high and sanitary location ten minutes from downtown would render dental,

pharmacy, medical, home, and hospital assistance to *municipal employees* (my emphasis) and workers under a one percent contribution. Prado explained that an "average worker, who makes 300 *mil-réis* (300\$000) monthly, would pay a monthly health fee of three *mil-réis* (3\$000)," deducted from his paycheck. This payment would cover all costs and would allow him not to become concerned about getting sick.⁶⁵

On the housing issue, Prado explained that Article 118 bestowed the municipality with the right and duty of building low-income housing and of expropriating those places that did not provide minimal conditions of hygiene. Because this article referred to the many expropriations in the downtown area, which forced working-class poor people to the suburban areas, Prado countered by saying that "the municipality is studying a plan of building a block of inexpensive family units in a working-class neighborhood. It will be a vast condo (*grande vila*) with modern facilities, where air and light completely enter and all sanitary tenets are fulfilled. All that for a maximum rent of 100 *mil-réis* (100\$000)."⁶⁶

It is interesting that the mayor depicted as the ideal urban form for public housing a solution that resembled that of the Cia City neighborhoods (discussed in greater detail in the following sections and chapters 3, 4, and 5). On the other hand, as opposed to Cia City's financial solution (the mortgage model), municipal studies based the best economic solution on social rent—a rent that would represent one-third of an average worker's salary. The crucial implication was that the municipality believed rent, not ownership, was the answer to the housing shortage for ordinary people in the 1930s, a major "social question."⁶⁷

Prado did not develop the theme in this interview, and one wonders if municipal officials had ever considered public rent as it was then being implemented in France through its low-income housing policies known as HBM, *habitation à bon marché*.⁶⁸ The fact is that ownership was never an option contemplated in this interview. Rather, a populist Prado extended the rental housing idea also to justify the new municipal Tax on Selling Prices of Land (*Imposto Territorial Urbano*) law, which released from tax payment any owner who lived in a house whose estimated rental was less than one *conto* and 800 *mil-réis* (1:800\$000) annually. The 150 *mil-réis* (150\$000) monthly rental unit represented and set the model of what was a poor home (*a casa do pobre*) built under suffering and with the daily saved dime.⁶⁹ It is noteworthy that the working-class housing market was above this cost. According to the *O Estado de São Paulo*'s classified section, a low-income house (*sobradinho*) with two bedrooms, living room, bathroom, and kitchen in a working-class neighborhood cost 200 *mil-réis* a month.

Another strong contemporary perception related apartments to transitional living places. In the 1930s there were not many middle-class residential apartments built in the city. People mostly rented "family" homes, which were houses. Usually, apartments were seen as college student residences (*repúblicas*), love-affair venues (*garçonnières*), or transitory locales for visiting foreigners and for couples without children. People did not consider apartments a "family" home in the 1930s. This idea is well expressed in a telling dialogue between the journalist and Prado, when the former tried to restrain the mayor from praising one more achievement, his unique domestic service policy.⁷⁰ The mayor asked if the journalist lived with his

family, and the journalist replied: "No. I live in an apartment." Prado went on and asked about the maid who cleaned his apartment. The journalist replied: "No, the building janitor's (*zelador*) wife handles everything."⁷¹

Considering the journalist a likely middle-class representative, one sees that his answers also reflected a strongly gendered perception that the janitor's wife's work was not even "legitimized" as that of a maid. Meaning even less than a feminine informal job, her work was considered an extension of her husband's occupation.

The third topic in the interview expanded on the Culture Department's (DC) educational and cultural programs, with an emphasis on its children's park program, acknowledged at the time as the Prado administration's great achievement. This topic illuminated some contemporary perceptions of patronage. First, Prado proudly explained that the DC staff selection process was conducted in confidence (*em segredo*).⁷² The DC's origin was closely linked to the work of intellectuals Fernando de Azevedo (educator), André Dreyfus (biologist), Plínio Barreto (lawyer), Júlio de Mesquita Filho (*O Estado de São Paulo* chief), Mário de Andrade, and Sérgio Milliet.⁷³ As opposed to past practices, Prado proudly stated that "among DC employees there were not the names of political godchildren (*afilhados políticos*). From the highest positions to the fourth bookkeeper, all employees passed through a strict meritocratic review (*exame acurado*)."⁷⁴

By strict review, Prado meant that to be hired, any park program instructor had to present two diplomas—one from the Escola Normal (*ginásio*, a blend of middle and high school) and another from *any* (my italics) university. Nonetheless, the law creating the DC specifically required a diploma from the School of Philosophy, Sciences, and Arts (FFCL/USP). The diploma was required from anyone applying to work in any of its public divisions. In view of Prado's concern with political godchildren in municipal hiring practices, it is ironic that the children's park program students became known as "municipal godchildren" (*afilhados da prefeitura*). Though the program intended to reach increasing numbers of working-class children, it served a very small percentage of poor paulista children. The program provided instruction, material support, and a "rich" snack (milk, ham, and boloney).⁷⁵ The children wore a red and white uniform that cost two *mil-réis* (2\$000)—the price of 1.5 kilos of sugar. The "municipal godchildren" were also known as barefoot kids, who were to benefit from other cultural initiatives such as price reductions for the luxurious Municipal Theater.⁷⁶

The last part of the interview, on the Public Works Improvement Program, is a description of the city under construction. The mayor confirmed the enlargement of Itororó Avenue. Cia City donated land for the construction of this avenue, which was later renamed Ninth of July Avenue (*Avenida Nove de Julho*), a fundamental piece in the urban improvement program of the period. In his last interview, Prado took the journalist on a tour to the most important public works under way. As Prado led the journalist to the car, he uttered, "[F]rom the cabinet and official gazette theory to the practice in the streets, where we enforce the laws,"⁷⁷ and they headed to the southwestern region of the city. It was in this region where Cia City developed its districts and where the municipality

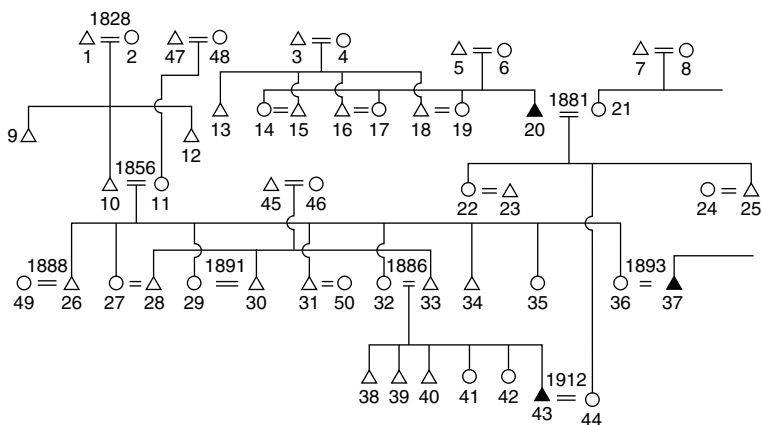
planned civic buildings, as well the opening, enlarging, and paving of several model streets.

The next section explores how Prado's initiatives and Cia City's urban transformations were undertaken hand in hand. This period coincides with the ten-year period that Arnaldo Dumont Villares participated in the company's local board (1927–37).

Arnaldo Dumont Villares (ADV)

Arnaldo Dumont Villares (ADV) was born on September 20, 1888, on a Ribeirão Preto coffee farm in an only recently slavery-free empire.⁷⁸ The estate belonged to his grandfather Henrique Dumont, who was then São Paulo state's best-known coffee producer, and who was later named the "king of coffee."⁷⁹ In 1890, Henrique Dumont, diagnosed with hemiplegia, sought treatment in France. He left with his daughter Virgínia (1866–1941) and her husband, Guilherme de Andrade Villares (1853–1930). In 1886, Henrique, who was himself an engineer by profession, allowed his daughter to wed Guilherme, a Portuguese engineer who had graduated in Syracuse, New York. As shown in Chart 2.1, ADV was the second of their six children, all born between 1887 and 1897. Despite his successful coffee planting activity and perhaps because of his recently diagnosed disease, Henrique Dumont sold his coffee estate in 1891 and several other urban properties in the following year.⁸⁰ The estate deal brought huge profits as it was sold to the Companhia Melhoramentos do Brasil for twelve thousand *contos* (12,000:000\$000),⁸¹ and three years later, that buyer sold it in London to a group of English capitalists for £1,200,000 (about twenty-eight thousand *contos* 28,500:000\$000).⁸² The estate deal reveals an interconnected activity involving a structured network of national and foreigner players.

ADV studied in the city of São Paulo in the Prudente de Morais School, before going to Kelly College in Tavistock, Devon, England. In 1908, he graduated in civil and electrical engineering at the prestigious London Crystal Palace Engineering School (see Illustration 2.3). Still in Europe, he worked for Siemens & Schuckert in Germany. Back in Brazil, ADV resumed his work in Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo's engineering firm, whose main partner was his Portuguese uncle, Ricardo Severo. In 1912, ADV married Azevedo's daughter, Laura, and they had three children (see Illustration 2.4).⁸³ In the early 1910s, ADV became president and partner of the engineering firm. The firm was responsible for most public works and had very strong political links with the Municipal Works Department (1900–1945) in a partnership that predated ADV and which is interconnected to the creation of the city's urban public apparatus.⁸⁴ Before focusing on ADV's work, the summary below delineates three distinct phases in the firm's production: first under Azevedo's leadership (1896–1928), then under Severo and ADV (1928–1940), and finally under ADV (1940–1965).⁸⁵



1. François Honoré Dumont, 1842 (Parisien jeweler)
2. Euphasie François Dumont
3. Unknown white Portuguese
4. Former slave Maria Zelinda
5. Major João Martins de Azevedo
6. Ana Carolina Ramos
7. Eulálio Lacaze
8. Rosa L.F. de Menezes
9. Felix Dumont, 1829–1910
10. Henrique Dumont, 1832–1893
11. Francisca de Paula Santos, 1835–1902 (daughter of a comendador)
12. Alexandre Dumont, 1834
13. General Glicério
14. Elsa Ramos de Azevedo
15. Jorge Miranda
16. Antonio Benedito
17. Maria Ramos de Azevedo
18. Coronel Cerqueira Eloy
19. Olympia Ramos de Azevedo
20. Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo, 1851–1928
21. Eugenia Lacaze
22. Lucia Lacaze Ramos de Azevedo
23. Ernesto Dias de Castro
24. Zuleika Ramos de Azevedo
25. Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo Filho
26. Henrique Santos Dumont, 1857
27. Maria Rosalina Santos Dumont Villares, 1860
28. Eduardo de Andrade Villares, 1852–1922
29. Gabriela Santos Dumont Villares, 1871
30. Carlos Villares, 1865–1911
31. Luis dos Santos Dumont, 1869
32. Virginia Santos Dumont Villares, 1866–1941
33. Guilherme Villares, 1853–1930
34. Alberto Santos Dumont, 1873–1932
35. Sophia Santos Dumont, 1875–1892
36. Francisca Santos Dumont Severo, 1877–1930
37. Ricardo Severo da Fonseca Costa, 1869–1940
38. Guilherme Dumont Villares, 1887
39. Jorge Dumont Villares, 1890
40. Henrique Dumont Villares, 1892
41. Flavia Dumont Villares, 1894
42. Margarida Dumont Villares, 1897
43. Arnaldo Dumont Villares, 1888–1965
44. Laura Lacaze Ramos de Azevedo Villares, 1884–
45. Antonio J. A. Villares, 1803–1888
46. Margarida Amalia Pereira Villares
47. Francisco de Paula Santos
48. Rosalina F. Oliveira Catapreta
49. Amália Ferreira, 1871
50. Adalgisa T. Uchôa, 1881–1936

Chart 2.1 Azevedo, Severo, and Villares Genealogical Tree

Source: Arnaldo Dumont Villares, “As origens da família Santos-Dumont/Villares no Brasil” (mimeo, 1964).

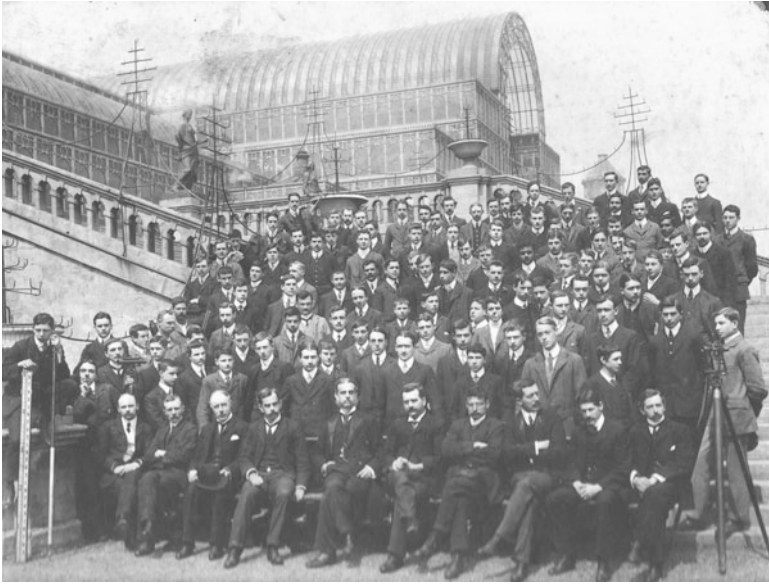


Illustration 2.3 ADV Graduation Chrystal Palace, 1905⁸⁶

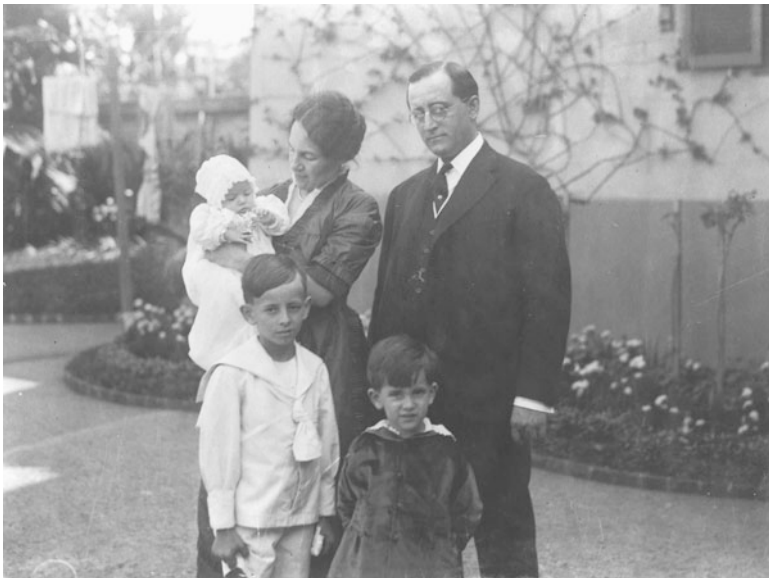


Illustration 2.4 ADV and Family, 1920

The firm was opened on September 19, 1886, when Azevedo worked for the União Bank Estate Division. Ten years later, in 1896, the firm had its own building, located downtown. Over the following ten-year period, Azevedo had different collaborators according to the specificity of each project. It was during the construction of the Municipal Theater in downtown São Paulo (1907–1911) that the firm was finally reorganized and structured as the Escritório Técnico F.P. Ramos de Azevedo. Ricardo Severo, who had already worked with Azevedo (1893–95), became his partner. In 1911, the firm, also known as Ramos de Azevedo & Cia., received new partners: ADV (an employee since 1909) and Domizziano Rossi (a collaborator since 1907). In 1922, a new reinforced-concrete structure housed the firm.

When the powerful architect Ramos de Azevedo died in 1928, one year before the crash of the stock market in New York, ADV became one of the firm's owners, sharing this position with Severo, Azevedo's longtime partner and ADV's uncle. This transition reflected a smooth continuity within the Brazilian upper classes based on clientage and family organization (*parentela*) enforcing a social corporatist network of reliable professional and business people.⁸⁷ A good metaphor of this transition was in the way they changed the firm's name: to the original Escritório Técnico F.P. Ramos de Azevedo, was added beneath, in large letters, Severo & Villares. They preserved not only its patriarch's name, but foremost its functional structure and its successful path. Throughout the 1930s, the company not only continued to be the largest in the city of São Paulo, but it also opened new branches and extended its influence to other important Brazilian cities, such as Rio de Janeiro and Santos. In 1932, the firm moved to a twenty-two-floor tower, and in 1938, it became a joint-stock company (*sociedade por quotas*). The new partners were engineers Antonio Severo,⁸⁸ Alfredo Dumont Villares,⁸⁹ and Eurico Bastos Guimarães.⁹⁰ The firm employed sixty professionals (civil engineers and architects), twenty-five accountants and registry assistants, and a vast army of foremen, overseers, and tradesmen, in addition to its faithful network of subsidiary companies.⁹¹

After Severo's death in 1940, the firm Severo, Villares & Cia. Escritório Técnico Ramos de Azevedo was led by ADV and partners Antonio Severo, Eurico Bastos Guimarães, José Severo, Affonso Iervolino, Roberto Baptista Pereira de Almeida, Carlos Alberto del Castillo, and João Osório de Oliveira Germano. Illustrations 2.5, 2.6, and 2.7 depict the firm's employees, its sixtieth-anniversary 3,000-work poster, and a card with the employees' signatures. In 1946, the firm moved to a new building, the Azevedo Villares Building on Do Tesouro Street. From 1965 on, under engineer Roberto Pereira de Almeida's leadership, older employees headed the firm. In 1991, the firm Severo Villares S.A. became part of the Partsil holding.

What was ADV's role during these different phases? What part did he and his firm play in the city's urban development during the 1930s? In relation to its production, ADV and Severo maintained the Escritório's tradition of building banks, hospitals, and elite residences, but they also adapted well to the new era of the 1930s. The firm balanced tradition with readiness to adjust to new urban demands and introduced in the city the most recent architectural styles and new technological structures in office buildings (e.g., the wavy façade of the Gold for



Illustration 2.5 Escritório's Architects and Technicians

the Benefit of São Paulo Building), monumental public works (e.g., the municipal market and stadium), monuments, gas stations, and factories.

During its first phase, the firm built houses for the influential paulista upper class (planters, industrialists, and affluent people): there were magnificent *palacetes* (upper-class homes) and rental houses (middle-class homes), a form of investment. The second phase was a transitional moment. The 1930s saw an explosion in the construction of office buildings in downtown São Paulo. Office-building units and floors were rented either to middle-class professionals (e.g., law and engineering firms) or foreign and government agencies. São Paulo's first skyscrapers, a downtown office building at Líbero Badaró Street, was built in the 1920s. Nonetheless, the great majority of office buildings were built between 1930 and 1950. Following a 1934 law, they were ten-floor buildings in average. In 1935, the government requested a study from the Rational Organization of Labor Institute (IDORT) related to government buildings' administrative reorganization. Built under an eclectic style, downtown buildings adapted to a Taylorist model aiming to display an "intelligent" building (*edifícios inteligentes*). In 1936, Mayor Prado's family contracted ADV's firm to build its Rodolfo Crespi Building. Though ADV's firm still maintained its most significant upper-class housing production (*palacetes*) in the almost saturated traditional neighborhoods of Higienópolis and Santa Cecília, this production suffered a significant decrease. After the 1930s, housing (in houses and not apartments) the new elite and the upper-middle class in São Paulo became the responsibility of land companies such as Cia City.



Illustration 2.6 The Firm's Sixtieth Anniversary 3,000-Work Poster, 1946

This was another factor in the successful partnership between the Escritório and Cia City in managing the competition in the housing market. On the one hand, the land company allowed its clients to have the “architect of his/her choice.” The company justified this option as a way of socially upgrading the neighborhood (*elitização do bairro*). It was a fact that well-known architects and innovative projects turned the company’s condominiums into a place for model houses, and Cia City *palacetes* became synonymous with the company’s high standard of quality (*padrão de qualidade*). On the other hand, to enforce such quality, the company required that any house to be built receive the approval of ADV’s engineers. This policy publicly acknowledged ADV’s firm as one of the most distinct construction firms of the state. Accordingly, ADV’s firm had the power of embargo on any building that did not comply with Cia City models.⁹² This partnership between the engineering firm and Cia City was firmly anchored in the role of ADV.

ADV was a powerful manager as the head of his engineering firm and one of Cia City’s local board directors (1922–1937), but he was also a core player in many other positions in the construction sector: from president of a concrete factory, the



Illustration 2.7 Employees' Card to Dr. ADV, 1946

Cia Brasileira Concreto Centrifugado Hume (since 1930) to high positions in real estate companies (vice president of the Jaguaré Estate Co. in 1938 and president of the Cia Iniciadora Predial in 1940). He also held influential roles as director of the Municipal Theater (1911–1936) and vice president and director of the School of Arts and Crafts (1940–1944). He was also an influential member of the São Paulo Engineering Institute, Anglo-Brazilian Culture Society (Sociedade Cultura Anglo-Brasileira), Automóvel Clube, Jockey Club, Club Commercial, and Golf Club.

All those professional responsibilities, intertwined with private and public interests, required of him a perfect orchestration as all the companies he represented demanded different yet complementary practices from him: As Cia City local manager, ADV participated in all meetings and decisions the company was involved, from political bids to the planning and construction of upper-class condominiums. He also acted as consulting engineer, architect, urban planner, and entrepreneur.⁹³ ADV inspected available low-cost land for the company to buy, and also advised on the company's internal policies. For instance, in March 1933, together with Cia City chief engineer George Dodd and Gama de Oliveira, ADV inspected lands in Santo

Amaro, and in July 1935, ADV bought approximately four million square meters of land along the Pinheiros River. For this land, close to the Cia City's Butantan area, ADV paid 300 *mil-réis* for each square meter (\$300 per square meter), i.e., less than one penny for each square meter.⁹⁴ Note 114 suggests a calculated plan behind this purchase's low price and confirms ADV's and Cia City's confidence in their political power over public/government negotiations.⁹⁵ In July 1934, ADV proposed that Cia City introduced welfare policies, such as worker's compensation and health coverage, because he had already successfully implemented these policies in "his" *Escritório*.⁹⁶ In 1936, ADV sponsored Cia City's successful first auto race in São Paulo, in Jardim América. ADV loved speed. He was the nephew of both the man who introduced the first car to the streets of São Paulo, Henrique Santos Dumont, and the famous pioneer aviator Alberto Santos Dumont. In 1921, Ricardo Severo's speech on Azevedo's seventieth birthday alluded to ADV's passion.⁹⁷ Later, in 1946, a caricature made of him by his employees stated: "Dr. ADV. He is Santos Dumont's relative / Nobody is wrong in the least / To affirm that he flies / right here... on the land" (see Illustration 2.8).



Illustration 2.8 Detail: Dr. ADV's Caricature

ADV's firm advised and supervised all designs and renovations planned for the upper-class residences in the Cia City's condominiums. For example, in August 1933, ADV evaluated Cia City construction work, design, and specifications at Ceará Street, in Pacaembu. After the visit, ADV entrusted the execution of the work to engineers Fernando and Jacob Carazza Ltd.⁹⁸ ADV's actions here as well as in other instances were based on a faithful network of small firms, formed by middle-class professionals, which gravitated around his engineering firm for jobs and recognition. In another sphere, his firm, along with this network of subsidiary firms, was a partner of Cia City and its own network of subsidiary companies, and both gravitated around the municipality for the acquisition of great public works and for favorable urban laws for their investments. These patronage schemes, mingled with specific situations in different contexts, were repeated at all social levels and set the tone for the decade.

Throughout its existence, the firm's production maintained and expanded its position as the favorite choice for official public works, from its important works in São Paulo city (1896–1940) to its important works in the state and in the federal capital of Rio de Janeiro (1940–46). In fact, during the Estado Novo and after the municipal Pacaembu Stadium inauguration (1940), the firm expanded its partnership beyond the state to the federal level. The *Escritório's carioca* branch built reservoirs and EBA *usinas* hydroelectric water cisterns (1941), public and private association headquarters (e.g., the Institute of Old Age and Industrial Pensions, Instituto de Aposentadorias e Pensões dos Industriários/IAPI; headquarters at Avenida Rio Branco, the Rio de Janeiro Engineering Institute), and several apartment buildings in *carioca* upper-class neighborhoods (see Illustrations 2.9 and 2.10).

Cia City and Its Paulista Local Board

In the very same year of the creation of the Democratic Party (PD), in November 1926, Cia City's English directorate nominated, for the first time, a São Paulo local board. Before that, in 1918, Cia City of Brazil was administered by joint manager and chairman Albino de Castro Lima. Because of Brazil's unstable economic and sociopolitical situation and São Paulo's place in the 1920s and the early 1930s events, ADV became an active member of Cia City only in April 1933, when the company was finally able to boost its business. It was then that the Cia City London director, Sir Arthur du Cros, met with the newly revamped local board.⁹⁹ The local committee members were Chairman Erasmo T. de Assumpção, and managers ADV, John Christie Belfrage, and Nelson Gama de Oliveira. These four men worked together from 1933 to 1937. It is interesting to note that in the meeting minutes (*acta*), all English members were referred to as "Sir," followed by their first name, and all Brazilian members as "Dr.," followed by their last names. Since the 1920s, Plínio Barreto had been Cia City's legal advisor.¹⁰⁰ In 1933, he was replaced in this capacity by Juarez Lopes.

This new arrangement sharply reflected the contemporary political alignments imposed by the revolution's aftermath. Cia City's local board director,



Illustration 2.9 ADV's Photographs¹⁰¹

Erasmio Assumpção, represented “traditional” paulistas (such as Cincinato Braga and other historic PRP members), whose conservative approach backed, in 1932, almost open negotiations with the Vargas government.¹⁰² On the other hand, Barreto represented those aligned with the new rebellious ideas (the PD), whose liberal convictions imposed new arrangements on Vargas’s policies.¹⁰³ In 1932, Barreto was a faithful supporter of the paulista revolution and in the mid-1930s became one of the municipal Culture Department creators. This explicitly political aspect reinforced how the structure of state politics was a vital part of network-producing practices of patronage of the period.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, this professional change also illustrated a mythical ideological detachment in the professional liberal market. Professional groups defined themselves as corporative and ostensibly as nonpolitical groups. Though they claimed a “nonpartisan status” and distanced themselves from open politics, they did have a position.¹⁰⁵ Those events suggest that lawyer Lopez was not a liberal, and mostly that Barreto’s position was not necessarily filled by an important PRP lawyer, a well-known name.



Illustration 2.10 The Escritório's Building Projects in Rio de Janeiro, 1941

To the contrary, it seems that middle-class professionals would be able to fill these positions.

Cia City local board members met and discussed all pertinent company issues at least once a month.¹⁰⁶ Publicity (e.g., advertisements) and hiring practices (e.g., staff salary readjustments) were frequent issues. But most of the time-consuming issues referred to the firm's urban development program, including financial deals with banks; districting and selling units; the acquisition of land, construction materials, and road machinery for the development of the company's properties; and juridical aspects of urban infrastructure services and legislation.

From 1933 to 1939, the main themes discussed in the company's meetings included issues related to public works: the Tiête River rectification, the Pinheiros River canalization,¹⁰⁷ paving the Butantan and new Vila Romana neighborhoods, legislation (e.g., the Additional Federal Tax on Profits, Installment Purchases Law, State Tax on Selling Prices of Land). Chapter 5 focuses on the most important urban and political issue discussed in the firm's meetings in this period: the Pacaembu scheme.¹⁰⁸ In 1937, after the Pacaembu deal took off, ADV left the Cia City directorship to devote all of his time to work in his firm. His place was vacant until July 20, 1939, when a new manager joined the local committee, ex-DOP director-engineer Victor da Silva Freire.¹⁰⁹

The following sections explore how Cia City partnership with the municipality was an integral part of the way the company handled its business in the 1930s, how the paulista local committee related to the English board, and how the company handled its sales and advertising policies.

Cia City's Local Committee and the Local Municipal Power

In its peculiar partnership with the municipality, Cia City assumed either the role of client or of associate. Because of the frequent changes in the executive sphere after 1930 (see Table 2.1), it proved impossible for the municipality to take all its deals to completion, and it had to pay sometimes large fees to different companies. Cia City acted then as a client and, for a deed related to a donated area for the opening of the Anhangabaú Avenue, it charged the municipality a fee of 200 *contos*, which was paid in public bonds issued in July 1933.¹¹⁰

As a partner, the Cia City's local committee played an important role in negotiating urban practices during the 1930s. In the firm's books, there was a special subject indexed as "Matters Outstanding with the Municipality." These matters, ranging from the layout and paving of streets to the donation of areas, were negotiated in private meetings between Cia City members and public officials. For instance, on June 11, 1934, Cia City managers Gama de Oliveira and ADV met with Mayor Antonio Carlos Assumpção to discuss public transportation and street improvements in Cia City's neighborhoods.¹¹¹ At the end, the mayor assured Cia City that he would do his best to have Light Co. extend its tramway to Cia City neighborhoods.¹¹² On September 13, 1934, Cia City celebrated the decision of the municipality to build sidewalks and enclosures (*muros de fecho*) around its properties, and to do necessary grading on its Jardim América neighborhood, work that would save the company more than one thousand *contos*. The committee thanked "Dr. Antonio Carlos de Assumpção, and his inestimable collaboration [in this] municipal deal with a happy ending."¹¹³

Moreover, the committee extended its gratitude through important newspapers and journals in the city. Justifying the public support received for its private prototypical neighborhood, seen as an important improvement to the city, the company's ad stated: "Cia City takes advantage of this advertisement to publicly acknowledge its appreciation, as well as of its clients—owners and dwellers of Jardim América—for the great and decisive support, which has never failed, from

the municipality of São Paulo, which made it faster for this urban improvement to become a reality. Fulfilling the aim of creating the model residential neighborhood of our wonderful metropolis.”¹¹⁴

The average size of an upper-class Jardim América house was 1,094 square meters. In 1929, the company completed the sale of twenty-nine houses. Between 1930 and 1932, it sold only sold houses (including just one in 1932). After the 1932 revolution, between 1933 and 1935, 162 houses were sold. If 1935 was a year characterized by extreme political unrest, it marked for Cia City a year of great success and explosive sales, as Jardim América sales alone reached its apex of one hundred units.¹¹⁵ The importance was not so much in who was buying these units (rich people or those who could gather the necessary sum and use it as an investment), but that they were buying it from Cia City and not from any other market options in the city. In fact, Cia City succeeded in creating a steady market for all of its units, whether in its upper-, middle-, or lower-class neighborhoods. In the following years, the pressure for sales moved to the Pacaembu area, and Cia City would continue to be successful in its sales.

During 1935, advertisements invaded all newspapers and enforced the company's strategies to reach both upper- and middle-class buyers. Advertisements to reach the upper class now included the company's units in the Pacaembu neighborhood. Those ads displayed the following phrases: “Magnificent Opportunity” (September 1, 1935); “Great Home,” offering a 381-square-meter, five-bedroom *palacete* with garage, public electricity, and paved street (September 15, 1935); “Pacaembu's Progress is a Fact!”—an ad equating public improvements to modern life and personal comfort (September 29, 1935); and “Path to Prosperity,” offering financial deals for buying with a mortgage (October 20, 1935).

The goal of reaching the middle groups is also explicitly stated in many ads. For instance, one of them stated, “Learn to Locate Your Home... Buy in Vila Mariana!” (September 1, 1935), and another one asked, “Are You Going to Build?” and displayed middle-class two-storey houses (*sobrados*) in the Vila Mariana neighborhood (September 8, 1935). In the classifieds section, an ad said, “Buy Your Own House With the Money You Pay Your Rent,” illustrated with units in Cia City's Lapa Estate (September 5, 1937). Cia City also kept itself informed of all public initiatives related to housing. It later informed its clients about them, and made use of its status and influence to participate in both private and public programs. For instance, it informed its clients of the IAPC's (*Carteira Predial do Instituto de Aposentadoria e Pensões dos Comerciantes* from São Paulo and Mato Grosso states) deadline for loans for house acquisitions in September 1937.¹¹⁶ Later, in 1941, one Cia City's IAPI ad addressed industry, commerce, and bank employees (January 12, 1941).

During his presidential campaign in April 1937, Armando de Salles Oliveira requested from Cia City's local board information about the company's practices in São Paulo, especially those that had brought benefit to the state. The company delivered an extensive report, “Cia City Works and Public Services Statistical Synthesis.”¹¹⁷ This report stated that, since its foundation, Cia City had developed model neighborhoods, provided improvement and infrastructure works, financed public works, and donated significant urban areas. Improvement works

included opening ninety-six kilometers of streets (including four kilometers of street paving in Pacaembu) and planting ten thousand national trees. The scope of Cia City's influence was further reflected in January 1938, when "the company... delivered to the mayor some suggestions on the promulgation of an official act turning Cia City's urban practices in Jardim América into legal procedures."¹¹⁸ As the local board put it, this led to "a municipal act that made legal our regulations for construction in Jardim América."¹¹⁹ From then on, Cia City norms became legal urban rules for other neighborhoods in the city. This public interaction will be closer examined in Chapter 5. How was this program seen and understood by the company's British owners? What can we learn from the different experiences between the local board and the company's English headquarters?

Adapting Brazilian Circumstances to English Expectations

Cia City's local committee had a constant dialogue with its British partners. The committee followed the English headquarters' business directions and adapted them to their subsidiary network of companies. Built on traditional patronage practices, this process assumed logistics of its own, which guided the city's urban land market development. The local committee's response to London directorate president Herbert Guedalla's request for an explanation of São Paulo's socioeconomic scene is a privileged window onto the political events, the city, its urban professionals, and the land market. In April 1933, the committee responded to Guedalla that "nearly everyone in São Paulo was a dealer in houses or lands. This line of business was not confined exclusively to Land Companies or Building Societies. The average man in Brazil and particularly in São Paulo preferred to invest his money in real estate rather than in shares or other papers. [The company had] therefore not only to compete with regular Land Companies or Building Societies but also with practically every individual owner who was always willing to do business with his property... The newspapers [in 1933] (as well as in the past) were always full of advertisements of houses or lands for sale, of which at least 75 percent were not from Land Companies or such concerns but individuals."¹²⁰ This "ordinary" urban practice had already been explored in one of the company's advertisements to bolster its sales. A 1931 advertisement addressing the company's investors stated that the current "financial depression, which was not only being experienced in Brazil but throughout the whole world was the cause of the embarrassing period through which the country was passing. It was this that was worrying businessmen and finally they found themselves faced with this question: 'What, then, was the best way to employ my capital? WHAT WAS THE more convenient investment? Shares or land?' One had not to search very far for a satisfactory answer to this question, bearing in mind the phenomenal drop in the stock and share market in all parts of the world. So there was no doubt that the best thing was to invest capital in land, for while all else was transitory, mother earth endured forever. The City Company sold the best building sites in São Paulo."¹²¹

In the letter's response to Guedalla, the local members also explained that the unstable and difficult economic situation had turned business into something difficult and risky. Moreover, the 1932 revolution aggravated the general feeling. The committee pointed out that "although London had suggested [in letters in January and May 1932] that sales might be effected to replace cancellations, at that time São Paulo was already experiencing moments of unrest arising from the political situation, which became worse in May, culminating in the revolution of last July, which lasted up to the end of September and was followed by a period of readjustment in an atmosphere of uncertainty. In 1932, therefore, we could not have effected any great number of sales...the curtailment of loans towards the end of 1929 and the subsequent restriction of sales, caused in consequence, the paralyzing of our advertisement work, and the disorganization of our groups of brokers. In brief, our sales organization was interrupted, which with no doubt had caused us to lose many sales."¹²²

In order to revive business, general manager Gama de Oliveira asked the London board to allow the committee to ease Cia City's regular requirements. The committee required tolerance to debt (worded as "different kinds of arrangements related to repayment") and the creation of a more attractive effective competition. The general manager argued for the extension of selling installments over periods of ten, fifteen, or twenty years, since the lands did not deteriorate, and they were the property of Cia City until the full price plus interest was completely paid. Among its most significant decisions, the company started advertising different discounts and facilities for those who could immediately start building their houses, an effective practice the company had maintained even after the difficult years. In 1934, the company advertised discounts of ten, fifteen and twenty percent (down payment and less than seven hundred *mil-réis* monthly installments) to the fifteen first buyers willing to promptly build houses front to the Harmonia Club under construction in Jardim América.¹²³

During late 1936, in one of his letters, Cia City president Guedalla remarked that the London board could not understand why the committee made such a great price distinction between a purchaser who proposed to build and one who simply bought land. The committee was unanimous in responding that building loans were of the greatest importance to the company in the development of its districts, and it was obvious that without immediate house construction sales could not be expected to prosper.¹²⁴

In February 1938, aware that many Cia City engineers had private practices and were hired by Cia City clients to build their houses, the London board suggested the creation of a new department of construction in the firm. The local board in São Paulo immediately dismissed the idea. The local committee pointed out that there was already a great number of architects, builders, and specialized firms for this work, and the intense competition and the costs to create it were not worthwhile.¹²⁵ Nonetheless, the main reason behind this decision was to safeguard the local network for these complementary services that the firm had already built and the interdependence that was bound up within it. The suggestion from London headquarters for diversification threatened to disrupt the equilibrium of these already existing relationships.

São Paulo's Regionalism, Cincinato Braga, and Cia City

Politically, the success of Cia City was an accomplishment closely linked to a network of influential people and their international, national, regional, and local sociopolitical connections. The ideas, beliefs, role, and efforts of distinguished paulista economist and congressional representative Cincinato Braga illustrates these connections, as well as the contemporary political, historical, and urban context. This section does not center on Braga as a politician and entrepreneur, but rather on how his business practices were consistent with various public- and private-sector commitments of his time. This milieu, permeated by foreign influence and international exchanges, shaped views, tools, and policies in the city. In this context, flows of foreign capital interacted with domestic developments, in particular the growth of public- and private-sector banks and other financial institutions. Braga's activities shed light on these vitally important issues (private capital transfers by multinational companies, loans from international agencies and financial institutions, and loans from the commercial banks).

In the national congress, Braga had long fought for the coffee export sector's interests. His efforts began with issues related to immigration policies (1901), followed by the Taubaté Convention (1908), when, with a "paulista spirit," he defended a federal policy of valorization.¹²⁶ Later, in 1935, Braga objected to and prevailed over a proposed special federal tax per coffee bag.¹²⁷ PRP politician Braga firmly believed in exploring an agro-economic policy that benefited Brazil's rural agro-export vocation (i.e., the country's coffee export complex). On the other hand, entrepreneur Braga actively devoted himself to urban land market practices—buying, developing, and selling urban estates in the city of São Paulo. Between 1910 and 1915, when with others Braga created Cia City, he was politically involved with a "new agro-civilization" project.¹²⁸ The 1920s saw the expressions of Braga's convictions on federalism. In 1924, Braga wrote *São Paulo's Great Economic Problems* (*Magnos problemas econômicos de São Paulo*), the only political piece written before the 1930 revolution that justified São Paulo state's leadership position in Brazil.¹²⁹

Regional patriotism was often narrow in its outlook and understanding of the interests of other parts of Brazil. Braga's federalist ideas emerged within the old-republic system, immersed in an effervescent regional euphoria that praised the paulista civilization's progress of the late 1910s and 1920s. In 1917, when an insignia was created for the state capital, it read: "*Non ducor; duco*" ("I am not led, I lead"). Later, *baiano* politician and scientist Artur Neiva asserted that "São Paulo was the locomotive pulling twenty vacant freight cars in the federation."¹³⁰ São Paulo's economic hegemony over the rest of the country inflated a "paulista spirit" equated here with Braga's *paulistismo*. In his writings, Braga suggested that in economic terms, "São Paulo state was practically a nation."¹³¹ In contrast to the traditional and cultural regionalism, Braga's regionalism rested mainly on economic premises and sometimes presented misleading statistics.¹³²

Nevertheless, Braga never supported separatism. Instead, he arrogantly advocated Brazil's "São-Paulization" (*sampaquização do Brasil*), that is, the country's subordination to "paulista economic paths."¹³³ Moreover, Braga saw regionalism as necessary and as a blessing, the origin of a sense of place, "the first shelter" (*o primeiro teto que nos abriga*). Nonetheless, Braga supported centralism, seeing it as necessary evil (*mal necessário*).¹³⁴ In 1932, the same spirit turned into an overt expression of pride in paulista's regionalism (*bairrismo* or *paulistismo*), which filtered down to all social classes.¹³⁵

Cincinato Braga and the Housing Issue

In 1931, Braga wrote *Erros da economia pública: Lições da Rússia* (*Public Economy Errors: Lessons from Russia*), analyzing social housing, regionalism, and the urban proletariat. Braga believed that Brazil, an agricultural country, should make strenuous efforts to secure its population in rural areas. Ironically, Braga drew on Engels and Marx to justify theoretically why people should not live in urban areas. On the other hand, contemporary scholars stated that although the standard of living of Brazil's urban proletariat was distinctly lower than in northern Europe, its situation in the 1930s was much better than that of its rural population, which contained the majority of the national population.¹³⁶

Braga provided a cost estimate for building a proletarian suburb of 300,000 inhabitants in the city, knowing that in Rio and São Paulo there were already even bigger proletarian suburbs. Braga asserted: "An eight-meter front site with a house for a five-member family would cost ten *contos*. Thus, 60,000 houses would be 600,000 *contos de réis*! [Adding education and infrastructure works,] the estimate would get to 1,500,000 *contos*. A worker city for 300,000 inhabitants would cost more than two million *contos*. . . . For a country with more than 40 million inhabitants and more than three million workers, it would be necessary more than ten of these new towns (*cidades operárias*)."¹³⁷ Braga believed that keeping the workers in the countryside would avoid industrial concentration. Proper urban zoning and social legislation would control urban workmanship (*artesanato*), and most of the city's social problems would be much easier to solve.¹³⁸

In Europe, entrepreneurs turned to the work of specialists to resolve the housing question. For instance, in England, Joseph Rowntree turned to architects Parker's and Unwin's expert guidance in planning the Garden Village of New Earswick.¹³⁹ Rowntree aimed to improve "the condition of the working classes in and around the City of York and elsewhere in Great Britain and Ireland, by the provision of improved dwellings with open spaces and, where possible, gardens, and the organization of village communities with such facilities for the enjoyment of full and healthy lives as the Trustees should consider desirable."¹⁴⁰ New Earswick "showed the economic practicability of providing artistically designed, well built houses, with a minimum of three bedrooms, well equipped internally to meet domestic requirements, set in an environment to promote a healthy life and all at a *rental* which the *ordinary artisan* (my emphasis) could afford to pay."¹⁴¹

As seen in Chapter 1, Braga did not apply European lessons regarding housing to the Brazilian working class. Instead, Braga backed Cia City Co., which also made use of Parker's work to bring and adapt the ideal of garden suburbs to the needs of an urban and industrial upper class in São Paulo.

The London Remittance of Funds Issue

After 1930, the provisional government instituted a new international remittance of funds policy affecting all foreign companies. This policy made it more difficult for Cia City to remit funds to London. To help the company send money to London, Villares contacted the Banco do Brasil's paulista branch manager, who was powerless in this issue. In March 1934, in "completely confidential character," the local committee met to consider a letter of advice from Brazilian Cia City director Cincinato Braga. Braga was then the São Paulo representative in the National Constituent Assembly, and his letter was a revealing document of the period's patronage practices. Braga explained to the committee that, in trying to help Rio de Janeiro, "I found myself stuck with the [paulista branch] political decision, according to which none of the National Constituent Assembly São Paulo representatives could address any request to the dictatorial government."¹⁴² So, through indirect ways, I had to appeal to either Treasury Ministry intermediaries or Banco do Brasil Exchange Division delegates. . . beyond this solution, the only way was the *black exchange* (*cambio negro*, Braga's emphasis). This solution was discarded because the Provisional government decrees considered it *fraud* (Braga's emphasis) and Cia City could not be exposed to such a risk. . . I resorted to the *gray exchange* (*cambio cinzento*, Braga's emphasis). This exchange required very limited practices, that is, very few withdrawals *ever dependent on Banco do Brasil written authorization* (Braga's emphasis). This authorization proved the withdrawal complied with all rules related to capital flight (*saída de capital para fora do país*), that is, permitted importation payments—which was not Cia City's case. I was notified that in some exceptional cases the bank issued a complacent authorization (*autorização por complacência e por exceção*), for cases sponsored by an influential person. Under profound constraint, I verified the possibility of a legal practice which involved paying a commission (*despesa reservada de comissão*) to a *hidden intermediary* (my emphasis). Facing embarrassment (*constrangido*), I arranged a deal through which Cia City could receive Banco do Brasil gray exchange authorization that required a payment of 500 *mil-réis* (500\$000) for each pound sent. In this deal, the intermediary required two and a half *mil-réis* (2\$500) for each pound—according to the current exchange rate—the Banco do Brasil approved for remittance. The deal awaits confirmation depending on Cia City managers' approval."¹⁴³

The committee approved the deal. Officially, Cia City was included in the Rothschild Accord, which legally approved the company into the gray market.¹⁴⁴ After the remittance authorization, Cia City had to pay £15,000 to remit £60,000. Extra-officially, for this maneuver, the intermediary received seven *contos* and five hundred *mil-réis* (7:500\$000).

Management Practices

As one might expect, Cia City's London headquarters had several established procedures and management practices with regard to hiring, salary, and vacation policies. However, these practices could not always be transplanted to Brazil, and in many cases São Paulo's local committee had to adapt London's practices to the reality of local conditions. This section briefly reviews some of the practices and adaptations of Cia City in São Paulo, and touches upon the composition and conditions of Cia City's workers.

During the 1930s, the São Paulo Cia City branch had five main departments: commerce, legal, engineering, accounting, and sales.¹⁴⁵ The company had a Brazilian accounting staff but also made use of expert foreign accountants McAuliffe, Turquand, and Youngs.¹⁴⁶ In January 1939, salaries ranged from seven *contos* (7:150\$000) monthly for senior officials, excluding the general manager, to one hundred *mil-réis* (100\$000) monthly for the office boy. Any changes in hiring, vacation, and salary practices needed the London board's approval. The London board sent representatives to perform complete salary reviews in 1928, 1936, and 1939. During these reviews, individual cases were examined and had to be unanimously approved to receive the proposed increases.¹⁴⁷

Sometimes, special local arrangements were necessary to pay salaries. Juarez Lopez, Cia City's legal advisor, was hired in 1932 at two *contos* (2:000\$000) monthly. In 1937, Lopez was receiving more almost four *contos* (3:750\$000), and was then raised to five *contos* (5:000\$000) monthly. London allowed the company was allowed to pay him a monthly salary of four and a half *contos* (4:500\$000). To reach the amount the lawyer sought, the Cia City local board made use of its social network, and the Companhia Industrial de Pinheiros, a Cia City subsidiary, paid Lopez the extra five hundred *mil-réis* (500\$000) monthly salary.¹⁴⁸

Another way of hiring that escaped the headquarters' laws was the payment of a professional who would serve the interests of the company in specific cases. For instance, in January 1935, the committee members nominated Henrique Dumont Villares, the brother of manager ADV, to represent the company in a pressure group formed by Light, Jockey Club, some national banks, and the Butantan Institute to lobby for the Pinheiros River rectification work.¹⁴⁹ The committee explained to the English board that Henrique Villares was perfect man for the job because he did not belong to its local committee, yet he was a Cia City client who owned one of the company's subsidiary firms, the Jaguaré Estate Co. (Companhia Imobiliária Jaguaré), and he was "a person very well connected to the high administrative staff of Light and Power Co. both in São Paulo and Rio... for this job he would be paid a special remuneration (an appreciation for extra-officially serving the Cia City's interests)."¹⁵⁰

Sales and Advertising Policies

In its advertisements, Cia City identified itself with São Paulo's metaphors of grandeur and regionalist symbols.¹⁵¹ It made use of the state colors (black, red,

and white), maps, and flags in all kinds of promotional outlets, including newspapers, brochures, radio, cinema, theater catalogs, and magazines. In December 1930, when Cia City's office building at Libero Badaró Street in downtown São Paulo was impressively illuminated a month after the 1930 coup d'état, it suggested a welcoming sign of hope in the new times. In its first meeting of 1933, the Cia City local board decided to heavily advertise in four leading newspapers in the city of São Paulo. The company would pay for the advertising costs using profits from the sales of their estates and houses.¹⁵² In September 1934, the local committee also decided to air its advertisements on São Paulo radio stations.

From 1935 to 1938, these newspapers advertised Cia City houses and sites in the "best" neighborhoods of São Paulo. They defined the best neighborhoods as those displaying Cia City's "model neighborhood" plan. To buy a house in a Cia City neighborhood, people would pay a mortgage consisting of a down payment and monthly installments for either ten, fifteen, or twenty years. These planned neighborhoods offered "modern" houses and provided "modern" comfort; that is, public facilities—paved streets under current laws, easy access to transportation (tramway and buses), water, sewage, gas, and electricity—which were all privileges in those times. Cia City contracts also included unique zoning practices that assured the building of houses on discrete sites and secured strict residential uses, uncommon practices at that time.

Cia City upper-class neighborhoods were residential, but their projects always envisaged a significant social club or civic building, such as the Paulistano (Jardim Paulista), Harmonia (Jardim América), and Automóvel (Anhangabaú) clubs, as well as the Jockey Club (Cidade Jardim) and Pacaembu Stadium. For instance, a 1934 Cia City ad fully captured this underlying philosophy: "Apart from private residences, another distinguishing feature of the Garden City is the attention given to clubs. The Paulistano Athletic Club was the first to recognize the possibilities and its magnificent grounds and club house have greatly enhanced the reputation of the vicinity."¹⁵³ In 1935, many other ads sent similar uplifting messages: "The Happiness of Being Alive," and "At the End of the Day . . .,"¹⁵⁴ find comfort in your home. Also from 1935 are ads alerting consumers to the investment security brought by Cia City's zoning to "Avoid Estate Devaluation!"¹⁵⁵

In its advertisements, the company reminded investors and clients how, in just two decades, it had transformed "waste land" into a famous and healthy suburb, the "finest residential area in the length and breadth of South America." The ad went to further insert itself into the inflated superlative regional myth: "Within the magnificent possibilities of São Paulo, for whose progress we have certainly been cooperating for more than twenty years, we believe we have carried out a really lasting work with the creation of the model districts which dot with real beauty the various suburbs of this admirable city. In fact, our lands, possessing as they do public services and constructed with real observance of town planning, are scattered among the most beautiful corners of Piratininga, in model suburbs, which were created by us and constructed with NEVER a thought given to expense, but ALWAYS occupied in cooperation, within the limit of our activities, for the constant development of the metropolis. All the large cities of the world normally and constantly develop in the direction of the setting sun, and

São Paulo confirms this universal rule: all the lands belonging to the Companhia City are to be found in the West End of the city."¹⁵⁶

In different specialized journals (e.g., the *British Chamber of Commerce*, *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia*, *Times of Brazil*, *Anglo-Brazilian Chronicle*, and the *Associação dos Proprietários de São Paulo*), the company addressed potential investors and builders. One of these ads depicted a Christmas angel holding a compass. It represented the image of an engineer angel who offered the new model suburbs as a holy Christmas gift.¹⁵⁷ To this audience the company promised privileged sales and building loan conditions and stressed that nothing was more secure than the money invested in property: "The best job in the capital: land purchaser; The best investment of your capital: land purchase; The finest country in the world in which to buy land: Brazil; The biggest industrial and most progressive center in Brazil: São Paulo; The best lands in São Paulo: those of the City Company."¹⁵⁸

Cia City promised immediate financing regardless of the total cost of the land and extensive arrangements for amortization, and reminded the buyer that the title deeds of the Cia City had always been absolutely sound.¹⁵⁹ The "trust Cia City" campaign also reached the ordinary client when it alerted him to "Acquire a House for Your Family... But Make [it through] a Licit Business!"¹⁶⁰ Cia City advertisements were bold and innovative. During the city's anniversary in January 1934, the company ran a one-page advertisement reproducing São Paulo's black stripes in the shape of buildings and with this announcement geared to paulista woman: "Today is São Paulo Day! Everything in São Paulo has to reflect its people's splendor. The paulista woman, who embodies the traditionally devoted Brazilian Woman, deserves as homage a home compatible with her finesse and beauty. This home of your dreams is at reach, because the COMPANHIA CITY'S NEW DEALS created the IMMEDIATE HOUSE DELIVERY option, under the payment of monthly installments similar to the rent you already pay."¹⁶¹

Cia City advertisements in the 1930s bombarded the ordinary citizen with the "Own Your House" ideology.¹⁶² This ideology became a fundamental argument to produce sales and influence its clients into a new style of life in modern neighborhoods that followed European and U.S. tendencies. The dream of owning a house and quitting the payment of rent became synonymous with "the most important achievement of [one's] life." These headlines illustrate several forms that this argument assumed: "Cia City: For Over 20 Years Helping You to Live in Your Own House";¹⁶³ "Buy Your Own House With The Money You Pay in Rent";¹⁶⁴ "So Many Years Paying For a House That is Not Mine...";¹⁶⁵ "Choose Your Way... CEASE Being a TENANT! Become a PROPRIETOR...";¹⁶⁶ "Royal Gift [your own house]";¹⁶⁷ "Be the Real Owner of Your Home... and not a Mere Janitor (*zelador*) of a House Others Built and You Pay for It";¹⁶⁸ "Rentals Are Going Up";¹⁶⁹ "By Signing the Contract You Get the Keys";¹⁷⁰ "See How Easy It Is To Be Owner in São Paulo";¹⁷¹ and "A Dream So Easy to Come True...."¹⁷² These headlines were repeated in five newspapers: *A Gazeta*, *O Diário da Noite*, *Correio Paulistano*, *Folha da Noite*, and *O Diário da Noite*. Most of these advertisements pictured male professionals, the facade of a model house, or couples of different ages (mainly young or old) in a comfortable living room with pets or young children.

Some Considerations

The steadily coterminous relationship among paulista urban agencies (DOP, ADV's firm, and Cia City) set the tone of urban development in the 1930s. This dynamic reflected the way urban planning was structured in and through the institutional arrangements of local governance as well as through negotiated sociocultural ideas and practices. The municipal administration, part and parcel of this period historical arrangements, built on the energies of regional identity to address housing and other important sociopolitical and economic issues. In the municipal department of Works (DOP), key political places awaited the 1932 ex-combatant engineers. They came to share a vital political place, and their technical work indelibly marked and rearranged local municipal power. Under Fábio da Silva Prado (1934–1938), the spirit of the 1932 “Paulista War” and its revolutionary engineers was kept alive. Judged and chosen by this municipal agency and other influential urban groups, the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building, planned and constructed by ADV's firm, expressed this contradictory and ambiguous political period along with numerous other urban interventions that permanently marked São Paulo's social and urban fabric.

The chapter focused on the influential role of Arnaldo Dumont Villares in managing the new urban market of office buildings and civic works through the 1930s and beyond. ADV succeeded in maintaining his engineering firm as the largest in São Paulo, whose production expressed the paulista housing market, a microcosm of larger local social realities. His skillful political sense and professional expertise reflected the dynamic between public and private activities and how engineers and technical professionals continued and enlarged their influence and prestige in paulista society. This influence and prestige can be read in the logic behind the political and sales strategies of Cia City company's local board. These strategies helped the Anglo-Brazilian company to achieve its important role in influencing zoning practices in São Paulo and the people's ideal of living.¹⁷³ It was through its advertising techniques that Cia City helped to build the concept of housing as a prosperous and modern middle-class ideal that reached a multitude of consumers from different ages, social strata, and professions. Increasingly, employees believed in and aspired to higher social positions through success in a professional career. Targeted as workers, citizens, and consumers, middle-class employees saw their desires take form in the way they aspired to live and, most of all, in the paradox presented in the reality of the places they could choose to live.

In sum, this chapter explored local urban investors' practices and focused on some silent, interdependent agreements maintained between the private and the public sectors. Resulting from different overlapping public and private spheres of urban power, the new housing pattern made it possible for foreign and local capital to develop a paulista version of the *cidade-jardim* (garden city). At the most general level, those agencies' policies translated a set of cultural rules that came to influence the work of paulista urban professionals. Those firms/companies and

municipal posts became important elements in determining an individual's general social standing in Brazilian society. The way engineers, entrepreneurs, and "middle-class" Brazilians were involved in those positions and jobs was seen as a measure of wealth, at the neighborhood, city/county, state, and national levels. Understanding the network in those firms/organizations reveals the embodiment of their own form of power and flows from its own complicated sources that cannot be reduced to material or political considerations. Thus, the chapter explored not just whether there was a link between urban firms (development companies, engineering firms, municipal agencies) and sociopolitical power, as surely there was, but also the nature, extent, and evolution of this connection in the changing city of the 1930s. From these times in which, emerging from the 1932 political turmoil, blurred public and private responsibilities started to take new shapes, the next chapter explores how the body of municipal employees added to this defining moment of interpreting new work practices and cultural values in São Paulo.

Chapter 3

The Making of Urban Middle-Class Employees in the 1930s

Paulista congressman Ary Silva (1917–2001)—the owner of a local newspaper in the traditional Santana neighborhood in the 1990s and the municipal chamber’s leader in Mayor Prestes Maia’s second administration—explained that his father, an Afro-Brazilian municipal employee (the municipal chamber’s porter) was able to provide him an education at a prestigious religious school, the Liceu Coração de Jesus, before he was accepted at the USP law school in 1937.¹ This chapter explores the expanding public space that shaped his educational and professional experiences. It focuses on how, in the 1930s, the municipal administration was responsible for the expansion of a competitive market for white-collar and professional services. Professionals (e.g., engineers, lawyers, scholars, chemists), skilled workers (technicians, clerical employees), and even some unskilled employees (e.g., porters, janitors, *bedéis*)² like Silva’s father represented an important part of São Paulo’s middle class. The Municipal Works Department (DOP), Institute of Technological Research (IPT), and São Paulo Polytechnic School (POLI) were cradle organizations for the new middle class. This chapter describes how those employees, completely divorced from the coffee economy, were largely of immigrant origin (mainly second-generation Italian) and had, in some way, participated in the 1932 movement. These characteristics helped to shape a technical and political identity, which defined who was “in” and who was “out” in the public municipal administration. The professional structure in these institutions also reflected the same political hierarchies as these of the educational system, since the new departments’ staff came mainly from those selected schools: Free School of Sociology and Political Science (ELSP) and University of São Paulo (USP)—and within it the School of Philosophy, Sciences, and Arts (FFCL) and POLI.

From Engineers to Bureaucrats, Technicians, and Officials: The DOP Employees

Methods of Recruitment: Mediocrity and Meritocracy

There are few specific studies on the history of bureaucracy in the Brazilian political system during the first republican period (1898–1930). Nonetheless, there is a consensus that this bureaucracy developed under a centralized political system and survived with very few variations throughout different political circumstances. Private nomination was the principal method used by governmental institutions to obtain staff.³ The hiring of local government officials was done according to the dictates of local politics. A network of relatives (nepotism and *parentela*) and friends were often appointed to the highest positions. This patronage was never entirely modified, though it came to be a practice, on occasion, to subject candidates to an examination. In 1935, college education became a national requirement for any professional job within the municipal apparatus.⁴ Previously, even if the distinctions between those who had education and those who did not were clear, such criteria were porous in relation to professional competence, since formal education was not the only path available.⁵ After 1924, different construction professionals held a license issued by the Agriculture, Trading, and Public Works state secretary that permitted them to work as engineers. These professionals, the *licenciados práticos*, were criticized by the 1930s media, who called them “30 mil-réis doctors (*doutores a 30\$000 estampilhas*),” because 30 mil-réis was the price for acquiring the title of *prático*. According to the Engineering and Architecture Regional Council (Conselho Regional de Engenharia e Arquitetura, or CREA), in 1935, the *práticos* were reduced to 391 professionals, as opposed to 1,032 engineers with a degree.⁶ CREA data confirms the 1930s to be the turning point in this professional crossroad, since before this decade the *práticos* were the majority. These data also sheds light on the origins of part of a “new” middle class formed by engineers and technicians, whose parents were Italian foremen (*capomaestri*) or skilled workers who held a license to work as engineers (*licenciados práticos*).

After the educational reform, the system continued to permit three categories of construction professionals: “risk” professionals (plasterers—*fachadistas* or *frentistas*) coming mainly from the School of Arts and Crafts; grand professionals (engineers and architects) graduating from “legitimate” universities such as POLI and Mackenzie; and professionals with a license (*licenciados*).⁷ Nonetheless, the obligatory diploma, the only legitimate tool for advancement, represented the *coup de grâce* for most professionals, mainly in the capital.⁸ Engineers and architects would not leave the city capital because of its impressive demand, and public initiatives always favored firms from the capital. During this period, *licenciados* became the main workforce in several municipalities within the state. In São José dos Campos, the *licenciados* were called “L” professionals, as this letter appeared on their CREA registration card, instead of the letter “D,” which stood for those who had a diploma (*diplomados*).

Members of all municipal departments rushed to get their diplomas. All São Paulo Polytechnic School (POLI) student files contained letters written in 1935 requesting diplomas from those students who became municipal officers. Departments within the municipal machine had to adapt and create new political strategies to enforce (or finesse) meritocratic policies. In this sense, the notion of meritocracy came to be negotiated by officers who knew that the world they lived in did not work in meritocratic ways. The diploma was supposed to build a new “modern” bridge between merit and patronage. Nonetheless, state-authorized institutions issued diplomas, and the new forms of opportunity it created were to give patronage a new meritocratic wardrobe.

After 1932, in the climate of national educational change, São Paulo underwent a significant reform that led to the creation of new universities. The new universities—the Free School of Sociology and Political Science (*Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política*, ELSP, 1933) and the College of Philosophy, Sciences, and Arts of the University of São Paulo (*Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras FFCL/USP*, 1934)—provided the intellectual and technical workforce and assistance for the different public entities. Municipal departments and institutes that were linked or part of the political administration—such as the Institute of Technological Research (*Instituto de Pesquisas Tecnológicas*, IPT) and the Sociology Society (*Sociedade de Sociologia*)—kept recruiting engineers mainly from POLI/USP and researchers from the new USP colleges. Changes in the educational structure closely affected the reorganization of the public apparatus. The following section explores the effective change in the local administrative apparatus.⁹

Development of the Administrative Structure

The educational reform invented the notion of professional legitimacy and, in this process, rearranged and created new positions and occupations. In 1934, under Mayor Antonio Carlos de Assumpção, the prefecture contained fourteen directorates.¹⁰ In its chart, the DOP was a directorate with a disproportional weight in relation to the others in the municipal structure. Most of all, it shows that the DOP, divided into nine vital sections, whereas the other presented four at the most, was the core of the administrative apparatus. In May 1935, Mayor Fábio Prado reorganized these nine sections into eight sections subordinated to its director cabinet, which was directly linked to his cabinet.¹¹ This process culminated with the July 1936 reform act, when the DOP's procedures were modified to follow more completely the practices of Weber-style modern bureaucracy. On July 4, 1936, Act 1146 crystallized the changes related to all municipal services (divisions and employees). The new municipal chart included a new administrative reorganization shown through seven departments directly linked to the mayor and a sequence of branches extending from each one of those departments.¹²

Under this new arrangement, there were five divisions in the DOP department: Registry of employees; Urbanism (topographical studies; improvement programs and zoning; studies about rivers, ports, and airports; and studies about

“city aesthetics”—parks, gardens, cemeteries, pools, and recreational spaces); Public Works (projects and budgets for works developed by the department or opened to public tenders); Roadways (paving streets and roads); and Additional Tax on Profits (estate improvement after public works). These sections and their engineers performed a central role both in structuring the administration’s policies and in enforcing them.

Enacted in April 1934, the Municipal Employee Code established general rules related to employees’ hiring nominations, rights, vacations, and schedules.¹³ Municipal employees worked from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. (9 a.m. to noon on Saturdays), signed in and out every day (*bater ponto*), and enjoyed paid holidays (ten days for an employee with one to ten years of service; twenty days for those with ten to twenty years of service; and thirty days for those with more than twenty years of service). Employees could fill in for people in other public divisions or take leaves of absence (ostensibly the maximum was one year, but there were several other rules that could extend this period). A municipal employee could also accumulate other jobs in the public apparatus. The new code established punishments and exonerations for those with more than five years in service (those with less than five years were simply fired). The code also foresaw that if an official’s section or occupation was eliminated, only those with more than five years were to be relocated in another section or function. There were two reasons for job promotion: competence and time in the job (chiefs and directors could enjoy only the latter).

Most of the municipal officers were permanent employees.¹⁴ In December 1934, according to Act 754, municipal employees were classified as permanent (*efetivos*, those with more than fifteen years on the job and who had not committed a serious error in the past two years); pre-permanent (more than five years on the job); and intern (less than five years on the job). Act 754 added new upgrading conditions based on behavior, competence, achievements, and length of service. New occupations could not be created *ad nutum*; they should first serve to upgrade employees. In order to become a permanent employee, the foreign municipal officer had to be naturalized and have a voting card.¹⁵ Duarte received a gift from municipal workers for creating this municipal act. The present was an inkwell made from the granite stones (*paralelepípedos*) used to pave the modern city.¹⁶

Municipal Organization: Social Status and the DOP Staff

In 1935, DOP technical occupations, professional hierarchy, and salaries maintained a confusing arrangement in which there were several subdivisions, categories, and wages for each occupation.¹⁷ Municipal Acts 834 (April 1935) and 856 (May 1935) reveal this occupational hierarchy presiding over the DOP directory and all of its 164 employees spread over nine sections.¹⁸ This structure was repeated in all other departments linked to the municipality and involved all municipal employees in the city and the state.

The head of the DOP was an engineer director, who had a secretary and three chief engineers reporting directly to him—one of them, the seventh-section chief engineer, received a higher salary than the other two. There were many gradations

within the different occupations (e.g., six for first engineers, five for second engineers, and two for third engineers), which represented monthly salaries ranging from 4:200\$000 to 1:600\$000 distributed across all sections. Between the employees who had a diploma and those at the very bottom, there was a middle section with several gradations of technical positions: The first group was made up of technical assistants (three gradations), whose salaries ranged from 1:200\$00 to 1:000\$00). All other midlevel employees received salaries below one *conto*. These were designers (spread along four ranks), first bookkeepers (three ranks), second bookkeepers (two ranks), third bookkeepers (three ranks), fourth bookkeepers (two ranks), group chief (four ranks), supervisory inspectors (two ranks), field assistants (five ranks), and office boys (three ranks). There was only one gradation of group manager, storehouse inspector, roadways supervisor, foreman, and overseer. The lowest salary was paid to the four people in the third rank of office-boy position, who made 440\$000 monthly; that is, a little more than ten percent of the highest pay.¹⁹

Of all occupations, engineering enjoyed the most important place in the hierarchy, as a “first engineer” received a better wage than the chief of registry employees, who was not an engineer. The different wage categories reflected particular negotiations developed during the hiring process and were very difficult to change. The criteria followed the patronage logic of the period, with professionals hired according to both sociopolitical capital and professional competence.²⁰ In 1936, there was a significant change in the DOP structure. Prado’s new administrative reorganization was set in motion in May 1935, after the oldest, highly paid, and most influential DOP official, director Arthur Saboya, retired.²¹

According to Municipal Act 1146 of July 4, 1936, the DOP occupational hierarchy underwent a meritocratic revision. The now 205 DOP employees were spread over “trimmed” five sections.²² The highest position salary fell to 3:500\$000. The next position in line was even one *conto* lower (2:500\$00). All high positions lost their gradational ranks, suggesting that the diploma made them all equal. Those positions ranged from the engineer director, followed by the engineers in the chief section and the chief subsection. Those next in line—engineers, assistant engineers, and intern engineer—were referred to according to their area of expertise: either civil-and-architectural engineers, or civil-and-mechanical engineers, or civil engineers. Each group shared the same monthly wage of 1:800\$00, 1:600\$00, and 800\$00, respectively. Though the salary in the highest position went down, there was now a huge gap between those who had a diploma and those who did not. Moreover, most midlevel positions kept their gradations (e.g., first to fourth bookkeeper, first and second designer, first and second accountant assistants). Finally, there was now one lower position below the office boy: eight “unskilled” assistants, who made 300\$00 monthly—less than ten percent of the highest salary. A DOP employee’s place in the hierarchy was his symbolic capital. This capital signified this man’s education (cultural capital), his connections (social capital), and his wage (economic capital).

From 1936 on, the principal organizational traits included a hierarchical structure; a systematic division of labor; fixed career lines within the hierarchy; payment of salary according to status and (sometimes) length of service. There

were no provisions related to the work to be performed or the existence of general rules for the management of the office. In order to understand the origins and composition of the DOP technical staff, the following sections consider how engineers working in this period identified themselves. Those references included their names, place and date of birth, education (school and date of graduation), neighborhood of residence, and the different jobs they held (whether in the public and/or private spheres). Another important reference was their ethnicity (surnames) and their role in the 1932 revolution.²³

In 1934, Director Saboya had nine DOP chief-of-section engineers under his "command": Nestor Ayrosa (Rio de Janeiro, 1893),²⁴ Jorge Corbisier (France, 1894),²⁵ José Amadei (São Paulo, 1894),²⁶ Domício Silva (France, 1892),²⁷ Regino Aragão (Ceará, 1876),²⁸ João F. Cintra,²⁹ João B. Aranha (São Paulo, 1885),³⁰ and Sylvio Noronha (São Paulo, 1894).³¹ They had all graduated from either POLI or Mackenzie; most of them held other jobs, including faculty at either POLI or Mackenzie; and Amadei was a municipal representative. They lived in central upper- and middle-class neighborhoods, including Vila Mariana, Santana, and Campos Elísios. In 1935, there were seven DOP chief-of-section engineers. Cintra, Silva, Amadei, and Ayrosa kept their positions and the three new engineers from São Paulo joined them: Cássio Vidigal, Benjamin Egas (1890), and A.M. Rodrigues (1901).³² The latter three young men had been leaders of the 1932 revolution in the Igarapava, Caçapava, and Lorena, respectively. Those three young men held other important positions during this period. Vidigal was a congressman in 1935; Egas became the DOP director during the critical years between 1936 and 1938; and Rodriguez produced and was an influential contributor in the municipal journal (*RAM*).³³

In 1935, there were nineteen DOP Senior Engineers (Sub-Division Chiefs).³⁴ Six of them had fought in the 1932 revolution and led Technical Delegation Commissions (CIDT) in the municipalities of Caconde, Altinópolis, Ubatuba, Queluz, and Xiririca. They had held political positions: Norman Bernades was Tatuí mayor in 1932, and Henrique N. Lefèvre was a representative in the Paulista Constituent Assembly. Plínio Branco and Lysandro Silva were active contributors to the municipal journal (*RAM*). Adriano Marchini (SP 1896) was a 1932 hero. Most owned a private engineering firm. In this category, there were engineers living both in upper- as well as working-class neighborhoods, from Jardim Paulista to Barra Funda.

In 1935, the twenty DOP junior engineers had a similar profile.³⁵ At least five of them had fought the 1932 revolution and led CIDTs in the municipalities of Lorena, Aparecida, Itaporanga, and Queluz. They also held other jobs linked to either public officers (Telegraph) or consultants in private firms (Railway; Light; Votorantim; Scott & Ullner Co.; A.C. Prado). By the same token, 1935 DOP assistant engineers kept this same profile.³⁶ Many had fought and led CIDT in the municipalities of Fartura and Mococa in 1932. Some were instructors in the Liceu, and most owned their own private firms (e.g., Lacrete Building Co.). Table 3.1 summarizes this data and shows that the sixty-three engineers leading the DOP in May 1935 were divided into four main categories: chiefs of division, chiefs of subdivisions, or seniors, juniors, and assistants. The mayor had conceded

Table 3.1 DOP Engineers' Hierarchy and Background, May 1935

Hierarchy	Eng.	Origin						Age	1932	Education			Monthly Wage (Rs)
		SP	BR	F	n/a	I	P			M	Other		
Chief	7	4	1	1	1	3	43	5	6	1	—	2:500\$000	
Senior	19	12	1	—	6	5	38	6	11	4	4	2:000\$000	
Junior	20	10	4	—	6	6	38	5	10	5	5	1:800\$000	
Assistant	17	11	—	—	6	9	30	2	12	—	5	1:600\$000	
Total	63	37	6	1	19	23	37	18	39	10	14		

Note: SP stands for São Paulo capital and state, BR stands for other Brazilian states, F stands for foreigners, I stands for Italian last name, Age for Average Age, and 1932 for major participation in the conflict and CIDs. In education, P stands for POLI and M for Mackenzie.

permanent status to those twenty junior-ranked engineers (*escalão médio*) and the seventeen assistant engineers (*engenheiro ajudante*). There were also other engineers working under different regimes (such as on commission, as substitutes, and as interim professionals) who were not included here.

The DOP technical apparatus was usually recruited from three schools: POLI, Mackenzie, and the São Paulo Academy of Fine Arts, of which POLI (established 1894) was the historically preferred institution. As Table 3.1 shows, from the permanent DOP engineers, more than sixty percent were from POLI, twenty percent from Mackenzie, and twenty percent from other schools. Hence, learning about POLI and Mackenzie students who became DOP municipal officials sheds light on the formation of this group.³⁷

Most of the forty-nine DOP engineers from POLI and Mackenzie went to the few select preparatory schools in the capital.³⁸ Among these schools were the Catholic Diocesan and São Bento, the public state school Ginásio do Estado, the Italian Institute Dante Alighieri, and the American Presbyterian Mackenzie.³⁹ A few also attended schools in England, Belgium, Portugal, and the United States. POLI might not have had an explicit policy of recruiting students from a specific social class, but the school required from its students a strong educational background, payment of expensive fees, and full-time attendance.⁴⁰ As a patriarchal feature of the seigneurial system, engineer students had in their files a letter of recommendation either from their father or another influential republican. The very few files with complete information about the fathers' occupations show them to be liberal professionals (lawyers, pharmacists, engineers, and educators), holding higher military posts (colonel) or possessing distinguished titles (one judge of the high court—*desembargador*—and one baron). Many of those "fathers" were influential republicans. For instance, POLI civil engineer graduate Mário Júlio Ayrosa requested, for electoral purposes, his professional title certificate on February 10, 1922. Ayrosa's memo was stamped with the Engineers Republican Lodge's letterhead: the *Liga Republicana de Engenheiros*.⁴¹

The fact that the majority of files display only the father's name makes one speculate on their humble origins, not only because of the lack of the fathers' professions but also because of the foreign surnames and places of residence shown

on their birth certificates. For instance, DOP 1935 assistant engineers Horácio Marassa and Américo Bove were both sons of Italian immigrants who succeeded in small business as owners of a bakery and a small family beverage industry, located in modest neighborhoods, Barra Funda and Bom Retiro, respectively.⁴² In any event, in the 1930s, the majority of these parents could afford to pay fees, and there were very few students with scholarships. According to POLI's article 198, chapter vii, three criteria plus the requirement of never committing a serious fault against the school's laws granted students eligibility for full scholarship: first, students whose father was a federal employee (*funcionário público federal*), second students who had to work either full or part time to pay for their fees, and finally those who achieved outstanding academic records. The very few scholarships confirmed this pattern. Scholarships were granted to outstanding poor students, such as Adriano Marchini, or to public officers' sons, such as Walter Nascimento, who also had claimed in one of his letters to the school that he worked as a telegraph employee to pay for his living expenses and studies in São Paulo.⁴³ In 1935, both Marchini, the son of poor Italian immigrants, and José Azevedo, the son of a baron from Minas Gerais, were DOP engineers. Moreover, as we will see, both had been involved in the 1932 revolution.

In 1935, there were no representatives from the northern and northeastern states at the DOP.⁴⁴ The majority of municipal engineers were from São Paulo state, a few others were from Rio de Janeiro (Nestor Ayrosa and Domingos Almeida), Paraná (Rogério Andrade), Rio Grande do Sul (Gilberto Ratto), Minas Gerais (José Azevedo), and Goiás (Walter Nascimento).

Origins, Social Status, and Social Mobility of Other Paulista Middle-Class Professionals

Another way of understanding the arrangements within the municipal administration and the privileged place engineers came to occupy is to compare their situation to that of numerous other professionals, who neither found a niche in public service nor had the initial capital to open a private firm. Those professionals mirrored a complementary side to the reality described above and, in fact, had analogues in other middle-class occupations. The following section reconstructs practices and perceptions depicted by different contemporary experiences.

After the two basic years (*biênio*), POLI undergraduate engineers received a certificate that entitled them to work as surveyors and accountants. It was also common for them to work as middle school teachers and tutors.⁴⁵ Renowned educator Manoel Bergström Lourenço Filho depicted a bleak scenario, associated with failure, for most of these professionals: "The middle school teacher in Brazil was the physician without an office (*doutor sem clínica*), the lawyer without a cause, the engineer or the pharmacist without a job [i.e., people with a diploma], from different [though traditional professional] backgrounds who did not succeed in their profession."⁴⁶

From 1934 on, USP offered a new job market "enhancement" option for those "frustrated" professionals, the graduate with a diploma (*doutores*) and without a

job. They could have a second chance in higher education, whether as professors or enrolled again as students. As professors, some engineers came to profoundly influence the formation of other disciplines.⁴⁷ This pattern was true for other professions as well. As students, some lawyers had an important influence in disciplines such as history. In 1936, among the first eight history professors ever graduated from USP was lawyer Eurípedes Simão de Paula (1910–1977).⁴⁸ USP Bio Sciences Institute director Erasmo Garcia Mendes explained that in 1936, he and sociologist-to-be Lourival Gomes Machado decided to enroll as FFCL/USP students. Mendes was frustrated with his classes in law school and did not wish “to be one more lawyer (*apenas mais um advogado*),” whereas Machado had not been accepted into medical school and lived under difficult economic circumstances.⁴⁹ Ironically, in his first year, Machado attended FFCL/USP classes at the School of Medicine, headquarters to the newly created USP. Until 1938, USP had its different colleges scattered into different educational institutes within the city.

Historian Francisco Isoldi described the educational background of those who belonged to the midlevel groups in the 1930s and who did not have access to higher education. Accordingly, it was in the preparatory school (*ginásio*) that people learned an occupation: “When the student finished middle school his know-how (*engenho*) was already formed and his future decided. Some went to industry, in *humble jobs* [my emphasis], and formed the social category between the people (*o povo*) and the rulers of the country (*dirigentes do país*), either in politics or in sciences [meaning college education]. They were the bridge between the upper and the lower classes, they kept the nation’s cohesion (*mantiveram coeso o corpo da nação*).”⁵⁰

In his 1941 study about syphilis and its prevention in the city of São Paulo, Brazilian physician Durval Rosa Sarmiento Borges (1911) analyzed the ethnic origins of some of those from the “humbler” middling groups.⁵¹ He analyzed the origins of all members of the Institute for Old Age and Bank Pensions (Instituto de Aposentadorias e Pensões dos Bancários, IAPB), which included all São Paulo State Bank (BANESPA) employees, from office boys to directors. Borges’s study was anchored on a contemporary definition of middle class, which considered bank employees as the best representative group of the paulistana middle class. Accordingly, middle-class people were those “born from small businessmen, small landowners, or from bank employees in a humble position (*situação modesta*). They were people who, despite their low salaries, shared a tolerable (*suportável*) way of living. Bank employees were usually highly intelligent (*nível mental notavelmente elevado*), had received a comprehensive general-knowledge education (*ginásio*); that is, they displayed an excellent and solid cultural basis (*sólida base cultural*).”⁵² It is interesting to notice that in Portuguese, the term “class” is also employed to depict a professional group, and Borges always refers to his sample as the bank-employee class (*classe bancária*).

As Tables 3.2 and 3.3 illustrate, Borges’s study sheds light on a representative middle-class sample, given that it signified 92.2 percent of all the paulista bank employees (*classe bancária paulistana*), meaning 3,700 people from a total of 4,300 members. Accordingly, 89.2 percent of this middle-class bank-employee group was male. For the few hired bank-employee women, there was an explicit preference for married women. Borges stated that the remaining 10.8 percent

Table 3.2 Bank Employees' Origins, 1941

BBB	1,693							
BBI	70	BBP	33	BBA	15	BBX ^a	22	140
BIB	146	BPB	113	BAB	19	BXB	7	285
BII	622	BPP	160	BAA	69	BXX	143	994
III	13	PPP	158	AAA	92	XXX	90	353
OOO	135	Total with immigrant background						1,772

Notes: B = Brazilian; I = Italian; P = Portuguese; A = German; X = Other Origins; O = Unknown Origin (Employee's nationality, Employee's Father nationality, Employee's Mother nationality).

^aThe participation of those in the category of "others" (mainly Syrians, Spanish, Lebanese, Americans, British, Eastern Jews, and French), surpassed their proportion of the total population. Emilio Willems, "Brazil," *The Positive Contribution by Immigrants*. International Sociological Association (Paris: UNESCO, 1955), 130.

Source: Borges 1941, 99–104.

Table 3.3 Bank Employees' Age, 1941

Age	16–20	21–25	26–30	31–35	36–40	41–45	46–50	51–55	56–60	Total
Number	383	844	663	534	427	276	140	100	91	3,700
Percentage	11	24.4	19.1	15.4	12	7.9	4	2.8	2.6	100

Source: Borges 1941, 69, 99, and 104.

of his sample represented twenty-six married women.⁵³ The employee's average age was 28.3 years old, and, as Table 3.3 shows, most of them were in their early twenties.⁵⁴ An important characteristic of this young group was their strong foreign background. As Table 3.2 shows, 12.5 percent were foreigners (Italian and Portuguese, mainly) and almost half of the group—45.7 percent—were Brazilians with at least one foreign parent.⁵⁵ The percentage of employees of German origin is also significant, given that this group represented hardly more than two percent of the total population of the city of São Paulo. Brazilians whose parents were Brazilians made up the other half, and a significant portion of this group represented the domestic migrant wave pouring in São Paulo since the 1930s, of which ninety percent came from Bahia and Minas Gerais states.

Social Mobility

Based on the relatively high number of middle-class immigrants in São Paulo in the 1930s, sociologist Emilio Willems reported a dramatic social mobility among immigrants.⁵⁶ In São Paulo, the passage from slave to rural labor system permitted many first-generation immigrants in rural areas to become the owner-operators of small and medium-sized farms.⁵⁷ In this process, foreign immigrants duplicated the structure of their countries of origin.⁵⁸ More than the immigrant's sociocultural origin, the middle-class professionals' stories show that mobility had also to do with the existing opportunities in the place they chose to settle and work, and

with the particularities and contingencies linked to the political and economic times of their settlement.

Urban growth provoked occupational change among different social groups. For instance, in the Santana neighborhood, the end of services related to animal trade in the 1930s made its upper groups change their main economic orientation from trade to the liberal professions and real estate development.⁵⁹ By the same token, there was a rearrangement within the middle-class groups according to which foreign-born people turned to wholesale trade and real estate, whereas natives (including Afro-Brazilians) moved to public bureaucracy.⁶⁰

During this period, immigrants and bureaucrats formed friendships and interlocking networks that enhanced the politico-economic status of both groups. The key to this situation was accessibility to government resources, which increased dramatically from 1930 on.⁶¹ Though there was an expansion in public employment in Brazil during the 1930s, this reality differed within the regions and the several states. This was especially true for the middle class in Rio de Janeiro, the federal district, where the number of public servants jumped from four thousand to fifty-nine thousand people.⁶² In São Paulo state, however, this growth was from five thousand to thirteen thousand people.⁶³ Bureaucrats sought to live where housing was cheap and close to the city center, where state and municipal jobs were located.⁶⁴ According to the "Acquired Properties" section of *O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper, a house (*sobrado*) in Santana's economic core (Alfredo Pujol Street) cost thirteen *contos* in July 1938, practically ten percent the value of a house (*palacete*) in the Jardim area. It is also true that most DOP employees lived in those neighborhoods. The following section explores this 1930 reality.

DOP: The Right Internship for a Guaranteed Professional Future, Higher Status, and a Middle-Class Life

In the 1930s, outstanding POLI students were able to choose an internship in public institutions, of which the DOP was a preferred selection, since the DOP had always enjoyed a privileged place within the municipal apparatus. In 1935, at least fourteen engineers had been such outstanding students. From these, at least four were engineer-architects. All of them had access to their municipal jobs through the granting of an internship. See, for example, Américo Bove's handwritten letter requesting an internship in the DOP's first section in the following terms: "I hereby declare to have chosen, among all occupations/internships to which graduated engineers from this school have the right to apply, the one related to the DOP first section in this capital."⁶⁵

Under the same terms, Carlos Lodi requested an internship at the DOP Architecture Section on December 29, 1933.⁶⁶ Bove's request, the DOP's first section, was the Directorate of Works of Art, whose chief was engineer Nestor Ayrosa. Born in the early 1890s, Ayrosa was a POLI civil engineer who lived in the middle-class neighborhood of Vila Pompéia in 1934. Like most of the older engineers, Ayrosa had a history of working for railways that explored the São Paulo hinterlands and reached its backlands, the *sertão*; he also collaborated in

private companies such as Light and Votorantim. In 1934, the age gap between a chief engineer and an assistant engineer was more than thirty years. In 1934, the oldest engineer was fifty-nine-year-old DOP chief of section Regino de Paula Aragão, born in the state of Ceará in 1876. In 1900, Aragão was one of the first POLI graduates to seek expertise in industrial engineering. On the other hand, the youngest, twenty-six-year-old paulistano assistant engineer Alberto Moreira Baptista Filho, graduated as a civil engineer in 1932.⁶⁷ In 1935, the gap dropped more than ten years. In 1935, forty-eight-year-old paulistano DOP chief of section and 1932 revolutionary João Florence de Ulhôa Cintra was the oldest officer, and twenty-seven-year-old engineer assistant Baptista Filho was still the youngest.

Prado's administrative reform reinvigorated the DOP engineering chart with a younger generation. From 1935 on, the generation working at the DOP, for the first time in thirty years, was mainly born around the turn of the century, coming of age after the 1920s. It was a generation that experienced neither the initial coffee boom nor the railway expansion. This young generation was mainly experiencing the consequences of urban and industrial growth.

To cope with these transformations, engineers in the 1930s typically held two or more jobs—one with a small private firm (usually with just one partner) and another job in the government. Alternatively, they sometimes hired on as a collaborator of a big company on a freelance basis. These engineers became responsible for most of the middle-class houses constructed in different neighborhoods in the city. For instance, the firm of engineers Carlos Cardim and José Malheiro built more than two hundred middle-class two-story houses (*sobrados*) in Móoca when hired as collaborators by the Sociedade Construtora Co. According to engineer Amador Cintra do Prado, assistant engineer Marcial Oliveira's partner in the 1930s, a common practice at this time was to buy a piece of land with one's father and brothers, other relatives, or friends, and then to build houses to sell.⁶⁸

Other municipal engineers commingled their jobs by entering public tenders. Júlio Lacrete undertook a school for the DC children's park program (the Praça Romana Municipal Park) through his firm. Cardim also built schools for the state (1935–37), and so did Raul Bolliger, who won DOP public tenders for a professional school in Sorocaba as well as the Birigui public prison (1936). The evidence suggests that, as a rule, most "permanent" municipal engineers did not devote their full time to their public job.

Those who did devote their full time to the institution were officials who came to represent a solid symbol of continuity. Part of this group went from DOP internships to the post of DOP director—such as engineers Arthur Saboya, João Florence de Ulhôa Cintra, Carlos Cardim, Rogério Andrade Filho, and Carlos Lodi. Others spent their whole professional life as municipal officials—such as engineer Heitor Nardon.⁶⁹

As mentioned earlier, nepotism continued to exist, but it was not pursued to the detriment of the institution's work, instead it became part of its functional network. It also reflected the maintenance of certain social practices (such as a common tendency for sons to follow their fathers into a same successful profession) and the needs of an urban, intellectual, and industrial elite. In 1935, two sons of POLI vice director, professor, and retired DOP engineer Lúcio Martins Rodrigues

worked in the DOP. Lúcio, Jr., was a senior engineer. Alexandre Rodrigues, the youngest chief engineer, was also Fábio Prado's assistant. In terms of social capital, the choice candidate was marked by a good combination of cultural intellectual affinity and nepotism, such as the case of the mayor's cabinet assistant, Elias Chaves Neto, and DOP director, Benjamin Egas, who was also historian Eugênio Egas's son.⁷⁰ In this selection process, however, as we shall see in the next section, support for the ideals of 1932 was the most significant category.

Under the Majors' Rule

Politically, this generation was united mainly by the 1932 ideals. In 1934, Paulo Duarte acknowledged that he had brought to the prefecture "all [his] soldiers from the *blindado* (armored train) who needed employment."⁷¹ From the lowest to the highest ranks, this pattern pervaded the local government structure. The DOP chart confirms that social capital related to 1932 had its payoff after August 1933 with the arrival of Governor Salles Oliveira. In a significant hierarchical metaphor, if the 1930 revolution symbolized the crowning of the lieutenant (*tenentes*) rebellion, 1932 belonged to the majors (*majores*). All the engineers in Prado's administration had performed important positions in 1932. A colonel in the 1932 Revolution, Alexandre Albuquerque (1880–1940) was responsible for the CIDT (Technical Delegation Commissions) scheme and organization.⁷² After the revolution, Albuquerque became a principal link between POLI graduates and positions in the state and municipal government. Most DOP engineers held the major military position and led CIDTs in key municipalities during the 1932 revolution.

In 1935, DOP director Arthur Saboya commanded seven chief engineers, of which five had performed key roles in the 1932 revolution. Ulhôa Cintra had been the Mogyana sector commander, José Amadei legally served as a legal conduit between the municipality and professional institutions, Majors Cássio Vidigal (Igarapava) and Benjamin Egas (Caçapava) were CIDT commanders, and Alexandre Rodrigues had collaborated in the Lorena CIDT under Major João Fóz. Following the hierarchy, five seniors engineers commanded or participated in CIDTs—Majors Luis Pereira de Almeida (Caconde),⁷³ Norman Bernardes (Altinópolis), Christiano Luz, Jr. (Ubatuba), Pedro França Pinto (Queluz),⁷⁴ and Lysandro Silva (Xiririca). Of these, two were considered 1932 revolution heroes, França Pinto and Adriano Marchini. On September 8, 1932, Marchini lost his right hand during grenade experiments for the revolution in the POLI Materials Testing Laboratory (LEM).⁷⁵ Three junior engineers headed CIDTs: Majors Carlos Craig (Itaporanga), Walter Nascimento (Aparecida), Marcial Fleury Oliveira (Queluz and Joanópolis). Two junior engineers were collaborators: José Armando Azevedo (Lorena) and Emílio Cordes (Aparecida). The military hierarchy was not repeated in the municipal chart, where commanders and subordinates worked together for the same wage (Nascimento and Cordes) or subordinates were in a higher position (Rodrigues and Azevedo). One may say that the revolution in São Paulo, though it remained in the social middle, provoked a status improvement, from the 1930

humble “middle-class” *tenentes* to those dynamic middle-class *major* engineers. These engineers set an example and led the younger generations coming to public service. Though there were two engineer assistants who headed CIDTs—Majors Monteiro da Gama (Mococa) and Renato Machado de Oliveira (Fatura)—the majority of the assistant engineers turned into a homogenous example of professionals who were from São Paulo state, studied at POLI, and were, throughout their professional life, affected by the ideals of the 1932 movement.

It is important to note that at least three of these DOP engineers held important political positions. Two DOP engineers, Majors Vidigal and Lefèvre, defended municipal interests as congressmen in the São Paulo Constituent Assembly of 1935. Major Bernades was Tatuí mayor in 1932. And, in 1935, Marcial Fleury de Oliveira was a member of the Commission for the “Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo” Building.

Residence Patterns

Another revealing aspect about this group related to the location in which these officers “chose” to live in the city. Usually, the neighborhood where they were raised set the general parameters for location, reinforcing a correlation between income and social status. Those coming from a high social status chose middle-class *sobrados* in their sophisticated neighborhoods, such as Liberdade, Campos Elíseos, and Santa Cecília, and those coming from a lower social status would choose the middle-class neighborhoods within the limits of those areas, such as Vila Pompéia, Água Branca, and Alto da Lapa. As a rule, all of the officials lived in middle-class neighborhoods around seven kilometers from the downtown area.⁷⁶

It is noteworthy that 1935 saw a project stating that the City Hall (Paço Municipal) was to be located in the Ponte Grande, the northern region of the city, close to the Tietê River. The idea was to follow the examples of Paris and London, whose municipal headquarters were located close to the Seine and Thames Rivers.⁷⁷ Perhaps this was the reason so many senior engineers lived in northern Barra Funda neighborhood in 1935 (e.g., Luis G. P. Almeida, Miguel Godoy Netto, Pedro Pinto Filho, and João Thut).⁷⁸ Another reason could be this neighborhood’s key position between downtown and Cia City middle-class developments in the southwestern region. Carlos Andrade (1997) referred to them as the place of a “disciplined working class” composed of middle-class employees and professionals. Following this assessment, the common ground for being fit, proper, and modern seemed to be a person who had moderate political leanings, strong belief in the 1932 ideals, was of immigrant descent (especially Italian), and lived in the “disciplined” middle-class residences in neighborhoods such as Vila Pompéia, Alto da Lapa, and Barra Funda.

Engineering as the Middle-Class Career Option

Engineer-architect Villanova Artigas, another outstanding POLI student who entered the professional market as state DOP engineer in 1937 through Alexandre

Albuquerque's hands, later explained his professional choice.⁷⁹ During the 1930s, the discipline of architecture was a specialization course offered either in São Paulo POLI or in the Rio de Janeiro School of Engineering, which had been linked to the School of Fine Arts. Artigas explained that because for many Brazilians, including himself, fine arts were perceived as a "woman's thing" (*coisa de mulher*), he decided to attend POLI, a "male" school.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, Artigas was disappointed in POLI because the principles of Frank Lloyd Wright, the American architect he so much admired, were not found in any course there.

Artigas also explained that POLI professors taught the theory of how to build a roof, but in the practical work engineers always depended upon the work of roof makers, who typically were European immigrant workers.⁸¹ This split between theory and practice reflected the conflictive social perception of "manual work" at the time and the important role Italian immigrants played as a technical, licensed workforce in São Paulo. Immigrants formed an influential in-between professional group that carved its place in a society divided in its attitudes toward manual labor. These skilled professionals formed an important part of the middle classes. Their talents and labor led to changes in work practices, had a profound effect upon the existing order, and were vital to the process of altering class perceptions.

The lines middle-class people drew among different middle-class practices or between themselves and the lower orders depended on interwoven economic and cultural categories. Mostly, these categories were embedded in a political national identity under construction in the 1930s that asserted middle-class employees in myriad ways as the paulista expression of progress, a process within which they all felt a part.

Two research studies sponsored by the University of São Paulo in the 1940s and conducted by two professional women, Lucila Herrmann and Ernestina Giordano, further illuminated the process of middle-class professionalization. Their works focused on contemporary attitudes and social patterns. Herrmann's study, introduced by Roger Bastide and published by RAM in 1943, was conducted during the 1939–1942 period. The study explored, among other issues, the reasons for and consequences of a predominantly male population and changes in professional structure. The research confirmed a tendency toward a decrease in the still predominantly male population (this tendency was related to São Paulo state's immigration rate decrease) and an increase in the number of economically active women.⁸² Comparing the professional market in 1920 and 1934, Herrmann found there were three times as many people working in commerce and management, two times as many people in industry and transportation, and also a significant increase in people living on their dividends (*vivendo de renda*). Agriculture stagnated. It was remarkable that from all occupations it was only in the liberal professions that the number of economically active women did not increase.⁸³

In 1948, Giordano's inquiry presented information on how middle-class teens (children born and raised during the 1930s) imagined their own social position.⁸⁴ The research surveyed 1,435 teenagers (798 male and 637 female) who had graduated from preparatory school (*ginásio*) in São Paulo.⁸⁵ More than eighty percent of

all students believed there was a close connection between choosing the right profession and social mobility, though the correlation was very difficult for them to explain. For instance, “for a male 15 year-old *ginasiano*, son of an Italian builder, who wanted to be an engineer, engineering was the most important profession of all; poets would have a secondary importance, to which he added ‘it doesn’t matter how low (*menor*) the profession is, it has always some importance.’”⁸⁶

Parents wanted boys to be engineers and girls to be teachers or doctors. As Herrmann’s study pointed out, most middle-class people came from trade occupations and, as Giordano’s research showed, these occupations were accepted (*bem vista*) but considered a socially inferior choice among teenagers.⁸⁷ By the same token, very common middle-class occupations, such as cabinetmaker, carpenter, or seamstress, were considered inferior. Giordano showed that teenagers aspired to professions different from those of their parents, and that this professional preference reflected both parents’ and teenagers’ social beliefs.⁸⁸ Among other facts, the 1930s cohort’s aspirations for their children reflected the contradictions of their times symbolized in the prevailing mix of diplomas and manual and trade occupations.

The DOP staff reflected ethnic and economic cleavages within the middle class. These people shared different backgrounds and expectations that nevertheless unfolded in the “disciplined” way municipal engineers were supposed to live and work. The effects that Prado’s administration had on its officials’ works and lives marked the transition between the old municipal system and the “modern” one. During this transition, technical competence turned into a crucial alternative to active political engagement via these professionals’ private and public roles in the job market, backed by their participation in the old and newly created associations (e.g., the Engineering Institute) and councils (CREA). Moreover, the process of administrative reform made it possible for the new “social” engineers hired by the DC to enjoy the same social and financial status already bestowed upon the DOP engineers.⁸⁹

The following section examines the creation of the state Institute of Technological Research (the IPT), and the role of middle-class salaried professional and technical employees in the social configuration of the period.

From Engineers to Bureaucrats, Technicians, and Officials: POLI and IPT Employees

In 1934, the School of Engineering (POLI) became part of the just-created state university, the University of São Paulo (USP). Its technical laboratory, the Materials Testing Laboratory (LEM), which played an important role in the 1932 revolution, was expanded, upgraded, and transformed into the first state Institute of Technological Research (IPT). The very same year, POLI revised its annual journal, the *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* (AEP), which contained information about the school (professors, students, courses, and schedules) and the IPT.

In 1934, director Victor da Silva Freire, assisted by a vice director and a secretary, administered ten occupations in the POLI chart—librarian, bookkeeper, porter, office boy, *bedél* (foreseer), laboratory assistant, clerical employees, workshop chief, assistant workshop, and a military instructor (an unpaid position revoked in 1935).⁹⁰ Though the workshop chief position was revoked in 1935, the assistant position was retained. In relation to wages, in 1934, POLI director Victor da Silva Freire earned 1:600\$00, the same amount a DOP third engineer received in 1935.

The AEP explained that the IPT was created to be “a didactic [institution under POLI’s status] *but* (my emphasis) whose objective stood in giving technical support to our (i.e., paulista) industry.”⁹¹ Therefore, the state decree endorsed a close and permanent relation between the institute and industry. This relationship was assured through the establishment of an advisory council nominated by the government and composed of “members from the school’s advisory board, industry, and the engineering class,”⁹² who were four POLI professors,⁹³ two entrepreneurs,⁹⁴ and two engineers, respectively.

Furthermore, the AEP article noted the late Ramos de Azevedo’s role in the process of the modernization of POLI and, consequently, in the creation of the laboratory⁹⁵ (reinforcing the sense of the IPT’s role in supporting both private and public institutions). Using a paternalistic discourse, the journal equated the 1932 revolution with the ideals of the nation. The journal emphasized that its engineers, the school’s sons, would both dedicate themselves to their important individual tasks during peaceful times and exercise their vital practices “in cases of national defense, [as they had already given a demonstration through] their participation in the constitutionalist movement [of 1932].”⁹⁶ It is interesting to note that the position of a military instructor, created during the 1932 revolution, still appeared in the POLI’s organizational chart of 1934. It also reinforced the continued ties between the School of Engineering (POLI) and the state militia (Força Pública).

In 1934, IPT director engineer Ary Torres led nine occupations: division-chief engineers; assistant engineers; assistant chemists; research assistants (POLI students); and technical, clerical, clerical assistant, workshop, and custodial workers. They were all state employees. Another category, the IPT advisors, was appended to the chart. Ary Torres was a Pacaembu resident in 1934 who moved to Barra Funda in 1935, which might suggest a belief in the development of the city’s northern region. In 1935, there were two directors, engineers Torres and Adriano Marchini, who, as we have seen already, also worked in the DOP. The only woman working in the institute was a clerical employee, Santa Catharina Rossi, who lived in the Bela Vista neighborhood. The 1935 chart added new employees and midlevel positions (assistant chemist and assistants). For the first time, a woman was hired in a high position (diploma): Anna Maria F. Hoffman, an assistant chemist, who lived in Vila Mariana. In 1935, another female clerical employee, Rita G.T. Moraes, joined the chart. It is curious that Catharina lost the “Santa” in her name.⁹⁷

According to the IPT chart, all employees in the upper categories lived in central areas. Employees from the midlevel ranks included peripheral neighborhoods

(Guaianazes, Paraíso, Móoca, São Caetano do Sul), and custodial employees came from working-class areas such as Vila Galvão, Tucuruvi, Brás, and Villa Mazzei.

In 1937, the IPT organization chart defined permanent staff positions as those of the director, scientific-division chiefs, assistants, subassistants, bookkeepers, laboratory “helpers” (*preparadores*), laboratory assistants, and “technical” custodial. Temporary staff positions included engineers and chemists, assistants (who were students), administrative workers, and technical assistants.⁹⁸ Between 1934 and 1937, the IPT was under the directions of Torres; DOP engineer Marchini joined Torres in 1935 and 1937. From just one woman in 1934, there were ten female employees by 1937: Nine in the clerical positions (Isaura Argento, Alice L. Colpaert, Paulina V.B. Faria, Maria Antonieta Ferraz, Anita Hendler, Jenny Moraes, Rita Q.T. Moraes, Catharina Rossi, and Marina Silva) and Anna Hoffman, who was “promoted” from assistant chemist to assistant engineer in 1937.⁹⁹ Hoffman held a permanent position, whereas all clerical positions were temporary positions.

Any reading of the *O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper during 1935 brings to one’s attention the remarkable place and space given to the 1932 Constitutionalist revolution. The newspaper created a special column devoted to it named “For the Glory of the Constitutionalist Soldier.” During September 1935, it reported several times the sculpture just placed at POLI to pay homage to POLI’s engineer heroes. Therefore, the IPT, sponsored and created by paulista engineers, entrepreneurs, and politicians in 1934, represented much more than a mere expansion of the School of Engineering’s laboratory. It was a political response from the paulistas to the Vargas government.

IPT employees constituted a professional group within the engineering school and the state university hierarchy. In this sense, academia and state politics shaped the IPT’s upper hierarchy and brought distinctive values to the whole institute. Political concerns pervaded its decisions in matters such as subjects to be taught, professionals to be nominated, and foreigner professors to be invited.¹⁰⁰ The IPT’s upper hierarchy—composed of professors, liberal professionals, and city officials from the state or municipal level—was scattered across three functions, including director, chief, and assistants.

The IPT laboratories offered a true learning program for its student assistants.¹⁰¹ The students and technicians as well as clerical workers comprised a subset of the IPT’s middle hierarchy. For some students, these jobs opened the door to a higher position within the institute’s hierarchy, and for others they were simply transitional stages in individual career paths. The IPT charts show that students accepted as assistants tended to attain higher and official positions, as in the cases of engineers Eduardo Zoéga, Gilberto Molinari, Oscar Bergström Lourenço, and Antonio Sacco Netto. Equally, the IPT was a stable workplace for the middle and lower layers composed of technical, clerical, and custodial employees.

The IPT organizational charts reveal the institute as an expanding area of employment. From 1934 to 1937, the IPT organizational chart grew from twenty-seven to ninety-four employees. Reflecting contemporary hiring policies, the tenured “permanent” personnel did not grow—from twenty-seven employees in 1934, it dropped to twenty-six by 1937—but they had been joined by sixty-eight people working under contract in “temporary” positions.

There was growth in the number of consultants employed and, in this process, new occupations were invented. The original nine occupations in 1934 grew to thirteen in 1937. The increasing importance of a technical career was paralleled in the changes in the titles used to address them. In 1936, instead of designating the upper positions as “Dr.,” they became referred to as “Eng.,” differentiating this profession from doctors and lawyers, other dominant occupations. Increased specialization is also part of this process, since from “engineers” in 1936, categories were refined in 1937 for an engineer with a specialization in chemistry. Even custodial employees were differentiated as “technical” custodians and “worker” custodians (Table 3.4).

The watershed year that officially marked the changing role and place of a centralized administration in urban public institutions was 1937. Information about changes in IPT hiring practices that year shed some light on professionalization in terms of gender. In general terms, between 1930 and 1939, thirteen new higher-education professions (*profissões de nível superior*), created by law, were opened to women, promoting the feminization of various occupations. As the IPT chart showed, this process evolved only in clerical positions, which increased from one woman in 1934 to nine in 1937. As an exception to the male-dominated higher-education work environment, women in this clerical group counted for more than fifty percent of the group. In the upper positions, there was only one exception to the male dominance, engineer Anna Hoffman, a former POLI student hired in

Table 3.4 IPT Hierarchy, 1934–1937

OCCUPATION	1934	1935	1936	1937	
				Permanent	Contract
Director	1	2	1	2	—
Chief Engineer	7	8	9	5	—
Assistant Engineer	2	6	7	2	—
Assistant Chemist	—	4	8	—	—
Sub-assistant (1937)	—	—	—	5	—
Chemists and Engineers (1937)	—	—	—	—	16
Interns (Students)	2	3	4	—	9
Assistant (Preparer)	5	6	5	3	—
Bookkeeper (1937)	—	—	—	1	—
Clerical Employees	2	3	6	—	13
Assistant Worker	—	4	8	—	—
Laboratory Assistant (1937)	—	—	—	5	—
Technical Assistant (1937)	—	—	—	—	11
Workshop Worker	3	4	5	—	—
Custodial Worker	5	7	8	—	—
Technical Custodial (1937)	—	—	—	3	—
Workers (1937)	—	—	—	—	19
Total	27	47	61	26	68

Source: *Anuário da Escola Politécnica (AEP)* 1934 to 1937.

1935. All of these women became part of the “contracted autonomous employees” staff in 1937, suggesting that they were not considered public officials and were not eligible for benefits.

The system of recruitment for the IPT followed the same criteria as the DOP. The principal method of obtaining staff was by private nomination. Usually, an employee was admitted through some influential person’s recommendation or through that of some other official. It was very common to hire relatives. Oswaldo Colpaert, the bookkeeper (1937), shared his last name with two people (one of them living at the same address). In 1937, this patronage was modified by subjecting candidates to a test. According to the organizational chart, this rule was applied to the twenty-six permanent employees. This rule did not apply to the other sixty-eight contracted autonomous employees. Hence, occupations under contract did not require a test. For these positions, preexisting job practices found a way to resist. For instance, among the engineers and chemists under contract—that is, receiving salaries—two (Frederico Angeleri and Odair Grillo) were on study trips to Europe, one (Edgard Carvalho) worked as a DOP engineer, one (Telemaco van Langendock) was on leave, and two (José Pereira and Mario Pereira) were commissioned from other agencies (the Secretary of Agriculture and the Department of Roads and Highways). As in the DOP structure, old work practices and nepotism were molded to the new times. The “modern” did not supplant clientelism, but rather existed interwoven with it in an approximation of sound bureaucratic practices.

The evidence does not suggest a deliberate policy to recruit staff from a particular social class or race, but the hiring of Afro-Brazilians rarely occurred, and was restricted to unskilled jobs like porters and clerical staff. As opposed to Cia City workers, who lived near the jobs they performed for the company (gardeners or diggers), POLI and IPT employees lived spread across different neighborhoods or in peripheral zones (*periferia*), though recreating the same network of family and friendship existing in other social layers.

The year 1937 marked the crowning of a politics that split the population at large between formal and informal employment. Organizational charts of private and public institutions reflected their role in creating or adjusting to those categories of the changing times. The 1930s saw the development of the salaried middle-class professional. To be an engineer could represent a “high” social status, but it did not secure a privileged economic position. Most of the engineers working at the municipal or state level lived as midlevel salaried workers. As we saw, most of them worked several jobs to make ends meet. Some ran their own firm, held a public job, and taught at private schools. When the 1937 federal decree forbade a person to hold more than one public job, several officer engineers had to choose between the public and the private. João Florence de Ulhôa Cintra, for example, gave up his position as a professor at POLI to continue in the municipal Department of Works. In the case of the IPT, the administrative structure permitted a more flexible situation for chemists and engineers to cope with this new rule, since they were hired as professionals with a contract and not as public officers. In any event, those who became tenured/permanent employees had to choose. For instance, engineer Adriano Marchini, commissioned from

the DOP, left the municipality to become a tenured IPT officer. Later, the 1937 decree was modified by an act of the 1946 Constitution, which permitted those who had given up permanent positions (*cargos vitalícios*) to return to their old job if it was still available or to enjoy its earnings until it became available again. DOP engineer Lysandro Silva is an exemplary case.¹⁰² Silva, who had to give up his POLI teaching position for his DOP occupation, requested it back in 1946. But he lost the teaching position to future São Paulo mayor, engineer Lucas Nogueira Garcez. Silva kept the earnings amid an obstinate personal battle. Though he had not taught at POLI for years, in 1951, Silva requested an increase in his teaching salary. He never regained his position, and retired as a POLI professor in the late 1950s.

In the case of engineers Marchini and Cintra, their professional choices reflected the status and social significance of the IPT and DOP. For these 1932 veteran engineers, public institutions were more than a professional phase; they became the expression of their own lives. In this process, engineers were transformed into either bureaucrats or influential professionals. The following section explores exemplary paulista engineers who turned into significant statesmen.

From Engineers to Statesmen: Technicians and Politicians

During the 1930s, Francisco Prestes Maia and Luis Anhaia Mello, POLI students, professors, and engineering professionals represented conflicting political approaches to urban problems and the latent contradictions of urban development in São Paulo in the 1930s. Their urban ideologies inspired middle-class professionals from both the private and public spheres. These engineers' technical and political prestige strongly imprinted two distinct periods: a paulista phase from 1930 to 1938, and the Estado Novo phase from 1938 to 1945.

During the first time period, which was marked by municipal autonomy, Anhaia Mello headed major municipal positions. Mello was mayor, vice mayor, and Mayor Fábio Prado's main urban advisor, and he played a decisive role in the policymaking process and the creation of innovative legal mechanisms. Mello was the spearhead for seminal urban legislation embedded with strong U.S. economic and cultural influences. Nonetheless, in May 1938, as a result of the 1937 Estado Novo coup (November 10, 1937), Prestes Maia replaced Prado as mayor and resumed the impressive changes in the city. The vital watershed between those two periods is clearly marked by how those moments were to be perceived by the following generation.

In the mid-1950s, the then newly published USP journal stated that "there would be no exaggeration to say that the fourth foundation of São Paulo took place during Maia's term." The authors acknowledged that "Mayor Fábio Prado (1934–1938) initiated São Paulo's main process of urban renewal within the modern tenets of urbanism; nonetheless, Mayor Prestes Maia was the real author of the

city renewal, during his seven-year administration (1938–1945).¹⁰³ During the celebration of the city's anniversary in 1954, Ernani da Silva Bruno, a municipal employee in the 1950s, completely ignored Fábio Prado's name in his classic book, whereas Prestes Maia is quoted in it several times. Though Maia occupied and maintained a powerful, influential role among scholars and in the state bureaucracy during the 1950s, he did not succeed in being elected during the several times he ran in this period. Though municipal engineers and urban professionals did not react politically to the coup, their conflictive positions were reflected in the process that divided the paulista technical and academic spheres between Maia's and Mello's positions.

Both outstanding POLI students, Luis Anhaia Mello and Francisco Prestes Maia followed affluent professional, political paths. Nonetheless, these engineers' paths never merged into one. Indeed, imprinted with the stamp of their times, their different perspectives reflected important contradictions inherent to this era.

Luis Anhaia Mello and Francisco Prestes Maia

Born in Amparo, Prestes Maia studied in a Benedictine school in the capital, whereas Mello, born in São Paulo city, studied in a Jesuit school in Itu.¹⁰⁴ They graduated as civil and architectural engineers and became POLI professors. During their early professional life, they acquired specialized training in different spheres. Mello was an intern in the most prestigious private engineering firm, the *Escritório* (1913), and also worked for one of its subsidiaries, the *Cia Iniciadora Predial* (1913–1964). On the other hand, Maia was an intern at the public DOP (1918), and in the 1920s, he worked as a DOP engineer, owned his own firm, and taught at POLI (beginning in 1924).

The DOP, led by Victor Freire, seems to have been to intern engineer Maia what the *Escritório*, led by Ramos de Azevedo, was for young engineer Mello: the cradle of their professional training and future policies as mayors in the 1930s. Freire had introduced concepts of urban analysis in the DOP programs.¹⁰⁵ For Freire, the core of urbanism was in urban property's growth, improvement, and profit. Freire promoted the economic rationalization of the building process, expressed in the shorter height of rooms, basement elimination, and site optimization. Freire envisaged for São Paulo an urban legislation similar to that of Minneapolis, Minnesota, a city similar in size and in population to São Paulo. In this legislation, building heights were proportional to street size and limited to a six-floor maximum. This practice intended to maximize transport and facilitate water, sewage, and electricity installations. Most important, this urban principle was the coup de grâce to unsanitary low-income housing (*vilas operárias*) and private narrow streets (*quejandas*). Omitting social issues, Freire's urban practices privileged capitalist accumulation and favored public-private alliances with big, powerful entrepreneurs and estate owners. In 1923, the media spread news of the "paving scandal," in which DOP director Freire was accused of favoring and granting industrialists Monteiro and Aranha with a public contract for paving 150 kilometers of streets in the city capital.¹⁰⁶

Anhaia Mello entered politics in 1920 as a Democratic Party (PD) councilman. Mello followed Freire in that paulista urbanism should learn from both U.S. cities' legislation and the British garden-city model—important topics in his 1928 POLI course syllabus. However, unlike Freire, Mello viewed urban improvement as the result of a steady partnership between the municipality and entrepreneurs in which both should share the costs and benefits of urban accomplishments. In this way, Mello believed the secret for a sustainable urban development and a proper city rested in a balance between built density (*adensamento*) and economic development. In order to be livable and still achieve its maximum effectiveness, verticalization and build density should have limits dictated by each city's peculiarities. Using this approach, Mayor Mello introduced important changes in Arthur Saboya's building code (such as setback requirements) and regulated public services rendered by private firms under public concession.

In the early 1930s, Mello served as Engineering Institute president (1929–1930), mayor (1930–1931), and vice mayor (1931–1934), whereas Prestes Maia worked for the state DOP. Both engineers preached urbanism as the solution for São Paulo problems and were founders of the Society of Friends of São Paulo (Sociedade Amigos da Cidade, SAC) in 1935.¹⁰⁷ Roughly speaking, based on contemporary international urban theory, Mello defended a broad plan for the city that limited city growth. In contrast, Prestes Maia believed urban growth should never be limited as it was a series of technical problems to be faced and solved according to each problem's particularity. Whereas Mello was theoretical and an expert of U.S. legislation, Prestes Maia was pragmatic and an entrepreneur (*realizador*).¹⁰⁸

In 1936, Prestes Maia presented to the SAC a plan supporting zoning legislation; the core argument viewed zoning as a tool for securing one's urban investment. For Prestes Maia, zoning should primarily guarantee the investments of the urban landowner (from the humble individual to the huge corporation). The logic behind this was that people spent great sums to build homes or rental buildings, and zoning should provide a guarantee that these investments would not lose their value. Maia stated that zoning should prevent devaluation by inhibiting mixed uses, such as opening a butcher store, building a tenement house, or creating parking spaces close to residential investments.¹⁰⁹ Following this contemporary logic, Chapter 2 illustrated how Cia City had boosted its sales by legally providing residential urban zoning within its estates.

From 1932 to 1941, Mello used his course at POLI as a lively intellectual arena for his urban theories. The most influential urban consultant during Prado's administration (1934–38), Mello advised the mayor on all urban issues related to zoning (*ocupação do solo urbano*), and his "accounts were never politically contested."¹¹⁰ Prado used to leave the most controversial legal processes in Mello's office to have him calculate the additional tax on profits related to estate improvements after a public work.¹¹¹ In April 1936, Mello played a decisive role in the elaboration of the Additional Tax on Profits (Act 1074).¹¹² Beyond zoning guidance, Mello orchestrated the study of far-ranging urban legislation and provided advice on specific municipal legal processes and general urban issues for both the mayor's speeches and the governor's political platform. Mello was the urban soul of this administration.

Mello's contribution made a huge impact on urban directives before May 1938. Indeed, in May 1938, Mayor Prestes Maia's first step was to put under his own control "Mello's" Additional Tax on Profits Division (act 1409), completely breaking the back of the former administration's legal regime. Prestes Maia suppressed several leading municipal occupations and nominated his old friend and influential DOP engineer João Florence de Ulhôa Cintra to be the DOP director. In a cunning move, he did not make violent changes in either the regular staff or in its normal daily activities. Chapter 5 explores this moment.

After the Estado Novo, there was a radical move to arbitrary forms of public administration reinforcing an autocratic, corporatist state. Anchored in a supposedly "administrative" rationale that imposed functionality, regularity, and method, the Prestes Maia administration motto was "government is management."¹¹³ In the 1940s, under this pseudo-apolitical model, Maia completely succeeded in submitting the municipal apparatus to the various levels of the Department of Administration of the Public Service (Departamento de Administração do Serviço Público, DASP).

In 1942, Victor da Silva Freire praised Maia's administration for bringing effective city "modernization."¹¹⁴ For both engineers, modernization meant a constant, intelligent urban verticalization arrangement; that is, a disciplined continuous city growth process avoiding congested areas. Zoning (planning intervention) was seen as one among many solutions to urban blockage and obstruction. Prestes Maia added to it and emphasized even more strongly the roadways strategy (*estratégia viária*) as the effective tool of urban intervention.¹¹⁵ This directive was similar to the one that North American engineer Robert Moses envisaged for New York.¹¹⁶ Yet, in its peculiar implementation, this strategy reinforced São Paulo's radial and concentric structure and permitted the continuous sprawl of unofficial (*clandestina*) and irregular urban occupation in the outskirts of the city. Prestes Maia imposed "a municipal urban network [whose] main incongruity was the burden of a radial system on an urban space that had developed in a cluster form (*de modo polinucleado*)."¹¹⁷ Furthermore, Maia's pacts with private urban interests helped to enforce this contradiction. In São Paulo, these negotiations reflected the paulista entrepreneurial dynamism at its most recalcitrant.

During historian Richard Morse's fieldwork in São Paulo in 1948, Prestes Maia was State Director of Public Works (1946–1952). Morse's book (1958) reflects the sharp criticism of Maia's work in the late 1940s and 1950s. Morse explained that Maia's 1930 "Project for a Plan of Avenues in São Paulo City" was known to architects as "The Divine Comedy," and the 1945 "The Improvements of São Paulo Plan" as "Purgatory" (1958, 284–85).

Although the events of 1938 were forgotten, in the 1950s, the main criticism of Maia centered on the complete disregard for the Additional Tax on Profits during his term.¹¹⁸ In fact, Mayor Maia fully ignored the idea of returning to the city part of the benefits deriving from the increased value accruing to certain areas of the city after public improvements. Rather, as a perverse consequence, federal legislation served to protect private property in a way that blindly returned profits exclusively to private urban proprietors.¹¹⁹

Under authoritarian rule, Anhaia Mello had only surfaced politically as State Public Works Division director, during Governor Fernando Costa's term (1941–43), only to disappear again in 1943. Mello resigned in protest over government policies, given that his posture on resolving the city's urban problems clashed completely with that of Mayor Prestes Maia (already known as the "mayor who does"—*prefeito empreendedor*). In 1946, Mello helped to create the paulista school of architecture (FAU/USP), and he was its first director. As a scholar, Mello deeply influenced generations of architects and engineers.¹²⁰ Likewise, as an urban planner, Prestes Maia deeply influenced generations of architects and engineers in public agencies.

Prestes Maia became an important reference for all engineers in public service. Rogério César Andrade Filho, DOP engineer (1935–57), believed Francisco Prestes Maia was "the best mayor São Paulo ever had."¹²¹ DOP engineer Cardim, who succeeded Ulhôa Cintra as DOP Urbanism Division director (1938), was Mayor Maia's close collaborator and follower. Carlos Lodi, DOP engineer (as of 1934), detailed Mayor Maia's urban proposals during the Estado Novo. DOP engineers Américo Bove and Horácio Marassa kept alive memories of Maia. Bove attended Prestes Maia's classes, but he did not enjoy them; his favorite professor was Carlos Gomes de Souza Shalders. For Marassa, Maia's classes dissuaded him from pursuing the architectural specialization he dreamed of at the beginning of his studies.¹²²

Maia was responsible for most of the road network around São Paulo, and the metropolitan region was peculiarly geared toward the automobile. In considering Maia's role in redirecting transportation priorities in the city, however, it is important to remember that the great builder swam with the tide of history. During most of his lifetime, the operative question was not whether to build highways or subways; rather, the essential questions were what kinds of highways should be built and where they should go. From the perspective of a traffic engineer, Maia viewed the metropolis largely as an economic and transportation problem, not as a delicate interplay of families, businesses, and neighborhoods. Seen in a broader context, the achievement of Maia was, through the complex forces that shape an urban society, to adapt São Paulo to the needs of the twentieth century.¹²³

In fact, both Prestes Maia and Mello exemplified (albeit different) political paths followed by engineers that prevailed in the 1930s, and they were responsible for influencing generations of engineers, architects, and public employees.

Middle-Class Engineers

In a still-rural country, the 1930s paulista urban middle class found expression as a composite of rural immigrant and provincial migrant (*caipira*) backgrounds, modified by aspirations of social mobility into a technical, modern, and status-conscious outlook. Contemporary magazines, newspapers, and white-collar association journals promoted an attractive, modern, new way of life that was conspicuously different from the way the previous generation had lived.¹²⁴ Middle-class professional groups enforced a new, consensual but contradictory

taxonomy of class rooted in diverse economic and cultural patterns that produced variable notions of “social inferiority.” If the economic boundary between white-collar employees and professionals had grown porous, it assumed even subtler dimensions in relation to manual work in São Paulo. These different social codes intermingled in conflictive cultural and historical traditions (for instance, among white European immigrants, paulista whites and blacks, and rural migrants from other states). Some cultural barriers between middle-class professionals and generations of working-class immigrants and migrants assumed new contours and social significance.

These new cultural borders were socially acknowledged in memoirs and novels of the 1930s and 1940s, as well as manifested and crystallized in the way people settled and worked. In 1935, the staff composition of both the Municipal Works Department and BANESPA suggested that varying sociocultural hierarchies coexisted in work practices. In the municipality, these boundaries were more related to one’s role in the 1932 movement, and they privileged education rather than one’s origins, residency, or salary. This fact helped to create a mindset conferring to professionals a status different from that held by state military, bureaucratic positions, or jobs in the tertiary sector.

The new policies related to the organization of the municipal departments and institutes, such as the DOP and IPT, revealed the use and manipulation of education, social mobility, and social identity. The DOP and IPT organizational charts reflected how these issues unfolded under the technocratic and increasingly authoritarian content of the government, and were fundamental in shaping urban practices. The *getulista* interventionist state thereby helped to shape urban practices. By the same token, these agencies’ roles in building the state image, the symbol of the paulista industrial state that relied upon modernist styles, became an ongoing process that was extended to the nation under Getúlio Vargas.

The issue of how middle-class people relate to the world through professional activity is a crucial one, particularly in a place like Brazil where other political avenues seem less attractive to many people. This chapter showed that the uneven origins and traditions brought to play in the social arena through different social actors are indicative of the inadequacy of a distinctive dividing line between lower- or upper-middle-class social groups based exclusively on occupation, salaries and wages, or other sources of income. Bringing such an analysis to the study of the DOP and IPT staff composition helps to reveal a flexible sociocultural line among people—struggling in the middle—and it offers a new and more refined understanding of the emerging middle class in São Paulo.

Most middle-class engineers and middle-class employees hired in these institutions in the 1930s had fluid access through important private and public institutions. They shared technical backgrounds and schooling (most of the time), but went through a hierarchy of different bureaucratic training, whether at the municipal level, the private level, or both. The DOP and IPT organizational charts show the paulista government as an expanding arena of employment by the late 1930s. The technical nature of the government’s work, organizations, bureaucratization, methods of recruitment, and the sources from which its workforce were drawn all reveal how the burgeoning administrative structure evolved.

After 1935, the DOP and IPT procedures followed the classic practices of modern bureaucracy, including a hierarchical structure (in which the lower positions were supervised by higher ones), a systematic division of labor, some fixed career lines within the hierarchy, payment of salary according to status and sometimes length of service (rather than for work performed), and the existence of general rules for the management of the office. After 1937, permanent employees enjoyed the security of tenure, with a pension provided in old age, but they were also expected to devote their full working capacity to the public job.

However, traditional practices survived mainly through the many employees who could simultaneously keep their private jobs and their public occupations. Reliance on sociopolitical connections continued to be an important strategy for entering the job market, but, as evidence from POLI archives suggests, merit (a great number of outstanding students) and civic connections (participation in the 1932 movement) played equal or sometimes greater weight. The ideas of merit, loyalty, and civic commitment commingled and were embedded in the public institutions' hiring strategies. The examination of these practices enlarges our understanding of the conditions of white-collar professionals, engineers, and technical employees with a diploma in São Paulo in the 1930s. Some of these professionals became bureaucrats, others technicians, and others politicians—all of whom represented a salaried middle class. The study of important parts of their theoretical production, its reach and consequences for urban policies and people's businesses and lives, is given in the following chapter.

"Modernity" in the São Paulo of the 1930s and 1940s blurred distinctions between *funcionários* (technical and clerical staff) and professionals (engineers and architects), and sometimes between employees and workers. It was a period marked by a type of professional orientation wherein to be "proper, fit, and modern" meant not only getting education, but also getting the "right" education leading to the best position. This "right" education was being constructed at the new universities of the time, and it reflected contemporary considerations of gender and race in its selective process. In this sense, male technical competence was a crucial alternative to active political engagement. At the same time, bureaucratic structures reproduced and reinforced a sense of hierarchy that already existed in pre-1930s Brazil.¹²⁵ The logistics of 1932 formalized a sociopolitical dynamic between city, town, and countryside that was taken to a different level after 1934. Under this new model, the model citizen from the middle sphere continued to be viriliously (in a pragmatic form) male, became literate, and was (under Brazilian perception) white. Municipal professionals are an example of a group among other groups or networks that bridged two or more of the social classes. Considering the political influence of engineers during the 1930s, it is fair to say that the *bacharel* "lost" its place to the new technical professional.¹²⁶ This process, mixed with the persistence of patronage, made the tension between merit and patronage come to rest at the very center of what it meant for these public officers to be modern. To be "fit and proper" and thus "modern" from this perspective made technicians and professionals, employees and workers part of the same middle-class lifestyle ideal.

Chapter 4

The Symbolic Construction of a Paulista Urban Identity

In 1936, a delay in the work to extend the Brasil Avenue in São Paulo city, part of a public urban improvement program, prevented several Municipal Works Department (DOP) employees from doing their job. The avenue, a vital link in the highway scheme of connecting downtown to the southern and western areas of the city, ended in a cabbage patch twenty meters short of a path already opened farther ahead.¹ Visiting the site, Mayor Fábio da Silva Prado took the opportunity to talk to the cabbage patch's owner, a *chacareiro* (subsistence farmer), who was watering his garden. In a serious but slightly ironic way, Prado asked, "Tell me, my friend, don't you want the municipality to build a brand new street that will improve not only the city you live in but the site where your house stands?" Pensively, the Portuguese immigrant explained to the mayor that the piece of land they were on provided his livelihood, that the prefecture offered only 7 *contos* (7:000\$000) for it, and that he did not know when that sum would be paid. The humble man believed this part of his land was worth more than 12 *contos*, and he added that even if the prefecture agreed to his terms it still might not be a good deal.² The *chacareiro* argued that he and his family would starve because nobody would cover the earnings he would lose until he could settle again. Besides, it was common knowledge that the prefecture took a long time to reimburse people, that his total earnings came from this land, and that nobody would cover him until he could settle the compensation.

Mayor Prado paused, considered for a moment, and said, "What if I were to pay you the 12 *contos* right now?" Skeptical, the *chacareiro* nevertheless responded, "You would have a deal!" Though 12 *contos* was a significant amount of money (more than the mayor's monthly salary), the mayor quickly gathered it from his personal account.³ In a half-hour, Prado paid the Portuguese *chacareiro* (who had already saved enough cabbages for some upcoming farmers' markets) and instructed DOP employees to take down the fence around the land, prepare the site, and resume their work. In forty-eight hours, engineer Benjamin

Egas, director of the DOP, opened this section of Brasil Avenue entirely to the public.⁴ In a further wrinkle to the story, Prado officially donated the 12 *contos* paid to the *chacareiro* to the Culture Department's children's park program, with instructions that the money be retrieved from the DOP. As the *chacareiro* had predicted, it took more than a year for the park program to receive the money from the municipal bureaucracy.

The preceding account expresses some of the transitional ambiguities of a period in São Paulo's history that was marked by extraordinary rates of urban growth. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the ambivalent spaces and social identities shared by municipal intellectual and technical groups during this time, when urban planning, architecture, and politics crafted in bold strokes the forces that molded the formation of new middle social sectors. Though state bureaucrats do not constitute a social class, in liminal moments they may form a powerful group whose interests stem from their origins and positions in the technical administrative apparatus and from characteristics acquired in their political experiences. Usually seen as the expression of well-defined social identities, São Paulo's municipal bureaucrats shared a variety of imprints and values from transitional contexts that oriented their practices and attitudes. This group was ranged along a social spectrum between Mayor Prado, a representative of the vanishing turn-of-the-century farmer-engineer,⁵ and the *chacareiro*, the expression of a fading rural informal sector still very strong at that time. Municipal officials were not the main characters in the episode mentioned above, but they were responsible for and an integral part of the work-in-progress city depicted in that account. The city that emerged from the technical engineers' maps and the social engineers' studies reflected urban policies that contributed to a grammar of identity. These urban interventions interpreted and defined São Paulo not only territorially, but also within the minds of its people. The technical work and urban interpretations of municipal officials offer a window onto the liminal construction of a middle-class identity in the city of São Paulo during the 1930s.

From Engineers to Scholars: Technicians and Intellectuals

In the new work arrangements within the local power structure, issues of identity played a part both in the way the new administrative organization was structured and as an implicit theme for the professional work under development. The administrative body fused the ideals of 1932 to the works in the city, and the work of intellectuals and municipal engineers thoroughly mingled status and production. This chapter explores urban political contradictions and achievements within the production of the municipal apparatus. First, it analyzes how the idea of a paulista identity was embedded within municipal projects and explores how urban policies crystallized this idea in everything from naming streets to building civic monuments. This chapter's main source is the *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*

(*RAM*), the only representative municipal journal of the period, published by the municipal Culture Department (DC). *RAM* is also a source for names of the people who occupied the municipal sphere, and it offers a view onto a middle-class professional presence that shaped municipal themes in the 1930s.⁶

The *Municipal Archives Journal (RAM)*: Researching the City, Publishing History, and Printing Tradition

RAM was a minor publication created in June 1934 to publish historical documents from the municipal archive. In May 1935, the municipal Department of Culture and Recreation (DC) was reorganized in what came to be a vital part of the municipal structure. Nominated as DC director, modernist writer Mário de Andrade was also chief of the Cultural Expansion Division, one of the four DC divisions.⁷ Under Andrade, the journal became a vital cultural tool of Prado's administration, achieved national distribution, and took the place previously occupied by *Revista do Brasil*.⁸ *RAM* became the official municipal gazette (*Diário Oficial*) of the period. As opposed to the upper-class *Revista do Brasil*, *RAM* reached a huge technical cluster attracted to both its "public" nature and the scope of its articles. Hence, its audience ranged from people interested in all aspects of Brazilian culture, such as students, intellectuals, and scholars, to bureaucratic officials, liberal professionals, technicians, and businessmen working in construction, trading, and industrial companies.

The journal was divided into four main sections: archival documents and social research, book reviews and headlines, municipal organization and technical research, and official acts. The "Documentation" section reported on the municipal archive's rich collection and was gathered under three main themes: Royal Orders (*Ordens Régias*), Sundry Papers (*Papéis Avulsos*), and Santo Amaro Chamber Acts (*Atas da Câmara de Santo Amaro*). From 1936 on, this section was split into "Social Documentation" and "Collaboration," which presented the work of intellectuals and DC social researchers. The "Book Review" section presented articles related to the city's growth as published in newspapers. In 1936, this section was split into "Headlines" and "Publication," which introduced magazines and journals, commented on urban works, and published supportive letters praising the DC's accomplishments. For instance, in 1937, "Headlines" helped to promote Paulo Duarte's campaign for the preservation of historical buildings, launched by the *O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper during this year. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 38 presented several influential people's opinions (Rodrigo Mello Franco de Andrade, Amador Florence, Cardinal Dom Sebastião Leme, and Mário de Andrade) and their support for the project. This section also analyzed new and traditional foreign publications and national counterparts. The foreign publications included *Le Journal de la Société des Américanistes* (Paris), *American Geographical Review* (Buenos Aires), *Brotéria*, *Revista Contemporanea de Cultura* (Lisbon), *Sapere*, *Revista Quinzenal* (Milan), and *American Sociological Review* (Washington University); among the national journals were *Revista da Faculdade de Direito* (USP), *Brasil Dinâmico*, *Revista Militar Brasileira*, and *IDORT*.

The “Municipal Organization” section was devoted to the work of technical municipal departments such as the DOP. Finally, the “Official Acts” section was an important source for municipal procedures. As the official municipal gazette, it published all acts related to the municipal practices of the period. From 1936 on, this official section also encompassed “Laws, Resolutions, and Municipal Acts.”

RAM Contributors

Between 1934 and 1938, *RAM* had more than one hundred different contributors. Most did not have formal ties with the municipality, but all of them had, to some extent, an informal link with the public sphere, whether as professors at the School of Philosophy, Sciences, and Arts (FFCL/USP) and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science (ELSP), or as members of learned societies such as the São Paulo Historical and Geographical Institute (IHGSP), the Brazilian Academy of Arts (Academia Brasileira de Letras, ABL), and the Instituto dos Estudos Genealógicos (IEG/USP).

The quest for identity pervaded the period, and it was present in topics concerned with writing the local, regional, and national history. Under themes such as paulista nobility (*nobiliarquia paulista*), *RAM* gathered biographies based on genealogies, inventories, and reports about nineteenth-century paulista hinterland and coast families (e.g., Carlos Silveira of the IHGSP and Lieutenant Colonel Salvador de Moya of the IEG/IHGSP). These studies’ main sources were official regional registries; as a result, all of the paulista families studied were those related to farmers, judges, and politicians. Historians traced these families’ origins back to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portugal and Spain. In a period when municipalities were being founded each day, the history of those families became coincidental with the history of the community itself. In this sense, *RAM* helped to set the stage for historicizing São Paulo as a state made by these “four-century” (*quatrocentona*) families. This reflected a Social Darwinist, Spencerian, evolutionist approach that already characterized most of the conservative paulista sectors.⁹ During this period, these conservative sectors were mostly associated with the Paulista Republican Party (PRP) and its political positions during the Old Republic, depicted as an oligarchic model. This model was then represented by the armadillo (*tatu*). In order to appear more “modern,” the PRP moderate faction, with strong bulwarks at POLI and the Law School, changed its symbol to the *jequitibá* tree and, in 1934, the PRP’s official journal was named *O Jequitibá*.¹⁰

The following account from April 1935 sheds some light on how an old PRP follower presented himself to an *O Diário da Noite* journalist. The journalist, also reflecting contemporary perceptions, depicted the man as backward and outdated and with a long beard (when the modern look was shaven); he walked in a regular and slow fashion, and had an *apaulistanado* accent (a rural hinterland *caipira* accent instead of an urban paulistana intonation). Nonetheless, the article praised the bravery and value of the paulista fighter. The PRP representative expressed himself as follows: “Young man! I represent some 50 veterans from

the Paraguay War, the glorious volunteers for Brazil (*voluntários da pátria*). My name is Joaquim de Camargo Barros. I am 70 years old, and I intend to reach a hundred. I take pride I was born in Campinas.¹¹ Others and I founded Jau, where I lived 47 years as mayor and local boss. I helped to found Lins, close to the Northwestern Railway branch. I am not like those weathercock (*ventoinhas*) politicians who change parties (*viram a casaca*) according to the direction of the wind: I have always been *perrepista* (PRP follower), and I still am, though the leafy *jequitibá* tree may seem a little bit down.”¹² Barros not only proudly politically identified himself, but also raised a sensitive issue that characterized a whole new generation. Another passage from 1936, written by the *RAM* editorial board, diagnosed this political predicament linked to young ordinary paulista citizens in the mid-1930s: “[I]n the short period of six years, [an ordinary paulista citizen] was *perrepista* (PRP follower) in January 1930 and a democrat (PD follower) in October 1930! Joãoalbertista [follower of Captain João Alberto, see Table 2.1] in early 1931, miguelista (Miguel Costa follower) in late 1931! Getulista (Getúlio Vargas follower) at the beginning of 1932 and, from mid-1932 to its end would have worn with pride a São Paulo military uniform! Waldomirista (Waldomiro de Lima follower) at the very end of 1932 to become again a democrat or a *perrepista* in 1933 and a *peceísta* (PC follower) in 1934! How many times the vocabulary of São Paulo’s dignity had to be silenced to see everything blurred and stigmatized all over again.”¹³

Hence, an ordinary middle-class paulista citizen meant, among different things at this time, a person in search of one’s historical path contingent to a politically turbulent past. By the same token, this political identity rested on the tenets of the imposing “modern” culture. “Modern” carried the ideas of progress and rationalization, a motto also linked to urban policies. Filling in the void, urban public policy seemed to mediate the construction of citizenship by locating it within the narrative of local politics and its associated cultural initiatives. The following sections explore the people between the ordinary paulista reader and the new public urban initiatives.

The New Professional Researcher

Samuel Harman Lowrie: “Don’t Leave for Tomorrow the Notes You Can Take Today”

U.S. scholar Samuel Harman Lowrie (1894–1975) exerted a decisive influence on academia and public administration in São Paulo of the 1930s.¹⁴ Lowrie’s writings are a main reference for understanding the period.¹⁵ One of ELSP’s first foreign professors, Lowrie received his PhD from Columbia University in 1932.¹⁶ Lowrie was hired by ELSP in May 1933 after being appointed by the American Society of Universities and by the International Institute of Education.¹⁷ In his first year at ELSP, July 1933 to July 1934, Lowrie taught sociology to 219 students, and

Sérgio Milliet (1898–1966) was his assistant professor.¹⁸ In 1935, Samuel Lowrie was hired as a municipal officer (*funcionário por contrato*), a researcher-expert in population analysis, a new position described in the municipal gazette as a social research technician (*técnico de pesquisas sociais*). According to the 1934 constitution, article 133, only born and naturalized Brazilians who had performed military service in Brazil were allowed to practice a liberal profession. This article also forbade acknowledgement of any foreign diploma from any foreign institute, except for those given to born Brazilians. There were two exceptions to the rule: those who already legally exercised liberal professions on the day of the enactment and those who represented legal cases of international reciprocity.¹⁹ Lowrie fit the second case.²⁰ He reported to the chief of division, Sérgio Milliet.²¹ Thus, Milliet, who was Lowrie's assistant in the academic environment of ELSP, was Lowrie's supervisor in the municipal government.²² Part of a blossoming intellectual network, Lowrie was also an active member of newly created learned societies and a member of the Culture Department (DC) award committee.

The DC award committee confirmed the period's quest for a paulista identity by fostering the writing of historical works that dealt with the creation of São Paulo's urban traditions. In 1937, together with Mário de Andrade, Dina Lévi-Strauss, Plínio Ayrosa, and Artur Ramos, Lowrie awarded the first DC History Contest prize to the writer of a biography of São Paulo's first mayor, Antonio Prado (Fábio Prado's uncle and Democratic Party founder). In 1936, the young USP historian Eurípedes Simão de Paula researched and wrote about the pioneering paulista administration of João Teodoro in *Contribuição monográfica para o estudo da segunda fundação de São Paulo: de pequena cidade de há meio século à grande metrópole de hoje*.

In 1936, Professor Lowrie and his ELSP students developed a survey of the economic and social conditions of workers. In the municipality, social technician Lowrie researched the origins and composition of the paulistana population. The municipal research traced the immigrant background of children enrolled in three elementary schools of the DC municipal parks program—D. Pedro II, Lapa, and Ipiranga. Making use of the already opened public parks, the children's parks program followed the American playground and German kindergarten models. D. Pedro II Park was located “in a working-class, crowded neighborhood, to serve five thousand children.”²³ Nonetheless, as Lowrie's research showed, only ten percent of this number of children was enrolled in 1936. The first partial results, published in September 1937, indicated that from the 453 children registered in D. Pedro II Park, ninety-seven percent were born in Brazil, three percent were Afro-Brazilians (*pardas ou negras*), and sixty-three percent were boys. Parents made less than 600 *mil-réis* (600\$000) monthly—most earned between 300 and 399 *mil-réis* (300\$000 and 399\$000), and usually both parents worked.²⁴ Though this group could not be considered representative of the whole city, it is interesting that the report revealed a very low percentage of Afro-Brazilians enrolled, an approximation of contemporary working wage patterns, and the preference given to boys in education. These first results, added to other works being developed at ELSP and the DC, were presented by São Paulo's municipal representative, Sérgio Milliet, at the 1937 Population Congress in Paris, which addressed the

subject of "Distribution of Groups According to their National Origins." This and other pioneering research at the DC expressed characteristics that came to identify São Paulo's population in the 1930s as a society composed mainly by immigrants, with very few blacks.²⁵ Notably, this research was conducted by two North American technicians in conjunction with a group of middle-class ELSP students.

RAM created a special section in its pages devoted to the DC Social Documentation Section, where Lowrie published the concluding essay on the "Origins of Children Registered in São Paulo Municipal Park Schools" project. The final result asserted that the pattern found in the three proletarian neighborhood parks revealed an intensive ethnic segregation. Dom Pedro II Park housed children born of Spanish and Italian parents; the children of Ipiranga Park were of Italian and Syrian origin; whereas Lapa Park was mainly attended by those of Italian descent.²⁶ The percentage of Afro-Brazilians remained small and became the subject of the last article Lowrie wrote for *RAM*.²⁷ Lowrie concluded that the population's origin was highly immigrant and Latin (Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese).²⁸ On the subject of differentiation of classes, Lowrie inferred that São Paulo's population was deeply divided into rich and poor classes (both formed essentially of nonimmigrant Brazilians) and a considerable and distinct intermediary group composed mainly of foreigners.²⁹ Lowrie also highlighted the fact that the highest marriage rate was among Brazilians and foreigners in the lowest classes, which confirmed a general idea of the time that "class prejudice played a much more important role than race."³⁰

Samuel Lowrie studied the paulista population and its urban community through immigration and the process of cultural assimilation. Lowrie's conclusions followed the intellectual and methodological procedures of his time, but his studies were notably innovative in the use of survey techniques. Such surveys showed that population, urbanization, and industrial growth were not solely quantitative problems, but were also marked by qualitative shifts.

Foreign Contributors

In his works, Samuel Lowrie interpreted the concept of culture in its German root (*kultur*), a Boasian influence via the American cultural school of anthropology. Lowrie anchored his teachings at ELSP in the studies of A.L. Kroeber and R. Lowie, as shown in his 1934 syllabus.³¹ As opposed to these influences, USP professors from France made use of a Durkheimian approach following Marcel Mauss and the French rationalist school. Following the concept of *kultur*, contributors to *RAM* conducted research on folklore and popular culture to study forms they considered living representations of a distant and alienated past.³² Linguistic researchers focused on native languages (such as Tupi-Guarani) or current Brazilian Portuguese (by recording "brasileirismos" in slang and popular sayings). In fact, these studies could also be interpreted as the making of the Portuguese spoken in Brazil (or São Paulo, since those essays seem to blur the difference) into one more national symbol and tradition. Regional expressions were

studied and designated either backward (*caipira*) or the expression of a rich tradition, either important to preserve or destined to vanish and to be avoided by a modern urban population. Some of these studies were nourished by the insight of young foreigners such as French anthropologist and USP professor Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009).

Most of the foreign intellectuals who lived and worked in São Paulo in the 1930s became involved in the creation of the social sciences in Brazil. This provocative topic has been the subject of many recent publications.³³ Among the “scientific gallery” of acknowledged forefathers who were *RAM* collaborators, one may cite the Germans Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems;³⁴ French scholars Roger Bastide, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Pierre Monbeig; and the Americans Samuel Lowrie, Horace Davis (1898–1999),³⁵ and Donald Pierson (1900–1995).³⁶ All were part and parcel of the 1930s political context, a context that permitted transitions within different cultural institutions and built an influential professional network developed around the triad formed by ELSP,³⁷ FFCL/USP, and the DC.³⁸

Drawing on the Brazilian anthropologist and philosopher Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, culture can be understood as the encounter between two German terms: *kultur* and *bildung*. *Kultur* refers to the observation of external cultural data. *Bildung* refers to the acquisition of education and the subjective appreciation for and understanding of art, music, and literature.³⁹ Since the acquisition of knowledge was a main issue in the Brazilian quest for identity in the São Paulo of the 1930s, the field of culture offers sort of a metaphor from which one can say that São Paulo’s *bildung* resulted from its contact with the USP “French mission” intellectuals, whereas its *kultur* resulted from its interactions with North American researchers and their associated institutions. The Culture Department influenced and was deeply influenced by such foreign supporters. *RAM* presented an extended section under the headline “The DC Abroad,” which included supportive letters from the representatives of foreign institutions.⁴⁰ Among these were letters from North American officials reflecting a significant network in São Paulo of professionals from Columbia University and various New York municipal institutions. Among those who sent such letters were Jay Nash, associate professor from the New York Education Institute; Paul Vanorden Shaw, member of the New York Municipal Recreation Institute;⁴¹ Samuel Lowrie (given here as a University of Texas professor); Joseph Lee, National Recreation Association (NRA) president;⁴² Howard S. Braucher, NRA secretary;⁴³ and Lois Marietta Williams. Williams, former San Francisco playgrounds director, was the current physical education, recreation, and games supervisor of the Brazilian Federal Culture and Education Department.⁴⁴ Such links expressed the strength of the U.S. model and its influence on São Paulo’s municipality in the 1930s.

In the 1930s and 1940s, Latin America was a privileged locale for fieldwork for a new generation of scholars from Europe and the United States. Trained in human science disciplines, the reach and richness of these professionals’ work and cultural interchange has not yet been appropriately studied. For instance, very little is still known about the work of professional foreigners in different private or public occupations, such as Lowrie, intellectual women such as Dina Lévi-Strauss, and many others.⁴⁵

There was no U.S. mission at ELSP equivalent to the powerful French mission at USP.⁴⁶ Yet, the U.S. influence was no weaker than that of the French as U.S. influence permeated all practices in the municipal machine in the same manner that the French mission found its influence at the academic level. As opposed to depicting Brazilians as “we” who articulated the coming of “them,” the foreigners,⁴⁷ this work approaches as “we” those foreigners who embraced new occupations as part of the immense Brazilian middling groups of foreign origin. Immersed in a process of cultural interchange, these professionals’ translations of their training was interwoven with contingent local practices. From New York (e.g., Columbia University, the New York Municipal Recreation Department, and Rockefeller Foundation) to São Paulo, connections crisscrossed with appropriations and imitations.⁴⁸ These connections, saturated with concepts of identity, were often enmeshed in debates over domestic social politics. In this system of exchange, U.S. professionals were deeply involved, not only in working in the socioeconomic administration or academia, but also in different professional spheres (e.g., banks, schools, hospitals, trade).

In addition to those U.S. and French professionals who came to Brazil invited by powerful paulista entrepreneurs, hired by the Brazilian government, or supported by American institutions, other foreign intellectuals who exerted immense influence were simply immigrants. For instance, Emilio Willems (1905–1997) came to Brazil in 1931 “anxious to escape a profound economic crisis in Germany.”⁴⁹ Willems was an ordinary representative of São Paulo’s middle class in the 1930s, a period he identified as the most difficult of his professional life.⁵⁰ Between 1936 and 1941, Willems decided both to pursue an academic career and to manage the responsibilities of raising a family. In 1937, Willems worked both as a middle-school teacher in a private school, an underpaid, frustrating job, and he attended ELSP. In 1938, he started teaching as an assistant professor; however, a decent salary only came when he became a professor in 1941.⁵¹

If prospects were bleak in the private educational sector, they were nearly impossible in the municipal sphere. It is noteworthy that before 1934, educators or writers who became officials did so not as a professional option, but as source of income. For instance, Paulo Duarte wrote in his memoirs about the difficult situation of a 70-year-old poet and municipal officer who was very sick, and who petitioned the nationally known writer Monteiro Lobato in 1936 to improve his work situation. Duarte was amazed to learn not only that this person was sick, but also that he was a municipal officer. It is even more telling that Duarte’s reaction was to ask himself, “What would an intellectual do as a municipal official in the treasury division? Why was he not working in the library division?”⁵² This account reveals a municipal apparatus oblivious to such professional situations. Indeed, middle-class professions, such as schoolteachers and librarians, found their place in the public market only after 1935 as a result of initiatives such as the administrative reform and the creation of the Culture Department, as discussed in Chapter 3.

In the private sphere, a new job market for professional writers took shape in the 1930s, when intellectual positions acquired autonomy as a result of this professional network and private and public agencies generating consecrating

mechanisms (*mecanismos de consagração*) for the production of a literary work. Before 1930, “the press dominated the intellectual life market. The press constituted the main instance of cultural production, being able to pay and to create hierarchical intellectual positions.”⁵³ To be a writer was an itinerant and unstable professional way of life highly dependent on the opinion of the critics. Accordingly, some authors were forgotten (e.g., Fran Martins and Cecílio Carneiro) and others recognized (Graciliano Ramos, Lúcio Cardoso, and Cyro dos Anjos).⁵⁴ The context of the 1930s propitiated writers into creating commercial, social romances, which focused on middle-class personages.⁵⁵ Comparing to the previous political period, those mostly male middle-class writers had in common a shorter last name (meaning the writer belonged to a poorer branch of a rich family and rarely ranked as an older son) and country origins. They were largely self-taught and apolitical. In the 1930s, fictional writing divorced itself from political belief as one’s professional recognition came not from voters but from publishers and readers.⁵⁶ However, publishing houses did reflect political postures. For instance, romances published by José Olympio and didactic books published by Francisco Alves were considered aligned with the Vargas government.⁵⁷ Moreover, a paulista representative of these social writers, Maria José Fleury Monteiro Dupré (1905–1984), who wrote under the name of Mrs. Leandro Dupré, displayed a life trajectory completely in tune with the paulista woman’s aspirations of the period. Dupré, born in Botucatu, studied at the Escola Normal in the capital and married a POLI civil engineer, Leandro Dupré, who fought as a major in the 1932 revolution. Dupré was Cachoeira CIDT commander.⁵⁸ When, in 1943, Mrs. Dupré wrote her famous novel *We Were Six* (*Éramos Seis*), depicting a suburban middle-class family of Italian origins, she enjoyed an upper-middle-class life. As opposed to the situation she depicted in the novel, the Duprés enjoyed a comfortable house at Cuba Street in Cia City’s Jardim América neighborhood.⁵⁹ On the other hand, what were Mr. Dupré’s POLI colleagues writing about?

RAM and DOP

From 1935 to 1938, the intellectual and technical writings in the municipal journal reflected the professional network that supported Prado’s administration in these years. Involving a heterogeneous group of collaborators (e.g., engineers, fictional writers, technicians, intellectuals, scholars, and officials), *RAM* proved to be the privileged channel for the several municipal departments to interact. This work made possible moments of an “original demonstration of team spirit (*esprit d’équipe*).”⁶⁰

The DOP contributions to *RAM* ranged from data on the municipal estates registry to methods and technical criteria for estate evaluation, fiscal adjustment, and paving. The legal division backed DOP practices with studies on public use, right of property limitations, public service concessions, and taxation. The Municipal Service Division analyzed and revised concepts related to public utilities, such as public transportation.

RAM served as intermediary between the municipality and the population's practical needs and between the municipality and other levels of public power. For example, in 1936, DOP Public Services Division chief engineer Plínio Branco (1896–?) spoke of the importance of technical autonomy and its scope in an article about paving.⁶¹ IPT public technical research permitted DOP municipal engineers to adapt a national material (asphaltic sandstone, grit) to an Italian paving technique.⁶² One should not forget IPT's role in the municipal network. Since June 1934 (Act 632), IPT was the legal municipal laboratory and partner in all technical experiments. Any construction material to be used in public or private construction had to undergo IPT supervision.⁶³ The article boasted how the successful use of this technology had improved public services and succeeded in reducing this service's final cost. This successful technical experience was applied to pave Canadá Street and Europa Avenue in the Cia City Jardim América neighborhood without any cost to its inhabitants or the estate company that owned it. In fact, the rich Cia City condos became the ideal place for municipal technicians to apply all empirical tests to their modern ideas. Given that these experiments increased the value of Cia City's properties, the municipality developed studies to tax these properties and to have the public share from benefits generated by DOP urban improvements: the Additional Tax on Profits (*Taxa de Melhoria*).

The Additional Tax on Profits

This new tax measure was instituted in April 1936. *RAM* reflected the impact of the new act in several studies it published. In October 1936, DOP engineer Alexandre Martins Rodrigues analyzed the real square-meter value of urban land, and DOP subdivision chief engineer Lysandro Pereira da Silva evaluated the private sector contribution to the Additional Tax. The same *RAM* issue published former Mayor Anhaia Mello's letter approving of the tax and municipal treasury department official Frederico Herrmann's letter explaining how competent the study was on reevaluation of municipal public estates—a theme fully developed by a DOP division created especially for it.⁶⁴ Highlighting the context that provoked the law, this issue also presented Cia City advertisements for its Pacaembu sites, announcing that the company provided to its clients “all public urban benefits/services” on its lands.⁶⁵ However, at this time, the company was not being charged for the profits coming from these public improvements.⁶⁶

In several articles, engineer Plínio Branco advocated that private companies under public supervision should execute all public services. Branco suggested that private companies rendering public services (*servidoras do público*) should always be subject to competition.⁶⁷ Criticizing the previous political system and its old formula of unconditional public concession, Branco introduced a system of “cooperation” instead. This new system would harmonize the interests of both entrepreneurs and consumers. In an unprecedented move for limiting and sharing responsibilities between public and private, Branco stressed a liberal municipal approach to business. This approach struggled within authoritarian federal

parameters and met fierce resistance. In this sense, the technical studies of DOP engineers express the paradox of trying to create a modern liberal administration in times of antiliberal and nationalist policies.

Branco advised that changes in the paulista municipality should follow a municipal system analogous to the liberal U.S. city council management system. Branco quoted from the *National Municipal Review* to argue that municipal officers should perform just like U.S. entrepreneurs. Drawing on engineer Anhaia Mello's influence, Branco stated, "[T]he new American orientation considered the municipal government as a business... Anhaia Mello [recalled in his writings] American Supreme Court Judge Dillon's definition of a modern city government: 'A city is not a state in miniature but a corporation of businesses.'" ⁶⁸

In August 1936, engineer José Teixeira from the legal department expressed another idea that clashed with the political times of centralization and nationalization. Teixeira wrote about public service and municipal autonomy and argued that municipal affairs should be exempted from federal and state approval. ⁶⁹ Though immersed in contradictions, the themes and subjects *RAM* developed were timely. For example, when *RAM* published articles dealing with municipal concessions, electricity services (Light and Power Co.) were being already criticized and bombarded by the media. In May 1937, backed by widespread public discontentment, the journal proposed demanding Light to follow direct DOP supervision to improve tramway traffic in São Paulo downtown. ⁷⁰

Moreover, *RAM* exemplified the municipal "team spirit" in its May 1937 edition. DC official Nicanor Miranda formally answered media criticism of the construction of a municipal stadium in the Cia City Pacaembu neighborhood in an extensive article about internal problems involving the building process. The process involved a mixture of interests involving the municipality, Cia City, and the Severo & Villares Escritório. ⁷¹ In the same issue, Emilio Willems's essay on public opinion and the role of media in public affairs anchored Miranda's posture. Willems's essay was followed by another study by Teixeira about public service concessions to private firms. Teixeira's article not only subtly related to Miranda's theme, but also explicitly offered theoretical support to the DOP director's decision to demand from Light and Power Co. its compliance with Act 1069, that is, to submit itself to total municipal supervision. ⁷² Thus, *RAM* made possible that municipal officers took to civil society the work they sought to advance within the administration.

The October 1937 issue of *RAM* published DOP engineer Alberto Zagottis's article on municipal estate registry organization (*Serviços do Cadastro dos Bens Imóveis de São Paulo*, CI). Before its publication, Zagottis presented the study to the Municipal Engineers Society (SEM), a civil professional association, of which he was president. ⁷³ SEM evaluated the DOP proposal in a seminar that had the participation of DOP chief engineer Plínio Branco and DC social researcher Bruno Rudolfer (?–1941). ⁷⁴ During the seminar, participants sought to mesh liberal ideals within a corporate organizational pattern.

In his presentation, Zagottis emphasized the role of the manager-engineer. Zagottis stated that the municipal organization should take into consideration both the nature of its service and the engineering profession when building its

organizational chart. There should be an autonomous division, specialized in some specific municipal method, spread throughout the different departments.⁷⁵ Zagottis continued this study in a January 1938 article, where he studied the taxation and real estate evaluation in the São Paulo Estate Registry (CI) section. Zagottis asserted that the difference between official and market values (calculated according to the CI) showed huge discrepancies. For instance, a building in downtown São Paulo received an average municipal value rate of 20 *contos* (20:000\$000), whereas the market estimated value was 58 *contos* (58:000\$000). Backed by tables and calculus, Zagottis revaluated all municipal estates according to their locations in the city.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, less than four months after this seminar, the Estado Novo coup put an end to these efforts. Mayor Francisco Prestes Maia would start his administration by ignoring Zagotti's work and effectively imploding these ideas within the administration.

RAM kept publishing DC advertisements and letters in support of the DC programs from various newspapers and foreign and national intellectuals.⁷⁷ Ironically, in its November 1937 issue (the month of the Estado Novo coup), *RAM* reproduced governor Armando de Salles Oliveira's interview with the *O Estado de São Paulo*, in which he complimented the DC on its achievements and as an institution "concerned with social investigation related not only to understand dominant occupations but also to quantify and characterize the unemployed. [He praised those] studies, which seek to economically, intellectually, and morally improve the social ranking of the people."⁷⁸

After Mayor Prestes Maia replaced Fábio Prado in São Paulo's administration, *RAM* resumed its important role as a cultural publication, but lost its links with other units within the administration.⁷⁹ Under Prestes Maia, *RAM* turned into an exclusive DC journal, rather than an expression of different municipal departments' work. It ceased publishing municipal practices and lost its role as a municipal gazette. The Pacaembu Stadium inauguration in April 1940 was not even mentioned in its pages. The first *RAM* of Prestes Maia's administration, *RAM* 48 of June 1938, marked the journal's fourth anniversary. This issue was noteworthy for containing the last article Samuel Lowrie published in Brazil, his study about Afro-Brazilians in São Paulo population. In June 1938, Lowrie left both his position at the ELSP and at the DC, and the *O Estado de São Paulo* published a small note on a farewell dinner in the select Club Automóvel.

The Cultural Relocation of the Political Discourse of Identity

Fábio Prado and the Modern City

Ironically, in 1938, São Paulo commemorated fifty years of the end of slavery in a city that was officially depicted in DC reports as populated by white immigrants and very few Afro-Brazilians. One year later, in November 1939, the

city celebrated a half-century of republican rule, while under the Estado Novo dictatorship. At the same time, the images in the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* symbolically displayed arresting juxtapositions through urban imagery. For instance, along with the chaotic international war images of destroyed cities, the newspaper displayed the chaotic city of São Paulo invaded by infrastructure works. The “war” in São Paulo was taking place in the construction sites on either the Augusta Street, or the Ninth of July Tunnel, or the Matarazzo Building downtown, or the municipal stadium in Pacaembu, or the *auto-construção* in the fringes of the city. Any ordinary paulista citizen had to learn to live with and to become proud of the modern symbols arising from the growing city. Accounts on both the municipal stadium and the neighborhood (Pacaembu) that surrounded it depicted them as something right, progressive, and better than before. From the works that characterized the city during the period, the pervasive modern metaphor could also be found in the contemporary paintings of Tarsila do Amaral, *As Costureiras* (1936) and *Segunda Classe* (1933); those of Lívio Abramo, *Meninas da fábrica* and *Operário* (1935); and those of Eugênio Sigaud, *A Torre de Concreto* (1936).⁸⁰

In its quest for identity, the city of São Paulo of the 1930s celebrated the marriage of technical progress and academic investigation, crowned in the tangible reality of visual urban imagery. Urban interventions and the quite selective political process linked to them provided insights into the cultural and moral institutions of the São Paulo of the thirties. On the one hand, the DOP tore up avenues in São Paulo and, on the other hand, the DC created history by naming these works and by historically explaining the new spaces. In all of this, newspaper articles partook of a common theme: these times of change began in Fábio Prado’s term.

During Prado’s term, urban cultural interventions explicitly sought to give a paulista character to public initiatives.⁸¹ Functioning as urban inscriptions, public works were crystallized not only in locations associated with different social classes, but also in the names given to places and streets. Different cultural programs were assigned according to the specific needs, public officials attributed to different neighborhoods. Public monuments (the municipal stadium, hospital, and schools) and private buildings delivered their message. As seen, the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building stood among several office buildings in downtown. This building became a favorite postcard subject and the city’s symbol of modernity in the 1930s.

Symbols of Paulista Identity: Naming the Streets

Urban improvements were inserted in a political moment that reflected São Paulo’s quest to regain the political power that it lost in the 1930 revolution and that it had fought to regain in 1932 in a popularly acclaimed revolution. The 1932 revolution continued in a different arena after its “official” result in October of that year. It was fought every day in the National Assembly and the municipal legislature.

In June 1935, PRP member and historian Alfredo Ellis suggested in a speech to the municipal chamber that some streets in São Paulo had their names changed to dates and people related to the 1932 revolution, including May 23, July 9, the MMDC movement, and Pedro de Toledo.⁸² In a slap at the national government, Ellis proposed that all streets named after the 1930 revolution, such as the October 3rd, October 24th, and July 5th streets, be renamed with famous names and dates from São Paulo's would-be revolution.⁸³

The measure passed and the year of 1935, historically known as a socially turbulent year, was the year that cemented this historical tradition. In July 1935 (Act 887), during the third anniversary of the 1932 revolution, a main artery newly opened in the downtown Anhangabaú area was called Ninth of July Avenue. In October 1935 (Act 946), the prefecture designated new streets and renamed others after the twelve engineers who died in 1932.⁸⁴ In November 1935 (Act 947), while naming several streets that Cia City had opened in the western neighborhood of Butantan, the most important (coming from the M'Boy Road) was renamed 23rd of May Avenue.⁸⁵ It was amid this context, in September 1935, that the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building was conceived and approved. The 1936 budget, submitted in November 1935, reserved the amount of 500 *contos* (500:000\$000) for the building of the monument for the paulista soldier of 1932.⁸⁶

In February 1936, Prado's administration issued a law (Act 1013) based on a study by DC and DOP officials of the process of naming and numbering streets. The original project proposed that each street plaque contained a concise text explaining the name of the street; street names should follow a priority order of criteria—toponymic, historical fact, or the name of a person dead for more than fifty years; naming streets was the responsibility of the DC Social Documentation Subdivision.⁸⁷ The first proposition was not approved because officials did not know the origin of most of the city streets.⁸⁸ In April 1937, however, engineer Plínio Ayrosa published research about the meanings and origins of São Paulo street names through a monthly essay contribution to *RAM* (beginning in issue 34). The author urged readers to join him in this project, and he received contributions from a number of readers.⁸⁹ In another development, the second proposition mentioned above permitted São Paulo's original historical site to have its name changed from João Pessoa (a 1930 hero) Plaza to Pátio do Colégio (paying homage to the school site that gave rise to the city). According to Prado, during São Paulo's anniversary commemoration on January 25, 1936, one of the lecturers requested that Prado change the name of the traditional Jesuit site to Anchieta; nonetheless, the small square, rather than receiving its founder's name, was called Pátio do Colégio.⁹⁰

The historical imperatives of 1930 were being erased, and those of 1932 were being inscribed in their place. The process of remembering 1932 followed closely the process of erasing 1930.⁹¹ The institutionalization of collective memory was tantamount to the institutionalization of forgetting. This pattern was repeated in most paulista cities, such as Araraquara (Ruas Armando de Salles Oliveira and Nove de Julho), Campinas (Ruas MMDC, Nove de Julho), Piracicaba (Ruas Armando Salles, Rio Claro, and São Carlos (Rua Cincinato Braga, Nove de

Julho). The fact is that São Paulo, perhaps unlike any other state capital in the nation, has never had a street named after Getúlio Vargas.

Suburbanization and the “Cultural” Construction of Neighborhoods

From the standpoint of urban planning, growth generated new realities and created new social relationships that could not be tackled by adapting old solutions on a new scale. Between 1930 and 1954, the city of São Paulo added to its area almost three hundred square kilometers in a period in which the fastest-growing segment of the population was a new middle class of white-collar employees and civil servants.⁹² Focusing in particular on downtown São Paulo, one finds that between 1925 and 1934, the urban area situated within the seven-kilometer radius of downtown experienced the most significant population growth; that is, 167,900 new inhabitants, at a yearly growth rate of 9.3 percent. In 1934, the municipality counted 1,060,120 inhabitants, and it continued to grow and to receive a great contingent of migrants and immigrants (see Table 4.1). From 1934 to 1940, the most developed urban areas were those beyond the seven-kilometer radius, and these areas represented 33.7 percent of the total population growth.⁹³ The 1930s were a turning point for both immigration and migration rates in the state of São Paulo. As Table 4.1 shows, most of the immigrants who came to Brazil in this period came to São Paulo state, and they came in fewer numbers than the growing new waves of internal migrants.

In 1937, the process of analyzing São Paulo and its population was complemented by the work of the Social Documentation Division chief engineer, Bruno Rudolfer. His study divided São Paulo into administrative zones composed of twenty-seven districts. One of these districts, Brás, gathered together the then three most densely populated working-class neighborhoods (Móoca, Belenzinho, and a smaller part of Brás neighborhood).⁹⁴ Móoca was the most populated neighborhood of the three, with a population average greater than one hundred inhabitants per hectare in a total area of 6.7 square kilometers. Rudolfer's study in this

Table 4.1 Migration to Brazil and to the State of São Paulo, 1900–1939

Years	BR Immigration	São Paulo	
		Foreign	Internal*
1900–1909	649,898	323,446	—
1910–1919	821,458	232,586	33,927
1920–1929	846,522	478,094	225,183
1930–1939	333,701	259,318	435,864

Sources: Octávio Ianni *Industrialização e desenvolvimento social no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1963), 99 and *Nadia Somekh, *A cidade vertical e o urbanismo modernizador, São Paulo 1920–1939* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo (EDUSP)/ Studio Nobel, 1997), 109.

way defined and demarcated the limits of what a poor urban area was, where ethnic segregation by circumstance was reinforced by the cultural segregation implicit in Rudolfer's districting plan. Following this cultural policy, in 1936, the Jockey Club, a symbol of MÓOCA since the nineteenth century, moved to a new neighborhood close to Butantan, the new Cia City working-class residential neighborhood. The vacant space was donated to the DC project of model parks for poor neighborhoods.

The reports about São Paulo produced by DC researchers crafted an official, culturally driven rhetoric of segregation that attributed to different areas of the city characteristics that confirmed or emphasized specific locations as the places for different social classes—locations of poverty and locations of wealth. Immigrants crowded the outskirts of São Paulo in the 1930s, and migrants built new outskirts. While municipal intellectuals' research studies invented a "new" past based on concepts of ethnicity and identity, municipal engineers built this new past into a present marked by sharper socio functional borders. The next section explores how old traditional neighborhoods that mixed residential and commercial uses were to be contested by a new modern urban functional concept.

The Social Language of Neighborhoods

In 1937, in a report requested by Constitutionalist Party (PC) presidential candidate Armando de Salles Oliveira, Cia City defined its estates as three social types of model neighborhoods: the upper-class neighborhoods (*bairros de primeira classe*: Jardim América, Pacaembu, Anhangabaú), middle-class neighborhoods (*bairros de classe média*: Alto da Lapa, Bela Aliança, Alto dos Pinheiros) and working-class neighborhoods (*bairros operários*: Vila Romana and Butantan).⁹⁵

In 1941, ELSP professor Donald Pierson requested a Rockefeller Foundation grant to conduct a housing census for his "Methods of Research" seminar course. The study's qualitative approach described how people lived in two hundred houses on well-known streets of different neighborhoods during the 1930s.⁹⁶ Though the study did not define different social groups, its arbitrary selection of three upper-class neighborhoods and three lower-class neighborhoods reflected urban perceptions of the early 1940s.

To understand in social and economic terms the importance of the way neighborhoods and their population were categorized in the 1930s, this section examines both Cia City's and Pierson's reports. First, it takes into account who Cia City referred to as its upper-, lower-, and middle-class clients by exploring the company's relative prices and bids as expressed in its advertisements from the 1930s. Second, it compares these values to market prices in these and in other traditional areas as expressed in the Classified (Sundays and Wednesdays) and Acquired Properties Sections of the *O Estado de São Paulo* during 1935. Finally, it intersects this data with newspaper reports on this subject and information from Pierson's 1941 study on how people lived in selected streets from new and old neighborhoods in the city.

For Pierson's census, ELSP researchers visited two hundred residences, of which one hundred were considered working-class houses (*habitações menos adequadas*) in the neighborhoods of Móoca, Bexiga, and Canindé. Pierson's study considered upper-class houses (*habitações superiores*) as those in Jardim América, Pacaembu, and Higienópolis. The upper-class houses were located in the vicinities of Brasil Avenue,⁹⁷ Pacaembu Avenue,⁹⁸ and Angélica Avenue;⁹⁹ that is, they were located in two exclusively residential Cia City upper-class estates and one traditional upper-class neighborhood. From the humble (*inferiores*) houses, fifty were located at Do Estado Avenue (Móoca), twenty-five at Carneiro Leão and Caetano Pinto Streets (intersections with Rangel Pestana and Alcântara Machado Streets in Brás), and twenty-five at Manuel Dutra Street (Bexiga). All of those houses were located in busy corridor streets of traditional neighborhoods. The team did not research either Cia City proletarian neighborhoods or middle-class *sobrados* in the traditional neighborhoods. In any event, the research was rich in pointing out how people lived at the end of the 1930s, how perceptions of the upper and lower classes' ways of living developed in the early 1940s, and it is an open window onto the changing consumer culture in São Paulo.

Cia City advertisements presented prices in a mortgage form, as opposed to most newspaper classifieds, whose prices were for monthly rent or cash payments. Cia City's offerings in the upper-class neighborhoods of Jardim América and Pacaembu followed a similar pattern of a down payment and monthly installments. Installments varied from 135\$000 to 700\$000 (*setecentos mil-réis*), including discounts of ten, fifteen, and twenty percent to early buyers who immediately started building houses close to sporting facilities.

In 1935, according to the classifieds, a *palacete* of 1,300 square meters (14,000 square feet) in Jardim América was worth 130:000\$000 (130 *contos*). On the other hand, a five-bedroom *palacete* at Rua Ceará in the traditional neighborhood of Higienópolis cost around 200 *contos*, and at Avenida Higienópolis it cost 130 *contos*. Though these offers varied, one can affirm that an upper-class house in Higienópolis, a traditional neighborhood, tended to have a higher market value. As a rule, these modern *palacetes* included a maid's room, garage, easy public transportation, and cultural and sporting benefits, such as schools and social clubs.

In 1938, according to the classifieds, a two-bedroom *sobradinho* in the neighborhoods researched by Pierson's team (Móoca, Bexiga, and Canindé) cost around 15:000\$000 (15 *contos* or 5 *contos* down payment and 230 *mil-réis* monthly). There were also houses at Mem de Sá Street for 20:000\$000 (20 *contos*) and at Visconde de Inhomerim Street for 39 *contos*. In 1930, this latter total price was equal to the lowest price for a down payment for a Pacaembu house. A traditional *sobradinho* (commerce and storehouse at the street level and housing in the upper level) cost 52:000\$000 (52 *contos*).

As seen in Chapter 1, the *vila operária* was the first organized response, industrialists gave to the shortage of low-income housing as they wanted to be assured of workers living close to their factories. Housing for the poor was concentrated in industrial areas (e.g. Brás-Bresser), which, during the 1930s, contained 150 such *vilas*, mostly built by small entrepreneurs. Another form of low-income housing

was the tenement house (*cortiço*), hidden in the traditional central neighborhood areas.¹⁰⁰ According to the journalist: "In some neighborhoods, one can detect small human concentrations living in promiscuity. Collective, tenement, and poor housing (*cortiços* and *casebres*) sprawl through streets of the poor Brás, Bexiga, Bom Retiro, and others—this low-income housing (*moradia popular*) shortage problem demands solution... Not far away from the modern buildings, one sees tenement houses and basements (*casebres*, *cortiços*, and *porões*) sheltering the proletarian masses. These contrasts reflect a time that has not yet reached its peak. We undergo a period of intense urban renovation, when whole areas are alienated (*desapropriadas*) and century-old buildings fall to give place to broader avenues and modern constructions. For instance, the July 9 Avenue, designed and initiated under Dr. Fábio Prado's term, tore a valley whose slope on the Bela Vista side was a set of little old shacks (*pontilhado de antigas casinhas*). This avenue is turning into one of the most beautiful and modern arteries in the capital. Added to these initiatives, which bring real benefits to the city, there also should be one addressed to housing its poor population..."¹⁰¹

The city under construction created its own logic, as reflected in Pierson's research on the neighborhoods, which stated that traditional neighborhoods resulting from the growth of the industrial city led to undesirable mixed-use occupation (commercial, industrial, and residential) and housed proletarian *vilas*, where people supposedly lived in promiscuity. On the other hand, the condo garden's planned units portrayed the exclusive residential neighborhoods as the exemplary model of living. In 1954, Ernani Bruno made use of Pierson's study to illustrate this point. Pierson's research showed that in the humbler traditional neighborhoods the average rental was 120 *mil-réis*.¹⁰² As seen in Chapter 2, the government believed a 150 *mil-réis* (150\$000) monthly rental characterized a poor family's home (*a casa do pobre*). Nonetheless, Pierson's data showed this amount would be more likely the equivalent of a middle-class house rental. In this sense, the evidence suggested these traditional humbler neighborhoods housed in their *sobradinhos geminados* small business families who either could not yet afford new, modern consumer appeals or cultivated traditional immigrant customs. Most of them did not have a maid or electrical appliances.¹⁰³ At the same time, the monthly installment of 35 *mil-réis* (35\$000) requested by Cia City in its Butantan estate seemed to suit its potential working-class clients. In 1937, low-income employees rented in the formal and informal markets. Cia City's offers and Pierson's data showed the average price in both markets was above this value. Evidence suggests this installment value was in accordance with Cia City workers' wages (Table 4.2).

According to Cia City's Register Book of Workers,¹⁰⁴ Cia City workers made on average 8 *mil-réis* (8\$000) daily; 35 *mil-réis* would be approximately twenty percent of their monthly income. Table 4.2 shows that 35 *mil-réis* was also the amount estimated by DC researchers as the working-class family's average food expense for a month.¹⁰⁵ Illustrations 10 and 11 show the researchers' Field Work Pad (*Caderneta de Campo*) with data from April 29, 1937.

As a rule, it has always seemed easier to characterize those at the bottom and those at the highest economic positions. In the 1930s, middle-class housing costs

Table 4.2 Working-Class Family's Monthly Food Expense, 1937

Quantity	Merchandise	Value (<i>mil-réis</i>)
kg 1	lard	5\$000
2	rice	3\$400
2	potato	1\$400
0.5	onion	\$500
0.25	coffee	\$800
3	sugar	4\$200
0.5	salt	\$200
Liter 0.5	oil	1\$800
0.5	olive oil	5\$500
1	tomato sauce	1\$200
1	tea	4\$500
0.5	vinegar	\$200
units	butter	1\$000
—	cleanser	\$800
1/5	charcoal	4\$000
Total		35\$700

Source: Samuel Lowrie's Living Conditions Research (*Pesquisa Padrão de Vida* (PPV)).

stood between those extremes, depending on its location. From the classifieds in the 1930s we learn that upper-, middle-, and working-class houses were called *palacetes*, *sobrados*, and *sobradinhos*, respectively, regardless of the neighborhood they were in. Different from the *palacete*, the middle-class *sobrado*—a stylistic, undefined, three-bedroom, two-story house—was the result of the work of big and small engineering firms, which based their patterns and rules on big foreign and national firms. Most middle-class houses in traditional middle-class neighborhoods (such as Santana, Perdizes, and Pinheiros) became the locale of *sobrados* and twin houses on dead-end private roads (*vilas*). Real estate companies, such as CIPRI, offered middle-class *sobrados* in Vila Mariana with a twenty percent down payment and monthly installments for five years. Advertisements targeted the middle class on issues related to mortgage offers, house typology, location, urban benefits, and legal urban use guarantees.

The participation of politicians in advertisements illustrates more than how intertwined public and private interests were. In the same *O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper, one could find a Cia City ad highlighting Mayor Prado's quote on the company's performance as well as São Paulo Estado Novo interventor Adhemar de Barros participating in a Buick commercial. Given that providing middle-class housing was mainly a private initiative backed by public policies, both advertisements could be seen as allegories of the current middle-class ambitions and aspirations of social mobility. Barros built his political platform in middle-class neighborhoods, and this middle-class base could identify the Buick as their way out of the Ford V-8 option, considered then a metaphor for the repetitive working-class housing (*sobradinhos*). Barros, a physician and ex-1932 combatant, was a young congressman in 1933 who wished to organize a working-class wing of

the PRP. Barros began to expand his political basis in Santana.¹⁰⁶ Though well regarded as a middle-class neighborhood in the late twentieth century, Santana was defined as a working-class satellite to the city by social scientists studying São Paulo's growth in the 1940s.¹⁰⁷

Cia City's definition of its neighborhoods was at odds with the traditional districts, which had been growing with the city and could not adapt to the company's imposing, modern, monofunctional language of residential patterns. Traditional neighborhoods housed different social classes, mixed social origins, occupations, and economic uses, as Pierson's research confirmed. Nonetheless, Pierson's study did not focus on this aspect and did not explore the different spatial representation of traditional neighborhoods. Rather, it perversely reinforced patterns already asserted by geographical official studies, such as those by Rudolfer and Lowrie, which had added to it a sociological explanation.

The New Jockey Club: From Móoca to Cidade Jardim

The Jockey Club's move from a proletarian neighborhood, Móoca, to the elitist Cidade Jardim crowned an official, culturally driven segregation that helped to define the southwestern region of the city as the place for the rich. In January 1929, the first proposal for the construction of the new São Paulo Jockey Club sought to locate it in the Ibirapuera municipal park and to turn its original site back into a municipal public park.¹⁰⁸

However, at the end of 1934, entrepreneur Horácio Sabino, the president of Cidade Jardim Development Co., offered the municipality a new bid. Sabino's company, a Cia City subsidiary, donated an area of 600,000 square meters for the construction of the new horse-racing track in the southwestern region of the city. This area was named after the real estate company to which it belonged. In July 1935, Act 884 empowered the São Paulo municipality to deal with the São Paulo Jockey Club, Cidade Jardim Co., and one of the capital's banks.¹⁰⁹ It was decided that the DOP would take full responsibility for building the new Jockey Club.¹¹⁰ The bid stated that the company that ran the old jockey business should return to the municipality its original public area of 300,000 square meters, plus approximately 50,000 square meters of a contiguous area. This deal permitted the municipality to maintain its 500,000-square-meter reserve in Ibirapuera and regain its area in Móoca. The municipality also linked its decision of moving the Jockey Club to Cidade Jardim to its plan of building several children's parks, preferably to be located in crowded (*populares*) and working-class (*operários*) neighborhoods. According to Mayor Prado, São Paulo's working-class population from Móoca could then enjoy both a public garden and a model children's park school.¹¹¹

For the new horse-racing track construction, which was to bring municipal infrastructure and urban improvements to the deserted lands of the Cidade Jardim neighborhood, DOP engineers planned a majestic design expressing the latest demands of modern technique.¹¹² On the other hand, for the vacant sites in Móoca, in the core of a working-class neighborhood lacking of all kinds of public

improvements, DC officers had the DOP built a modest model children's park school.

The Stadium in Pacaembu

In 1936, the municipal stadium construction was nearly arranged. The stadium was to be built on estates donated by Cia City in the Pacaembu Valley. In his memoirs, Paulo Duarte speculated that consideration was also given to locating the stadium in either the Ibirapuera Park or the Móoca sites used by the Jockey Club before moving to Cidade Jardim.¹¹³ Duarte said that he "accidentally found inside an old closet [in his municipal office] a folder containing a real estate company offer to build the stadium. The idea was first abandoned because all the municipal technical officers were so concerned in calculating how much this firm would profit from the deal . . . that they forgot to figure out how much the prefecture and the city were to benefit by accepting such an offer."¹¹⁴

Duarte's subtle report concealed a much more complex reality. Pacaembu Stadium had never been an "abandoned idea," since Cia City, the real estate company Duarte referred to, had kept pressuring different administrations to make it happen since at least 1927. By the same token, the "municipal technical officials" referred to a complex public technical realm that encompassed different departments within the administrative machine that dedicated themselves to studying and shaping the different deals involved in the building process. Moreover, the process proved the real estate company reflected a much more powerful private sector than Paulo Duarte could then acknowledge. Before exploring these themes further in Chapter 5, it is important to delineate their context.

In 1936, the media bombarded the Pacaembu construction project. The main criticism was that the government should invest in building schools and low-income housing to improve working-class neighborhoods instead of building expensive public works in areas characterized by a low density of children and the poor. In this view, the municipal stadium, located in an upper-class neighborhood and presenting "fancy" facilities such as tennis courts, seemed more of a private club for the rich rather than a stadium for the ordinary population.

Municipal officials responded to this criticism by justifying the decision to build a stadium as a step into the modern world that was part of a contemporary international public policy trend. According to DC official Nicanor Miranda, the stadium was more than a space for people's leisure. A municipal stadium allowed the city to promote sport events and required not only a proper soccer field but also tennis courts and athletics fields, facilities that even the best clubs in the city could not provide at this time. It was an educational, architectonic achievement that served to develop recreation and to infuse the population with the habits of physical education. Miranda explained that Pacaembu Stadium, though not Olympic—because it was not built to house such events—followed "those German structures existing in Frankfurt and Colonia."¹¹⁵ The stadium promoted important competitions, tournaments, and above all civic events.¹¹⁶ The stadium was to be the privileged arena for civic events.

All of the civic symbols from the 1930s were still alive and strong twenty years later. Pacaembu Stadium was central to the commemorative political events of the late 1950s. For instance, in 1957, *O Cruzeiro*, Brazil's largest-circulation magazine at the time, reported on the climax of São Paulo's twenty-fifth anniversary festivities for the 1932 revolution in Pacaembu Stadium: following an emotional parade up Ninth of July Avenue, with President Juscelino Kubitschek in attendance in an open car.¹¹⁷ In 1957, in the same proportion the twentieth anniversary of the Estado Novo was ignored, the 1932 movement was fully recognized. The magazine explained that "the 9th of July marked that one fourth century had passed after São Paulo, the grand state (*grande estado*), was in arms and headed to the trenches to defend principles of liberty and to fight against greedy men who smashed these principles with their authority (*botas da força*)."¹¹⁸ Ironically, *mineiro* physician Kubitschek had fought on the Legalist side. In the following year, the 1932 revolution's anniversary was made one with the national celebration of Brazil's first international soccer championship. Both *O Cruzeiro* and *O Mundo Ilustrado* of July 9, 1958, showed an impressive aerial view of Pacaembu Stadium, depicted as emblematic of drizzly São Paulo (*terra da garoa*), the land of "beauty and majesty."

These two accounts also suggest that Miranda's ideal formulation of equating the stadium with the city became a reality. Even sixty years later, when other larger stadiums had been built in the city, Pacaembu Stadium maintained its importance and became a symbol promoted to the category of historical monument (*monumento tombado*) in 1993.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the fear that the stadium would become a place for rich people (those who could play tennis) proved true on a local scale. That is, sixty years later, part of the stadium did become a neighborhood club. Though open to the public, its still very good facilities were used on a daily basis mostly by those upper-class, select few who lived in the Pacaembu neighborhood.

The Project

The Escritório catalogued Pacaembu Stadium as work number 1495 and documented it in more than 650 photographs from 1933 to 1941. From these photographs, the FAU/USP library archive has conserved 311 negatives. The oldest document is from November 22, 1933, and presents a stadium perspective drawing, one of the first drafts the Escritório presented to Governor Salles Oliveira to sell the Pacaembu scheme. From June 29, 1934, there is a whole set of technical drawings introducing studies on the facade and plans. In 1936, maquette models were added to the study. Photographs from April 28, 1937, of leveling the ground show the embankment work (*aterro*), scaffolding (*andaimas*), and construction materials being taken to the site by horse carts (*carroças*). From 1938 on, especially after the political change in the municipality, monthly site photographs show rapid and conclusive progress, where "more than a thousand workers were technically coordinated each day by Severo & Villares."¹²⁰ In December 1939, workers posed for a picture in the brand-new rows of benches, which displayed an almost-ready stadium (see Illustration 4.1).



Illustration 4.1 Pacaembu Workers, July 6, 1939

The site, a 75,598-square-meter area located in a valley in the core of the Pacaembu neighborhood, presented a peripheral border of 1,256 meters—limited by Itai, Capivari, and Itápolis Streets and Pacaembu Avenue.¹²¹ The project had the form of a horseshoe from which the east, west and north benches emerged. The spectators' placement formed a broad "U." This form conferred perfect visibility and could accommodate more than eighty thousand people. In its center, the soccer field was framed by two parallel lines of four hundred meters in length, divided into eight landmarks each. Besides athletics, other facilities included: tennis courts, Olympic-size pool (twenty-five by fifty meters; the diving tower included an elevator), open theater, reception places, ballrooms, and gymnasiums for indoor games—basketball, hockey, volleyball, and gymnastics (with seating for more than five thousand people).

The main facility, a four-floor building, contained on its first floor the sanitary facilities for the public, lockers for the athletes (men and women), medical care (a place for doctors, nurses, and masseuses), a generous bar (for some three hundred people), and the entrance to the tunnels that lead to the field. The second floor accommodated administrative functions, and the third floor had apartments for forty-two athletes (visiting from other countries and states), fencing, and gymnastic facilities. Finally, the fourth floor was a reserved area for bureaucratic public divisions (*repartições públicas*).

The stadium provided different access points: north (the main gate, with five entrances facing the thirty-meter-wide Avenida Pacaembu), east and west (nine entrances on each side), and south (one special entrance).¹²²

The Workers

In April 1940, Cia City's chief engineer Dodd requested authorization to hire twenty-five new workers because the current sixty-six workers were allocated in occupations such as site assistant (*ajudante de campo*) and drivers, reducing the number of those actually performing standard work functions.¹²³ According to Cia City's Register Book of Workers (State Department of Labor, Register #20686 of April 23, 1937), in 1937, fifty workers were hired to perform different standard work at the company and they were all paid daily. The company identified them according to their name, professional card number, admission date, occupation, daily wage (*mil-réis*), work hours, height, civil situation, children (Brazilians or not), date, signature, and their right-hand thumbprint. The different occupations included foreman (*fiscal de obras*), two ranks of drivers, overseer, security, assistant to the engineer, assistant to the surveyor, workers or diggers (*cavoucador*), gardener, mason, assistant mason, plane user (*plainista*), carpenter, and stonecutter (*canteiro*).

All manual laborers worked an eight-hour day (7 a.m. to 4 p.m.), with one hour for lunch. Daily wages varied from 4 *mil-réis* (4\$000) to 30 *mil-réis* (30\$000). In 1937, the best-paid worker was foreman João Martins Cotta, a Portuguese born in 1894 who made 30\$000 daily. Right below him were four workers: two foremen who made 20\$500, one assistant to surveyor who made 20\$450, and one mason who made 20\$000. Only eight men received between 10\$000 and 18\$200. All others made between 9\$600 and 4\$000. There is no clear reason for the different wages within each category. It is fair to say that a man's height was a significant category. Workers' height was carefully stated, and it ranged from 1:42 to 1:80 meters. This importance was related to the kind of work they performed. Age could be another variable as the workers' ages ranged from fourteen to sixty-eight years old (workers born between 1869 and 1923). The workers' pictures reveal amazing generational contrasts in relation to both facial expressions and clothes. Young workers (fifteen years and older) usually made around 4 *mil-réis* (4\$000) daily. Manoel Simões Carvalho, who was fifty-six in 1937, made 8 *mil-réis* (8\$000) daily as a digger worker (*operário cavoucador*).

Almost half of the workers (twenty-three) were immigrants of Portuguese origin, the other half (twenty-two) were Brazilians, with most of them migrants with a Portuguese last name. Most of these workers' biographies resembled each other. For instance, Accacio Cruz was born in Portugal and arrived in Brazil in 1913 already married to a Portuguese woman with whom he had eight Brazilian children. Their first three children were born in different municipalities within the state, whereas the last five were born in the city capital of Sao Paulo. In 1937, Cruz lived at Angatuba Street s/n, Pacaembu; he was probably one of the many workers on Pacaembu Stadium. Ironically, he was Pierson's neighbor. How could the place he lived have escaped the view of researchers?

Moreover, this data does not support RAM's collaborator Oscar Egydio Araújo's statement that in general, immigrants from Portugal were not working class.¹²⁴ If one focuses on the patronage network these immigrant groups

developed, as this study suggests, the professional occupation became much more a function of the contingent historical context linked to these people's living choices and opportunities.

The company did not hire women and very few men were Afro-Brazilians (only three) or from other origins (just one Italian and one Spaniard). In the 1930s, the majority of Italians living in São Paulo were considered skilled workers dedicated to construction work. Most of them were second-generation immigrants. The Izzopis, hired by the company, fit this rule. Emílio Izzopi, the only Italian-born worker, was a bricklayer, and the Brazilian Izzopi was the bricklayer's assistant. These skilled workers usually attended the School of Arts and Crafts (Liceu de Artes e Ofícios). For instance, several Italian apprentices and masters from the School of Arts and Crafts were hired during the Pacaembu Stadium construction. Among them were Antonio Chiocca, Adolfo Giovannetti, Frederico Puccinelli, Giacomo Cadrobi and Piazza Fiorenzo (locksmiths), Adolfo Barione and Agnelo Paciulli (decorators), Nicola Rollo, Ettore Ximenez, Giulio Starace (molding master), and sculptors Dionísio Brighi, Amadeu Zani, and Lorenzo Petrucci.¹²⁵ It should not be missed that the hiring process was also part of Cia City's network linked to its "partnership" with the Escritório, and the Escritório had close ties with the School of Arts and Crafts.

As a rule, Cia City workers lived close to their jobs. For instance, those hired as gardeners lived close to the garden neighborhood of Jardim América, already developed and in need of their constant work. Those hired as diggers lived close to the Pacaembu region, where the company developed another of its upper-class neighborhoods. The evidence suggests that workers moved with their family and friends who worked with them, since they lived most of the time in the same house or street. Comparing the dates in the book from hiring to retiring, these workers spent practically their entire lives working for the company.

Middle-Class Intellectual Professionals

Plínio Ayrosa's eulogy to the historian Teodoro Sampaio illuminates some aspects of the change from the old to the new intellectual in the 1930s.¹²⁶ During their last encounter in early 1937, Ayrosa showed Sampaio the work being developed at the new state university (USP) and took him to see Governor Armando de Salles Oliveira, who had just created a *tupi-guarani* chair at the FFCL/USP. After the ride, Sampaio was silent and uncomfortable, and as they were ready to cross the Campos Elíseos palace's door, Sampaio held Ayrosa by his arm and told him he was unable to disguise his dislike for such visits.¹²⁷ Sampaio did not mean to be rude and said that although he was a friend of the governor's father and very fond of the young man, he preferred to thank him only after he had left the palace.¹²⁸ Ironically, Sampaio and Oliveira never had another chance to meet. Sampaio died some weeks after this event, and Salles Oliveira went into exile in December 1937, only to come back and die in 1945, poor and forgotten.

If Sampaio, the old professional, seemed to be a man for whom professional work and political power should not mix, the 1930s saw a complete reversal of this posture. From the 1930s on, public service conferred legitimacy, capacity, and recognition to the new professional intellectual. For instance, before his term as DC director, Paulo Duarte acknowledged that people did not take Mário de Andrade seriously. Mário de Andrade was seen as a “crazy futurist (*futurista amalucado*), talented but not trustful [from whom] even the *O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper had refused contributions.”¹²⁹ Antonio Candido also confirmed that before his influential municipal position as DC director, Andrade was seen as “a careless, sensationalist, and demolishing type.”¹³⁰ As DC director and Division of Cultural Expansion chief, Mário de Andrade acquired a contemporary intellectual legitimacy that the intellectual and writer Oswald de Andrade never did. Décio de Almeida Prado, an expert in Brazilian theater and USP professor, met both Andrades in the early forties. As a young FFCL student, Prado asserted that Mário de Andrade’s works were required reading; he was called Sir, and kept a certain ceremonial distance from students. On the other hand, Oswald only received greater attention and complete academic recognition after his death in 1954. Prado recalled that in the 1940s, “Oswald was still seen as a joker (*piadista*), a crazy modernist to whom a chair at the FFCL/USP was denied, people even created a law that forbade him from even trying.”¹³¹

The article 148 of the 1934 constitution stated a job description of the new intellectual professional. Intellectual workers (*trabalhador intelectual*) were all those professionals dedicated to cultural practices (*atividades culturais*) and devoted to the “development of sciences, arts, languages, and culture in general.”¹³² These professionals wrote a history for São Paulo as municipal engineers, civil servants in a quest for identity and citizenship.

The municipal apparatus implicitly referred to issues of identity not only in its organization, as seen in Chapter 3, but also in its published written record. This chapter highlighted some examples as published in the only representative municipal journal of the period, the *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (RAM), with a focus on Samuel Harman Lowrie’s pioneering role as a professor and professional researcher. DC population studies researchers devoted themselves to understanding the ethnic and racial composition of São Paulo’s urban population by surveying the living conditions of a working-class population that most of them were a part of, and whose spaces these social researchers delimited and identified for good.

Issues of identity intersected with symbols of paulista political culture and melted away political contradictions in the common task of remembering 1932. The Prado administration’s urban renewal program was fully devoted to this task. No other administration fostered as many interventions and created as many marks upon the urban fabric related to the 1932 revolution. Prado’s urban renewal program opened two main paulista avenues, 23rd of May Avenue (the date that had sparked the conflict) and 9th of July Avenue (the beginning of the armed insurrection). The 1932 Revolutionary Memorial, the site for the ritual of bereavement, an obelisk by the sculptor Galileo Emendabile, was built as a powerful visual mark in the Ibirapuera Park, close to what is now the mayor’s palace.

Built in the same spirit of these public initiatives, the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building expressed a new entry in the language of patriotic symbolism. These urban initiatives were a break in the cultural forms and codes of commemoration because they represented neither a symbol of mourning nor defeat. Rather, they symbolized modernity and victory, the state's determination to snatch victory away from defeat and celebrate its strength and pride. The 1934 constitutional interlude was forever embedded in these monuments, though its political effectiveness eroded during the following years, only to be crushed in the end of 1937, when Vargas overthrew the constitutional government and imposed his *Estado Novo* dictatorship. Brazil's 1937 constitution forbade the existence of any regional symbols. However, the building's facade and various street names could not be concealed, and they kept extending the modern ideal into the larger dimension of public meaning. Curiously, Brazilian architectural critics mostly ignored the Gold for São Paulo Building, though it stood as an architectonic and political form representing the spirit of the time and its tensions.¹³³

These symbols of paulista identity effectively fused different political currents within the administration—one marked by a technical “scientific” approach (the DOP) and the other marked by a technical “intellectual” approach (the DC).¹³⁴ The work of the DOP and DC officials reflected both the technical basis of their urban politics and the political basis of their urban interventions. Each of these social activities—the reorganization of the municipal administration, the writings produced for *RAM*, and the construction of visible symbols of paulista identity—was part of a liminal transition through which the city of São Paulo was passing. In each field of endeavor, people were conceiving of or striving for a modern, professional, middle-class status for themselves and others in society. In their efforts, both public and private, they moved across or fell back from this threshold in circumstances that changed from day to day. The process was nonlinear and arrhythmic, but over time it led to the self-conception of São Paulo as the middle-class, professional center of a modernizing Brazil.

Chapter 5

Politics and Urban Change: Building the Pacaembu Stadium

“The past is a cemetery of promises which have not been kept.”¹

In 1926, a public advertisement reproduced a picture taken from a balcony of one of the houses architect Barry Parker built in the Pacaembu neighborhood in São Paulo nearly ten years before.² The headline boldly announced: “The Splendid Balconies of This Pacaembu Mansion (*palacete*) Reveal a Vast and Gorgeous Panorama.”³ In reality, this gorgeous deserted panorama was a real concern for the company that owned the area, and the political machinations to turn this swampy area into a lucrative business is the main focus of this chapter.

Using a microlevel approach, the chapter focuses on the Pacaembu Stadium construction as a reflection of the main urban and sociopolitical changes of the 1930s through two main lenses. It explores how urban policies (federal, state, and municipal urban acts and laws) affected and were affected by the relationship between urban entrepreneurs and the municipal administration between 1933 and 1940. It focuses on how these policies greatly affected the work of professionals and technicians in the public and private sectors and provoked a peculiar dynamic between political and technical mechanisms negotiated among the concerned public and private agencies. This dynamic resulted from the interaction among many different possible combinations of politicians, entrepreneurs, professionals (e.g., engineers, lawyers, accountants) and technicians (e.g., surveyors, clerical staff, skilled workers) from state divisions, municipal departments (e.g. DC, DOP), the engineering firm Escritório Técnico Ramos de Azevedo/Severo & Villares, and Cia City.

The Pacaembu Stadium case study is a privileged window onto different technical and professional groups, their perceptions, and their roles in orienting public and private policies. Most of all, it shows how the sphere of local governance, an agency of modernization, was a political and bureaucratic domain where

new means of influencing the social, economic, and cultural spheres were being invented and tested, often before being carried to the national level.

To delineate this process, this work considered photographs taken during the stadium construction work by the F.P. Ramos de Azevedo Escritório, kept at the USP School of Architecture (FAU/USP) archive; DOP and DC technical essays and municipal urban acts and policies as presented in the *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (RAM); contemporary coverage of the stadium's construction, from newspapers and magazines to the stadium's inauguration catalogue; and brochures, maps, and notebooks from Cia City's archive. The one hundred-page hardcover notebooks included the Board Meetings Acta Subject Index and ten Local Board Meeting Books (LBMB) reporting on the period from November 1926 to July 1940. The LBMB will be followed by the respective Acta number of the meetings.

The Pacaembu Scheme, March 1933

Politically, the project of building a stadium in São Paulo, an idea already considered by Mayor Antonio Prado, among others, went back to Mayor Washington Luis. On August 8, 1921, the City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited (Cia City) donated to the state government a 50,000-square-meter area in the Pacaembu neighborhood to be used for the construction of a stadium. Technically, Cia City was attracted by the Pacaembu valley topography, because the hillsides already seemed to be the perfect place for rows of seats. Nothing was done about the subject until January 1927, when Cia City's local committee considered reopening the issue. Advertisements from 1927 confirm the company's attempt to revive the business and attract investors. One of them, published in the Anglo journal *Brazilian American*, in an explicit company call for investors, stated: "Watch Pacaembu Develop."⁴ Another Cia City ad already made use of public works of infrastructure, characterized as "modern" implements, as part of a sales strategy to attract clients. According to another 1927 Pacaembu advertisement, the neighborhood "provided water, electricity, gas, sewers, model streets, garden treatment/landscape (*arborização*), and transport (more than ten tramway lines)."⁵ Nonetheless, difficult economic and political times postponed any further action on the area. In 1930, the company practically closed its sales section and, by this time, the donated area was abandoned and had become a handicap to the company's adjacent properties.⁶ After 1930, constructing a stadium in the Pacaembu neighborhood became essential to Cia City's interests. The stadium would stimulate sales, add value to the company's surrounding lands, and greatly accelerate urban development of its properties in the area.

In March 1933, Cia City's local committee decided to press the government for the construction of a stadium in the Pacaembu valley. "The Pacaembu Scheme," as the committee members called their strategy, consisted of two main points: it was to make the municipality fully responsible for the construction of the building and the paving of its surrounding streets, as well as to make it a partner

in financing half of the construction's total cost, estimated at approximately 3,000 *contos* (3,000:000\$000). The scheme also included secret private deals. One arrangement was made between Cia City and one of its managers, Arnaldo Dumont Villares—also a partner of the technical firm F.P. Ramos de Azevedo/Severo & Villares (Escritório). Accordingly, Villares's firm was to finance up to twenty-five percent of the company's fifty percent share, as long as Cia City used its influence to persuade the government to close the building contract with the Escritório. Another deal was set among Cia City, the Escritório, and the São Paulo Football Club, the most prestigious soccer club in the capital.⁷ The club was to lease the stadium. The scheme also sought to obtain from the municipality commercial, advertising, and greyhound-racing concession rights for the stadium.⁸

In March 1933, Cia City's committee arranged an interview between its English representative, Arthur du Cros (accompanied by local managers Gama de Oliveira and Villares), and the state governor, General Waldomiro Castilho de Lima.⁹ This meeting showed the company's willingness to comply with the government imposed immediately after the Constitutionalist revolution. The Legalist governor visited the site and agreed to a financial bid involving an intercalary four-installment arrangement of 750 *contos* (750:000\$000) each—the state government would pay the first and third installments, and Cia City would pay the second and the fourth. By reducing the money lent by the company, the interest rate would decrease from eight percent to seven percent. Subsequently, Du Cros, Gama de Oliveira, and Villares met with the mayor, engineer Theodoro Ramos, and discussed the project and issues related to opening and paving streets in the area. A sympathetic mayor affirmed that very reasonable cooperation was to be expected from him.

After setting the process in motion, Du Cros returned to England, leaving the paulista local board responsible for conducting the Pacaembu scheme. The four-person committee—Erasmio T. de Assumpção,¹⁰ chairman; Arnaldo Dumont Villares and John C. Belfrage,¹¹ managers; and Nelson Gama de Oliveira, general manager—was supposed to submit any subject related to the Pacaembu scheme in a written definitive proposal to Du Cros, who would take charge of it and explain the matter more fully to the London board to recommend immediate action. Any political decision had to have the London board's approval. Nonetheless, this policy did not prevent the committee from resuming its own political practices.

For instance, in August 1933, when Getúlio Vargas nominated Armando de Salles Oliveira as the new interventor, the committee designated entrepreneur Horácio Belfort Sabino (1869–1950) to confirm the Pacaembu scheme with the new federal interventor.¹² Sabino was also the São Paulo Football Club president, but, most important, he was Salles Oliveira's old family friend.¹³ In a letter to the London board, the committee explained that it was "convenient to make use of Dr. Horácio Sabino's good work [at this moment]. Sabino held friendship ties (*relações de amizade*) with the current interventor, and could make the company's petition get to his hands, as well as check extra-officially if the government approved of our proposal."¹⁴

Sabino informed Cia City's committee that the state government required the project plans and notebook work descriptions (*memoriais*) to deliberate on the

financial proposal for the stadium. Without delay, Villares and the Escritório staff started to work on the project and, in November 1933, the construction firm presented to the Cia City committee the stadium's first project draft.

Resuming negotiations on December 27, 1933, Villares, Belfrage, Gama de Oliveira, and Sabino met with the governor, presented the plans, and handed to him the financial proposal. The governor promised to visit the site and praised "the perfect, engaging, and enlightening proposal formulated by Cia City and corroborated by the engineering and architectural firm, Severo & Villares [as the Escritório was then known]."¹⁵

It seemed that the company was successfully reorganizing its political network at the federal, state, and municipal levels in the same way it had enjoyed it before the 1930 revolution. But these were new times. Armando de Salles Oliveira was building his government up and strengthening an administrative state machine that put together different factions of the paulista political spectrum. In January 1934, the local committee visited the new mayor, lawyer Antonio Carlos Assumpção. General manager Gama de Oliveira referred to Mayor Assumpção as someone with whom they maintained courteous "friendship ties" and who had already offered "solutions to quite a few issues linked to the company's best interests."¹⁶

In May 1934, Cia City committee members Gama de Oliveira and Villares met with the federal interventor, Salles Oliveira, who referred to conversations he had held on the stadium construction with paulista constituent assembly deputy Cincinato Braga.¹⁷ Salles Oliveira gave indications that Cia City could even be released from its financial assistance if it proved the stadium to be an amortizable (paid-off), profitable expense.

Those negotiations revealed the dynamics between private business and state authorities, which followed a customary path. Accordingly, Cia City's local board activated and worked with a network of politicians and various subsidiary companies that were involved from the closing of the deal until the construction of the public work. Interested in securing the company's investment, Cia City's London board played an active financial consulting role in all phases of this process. For instance, after being informed about the possibility of being exempted from financing the construction, Cia City president Herbert Guedalla charged the local committee with coming up with an effective stadium cost evaluation to have the government committed to both guaranteeing a seven percent interest rate on the invested capital and to granting advertisement and service (such as bar and restaurant) concessions.¹⁸ In case it was confirmed that the government and not the company would finance the construction works, London's instructions were to persuade the interventor to liberate Cia City from any explicit contract compromise and to demand that the government guarantee it would honor the building contract already signed between the Escritório and the São Paulo Football Club.¹⁹ Financially, Guedalla sent explicit directions reminding the committee not to sell or cash in any public title the company already owned. In the 1930s, these bonds meant a safe, sharply paid seven percent yearly interest rate to the company, a rate not achieved in any other kind of investment.

Ricardo Severo, Villares's partner, was an important player in the construction cost strategy. Both engineers had already participated in quite a few other public

works, such as the School of Medicine and the municipal market (just finished in 1933), and they explained to the board that in this type of extraordinary task (*obra fora do comum*), the profit margin was relatively small and did not allow an accurate anticipated sum. In any event, the Escritório's financial appraisal of 3,300 *contos* (3,300:000\$000), including leveling of the ground,²⁰ guaranteed a return of 21 *contos*/monthly minimum profit to the money invested. Villares proudly affirmed to the Cia City committee his satisfaction in constructing the stadium, adding to a tradition of "having his firm's name linked to almost any important public work in São Paulo."²¹

In order to secure the Escritório's contract, Villares had already contacted and met with the São Paulo Football club directorate, at which time he also discussed the stadium facilities and the project's technical aspects. The primary aspects of the scheme remained the same. The São Paulo Football Club firmly maintained its intention to lease the stadium, and the municipality agreed to concede exclusive advertisement and commercial rights to Cia City, provide public transportation to the stadium area, and grant water consumption tax exemptions on the stadium's building.

Plans were also that after the Escritório had signed the contract, Cia City's role in the construction process would cease and the Escritório could speak to the government in relation to its own interests. Villares reserved the right for his firm to negotiate the amount of government funds (*apólices*) to be allocated to his service.²² Nonetheless, things were not going well between Villares's building society and the municipality. Villares decided to go to Europe in July 1934, where he would meet with the London board and define a more effective strategy for the scheme. In the interim, Villares's partner, Ricardo Severo, as well as the firm's engineers and architects, who were completely attuned to the project, would be responsible for the ongoing negotiations.²³

In July 1934, a "victorious" Constituent Assembly achieved all of the democratic aspirations of its paulista representatives. The political moment was a triumphant and catalytic event for the Salles Oliveira government.²⁴ During this politically intense period, Cia City tried but did not succeed in setting a meeting with the interventor, who was frequently traveling to Rio. The political changes also provoked chairman Erasmo Assumpção to make frequent trips to Rio to solve questions related to the company's fund remittances to London.²⁵

Local meetings on the Pacaembu resumed. In one of them, Sabino, who was also president of a development company, informed the committee that the Syrio Football Club offered to build a stadium on his properties in Cidade Jardim estates, in the district of Pinheiros. The local board committee instructed him to stop any arrangement with the club, because it could distract from the Pacaembu negotiations with the government. Sabino agreed that he would not consider the offer. The general manager also requested that Sabino intercede. Sabino was to make use of his political contacts and to set a special appointment as soon as possible with the interventor. Sabino agreed to do his best. These documents' interchange shows how evident Sabino's influence was with several Cia City subsidiary companies.

State Interference and the Rules of the Game, 1934

During the winter, from July to September 1934, general strikes took place in several locations in the country, including a near-general strike in the paulista port city of Santos. In São Paulo, there were said to be thirteen political parties competing for the allegiance of the working class, and in early October, twenty thousand textile workers were on strike in both Rio and São Paulo.²⁶ Under difficult times, in mid-August, the *Escritório* increased the stadium construction estimate to 4,000 *contos* (4,000:000\$000). To complicate the issue, the State Physical Education Division director engineer Antonio Smith Bayma raised fundamental objections to the *Escritório*'s project and the stadium construction.²⁷ The signing of the building contract had to be once more postponed.²⁸

In September 1934, Salles Oliveira moved lawyer Antonio Carlos de Assumpção to the São Paulo state bank (BANESPA) presidency and designated engineer Fábio da Silva Prado mayor of São Paulo. In October, the state constituent assembly confirmed Constitutionalist party president Salles Oliveira as constituent governor. During the October 1934 elections, the Constitutionalist Party (PC) garnered four votes to every three for its only serious rival, the old Paulista Republican Party (PRP). According to ELSP professor Horace Davis, "[O]ut of the 250 elected members of the Chamber of Deputies, Vargas had to confront an ardent minority of at least 80; at any rate, at the beginning of a government, this was a number without precedent in the annals of the Republic."²⁹

During September and October, *Escritório* partner Ricardo Severo continued a strategy of "persistent persuasion" and asked the interim federal interventor, Marcio Pereira Munhós, to keep pressuring the state government for solutions regarding the stadium construction. At the municipal level, Cia City managers Gama de Oliveira and Belfrage, accompanied by submanager Altino Lima, visited the new mayor, Fábio da Silva Prado. Altino Lima's constant participation in municipal meetings were intended to positively influence Paulo Duarte, Prado's advisor, as Lima had been Duarte's schoolmate and childhood friend.³⁰ After the meeting, Duarte assured the committee that all municipal issues related to Cia City's interests had received a special instruction to be "quickly analyzed and fast dispatched," because it was the mayor's desire...to collaborate with Cia City in every way because of his recognition of the significant urban services the company had performed in the city of São Paulo."³¹

Nonetheless, in late October 1934, the State Physical Education Division issued a report on Pacaembu Stadium against Cia City's plan. In this report, director Antonio Bayma asked for a call for public tenders—referring to it as standard practice ("*como é de praxe*")—and estimated the construction costs between 4,000 and 5,000 *contos*.³² The local committee showed its disappointment with Bayma's report on Pacaembu Stadium and responded at a personal level. In this same meeting, the committee decided to study a specific sale going on in Cia City's Jardim América neighborhood. Antonio Bayma was a Cia City client who

had just acquired a site in Jardim América and whose financial bid was still in negotiation. Bayma required a special discount (*rebate especial*), to which the company replied very sympathetically but could only consider it after manager Villares returned from Europe.

In November, Villares came back with the London board's latest instructions. Among them was the creation of a new subsidiary firm, the Companhia Nacional, to administer all trade issues related to the stadium.³³ Without delay, on Saturday, November 14, Villares paid a courtesy call (*visita de cortesia*) to Mayor Prado. In this visit, Prado informed Villares about Salles Oliveira's decision to transfer Pacaembu's donated sites to the municipality. The mayor was making use of a legal practice, since in the city capital all public domain over the reserved land within a radius of eight kilometers—taking as point of reference the Sé central city square—belonged to the municipality.³⁴ From now on, all issues related to the stadium construction were a municipal concern, whereas the financial aspect continued to be both a state and municipal affair.³⁵ Villares also visited director Bayma, but he did not report on the results of this meeting.

The odds are that it had unhappy results, since Cia City's technical department decided not to give Bayma, its client, any special discount, but rather rendered an inflated figure for the house of 110 *contos* (110:000\$000)—especially inflated given the fact that this estimate considered only sixty-five percent of the total value and excluded expensive work such as a pool, sanitary appliances (*aparelhos sanitários*), and electricity. One Cia City ad shows that a privileged and well-located (corner with a forty-meter front) four-bedroom, two-story Cia City house at Suécia Street, Jardim América, cost 85 *contos* (85:000\$000) in 1935.³⁶

It was a fact that Cia City's local committee made use of the company's assets as part of its business strategies. When Paulo Duarte was Mayor Prado's advisor and São Paulo state assembly deputy, Cia City submanager Altino Lima offered him an impossible-to-decline deal. Duarte was given the option to buy the remaining installments of a Cia City house that had been abandoned by the original client after part of the payments had already been paid. Such cases arose when foreigners came to work in Brazil for a short time, bought a Cia City house to enjoy living in its neighborhood, and at the end of their job contract abandoned the house and moved back to their country. After the appropriate legal interval, house ownership would revert to Cia City, which would restore it and resell it. Duarte did accept one of these partly paid contracts, had Cia City renovate the house, and moved to Guarará Street, Jardim Paulista, in 1935. The total price of the deal was 80 *contos* (80:000\$000); that is, 60 *contos* to buy the house and 20 *contos* to repair it. In September 1935, according to the *O Estado de São Paulo* classified section, the rent for a three-bedroom house at the corner of Guarará Street and Joaquim Eugênio de Lima Street was estimated at 300 *mil-réis* (300\$000). Therefore, Duarte's monthly installment of 500 *mil-réis* was higher than the market rent. On the other hand, a brand-new house could be bought for 45 *contos* (45:000\$000) at either José Maria Lisboa Street or Veneza Street. This fact suggests that Duarte could not buy a house in the free market, and although Cia City's houses were more expensive than the "normal" market, their long-term form of payment permitted him to acquire his home. Duarte seems to have

closed a fifteen-year contract. In his contract with the company, Duarte gave a down payment of 10 *contos* (10:000\$000) and was to pay monthly installments of 500 *mil-réis* (500\$000).³⁷ In the same period, Paulo Duarte's extended family followed his option for mortgage, upgrading their location and moving from Pamplona Street (Jardim Paulista) to Chile Street (Jardim América), that is, to "a very nice house from Cia City, to be paid in several monthly installments and one down payment."³⁸ In this case, Duarte's parents gathered the large amount for the down payment from selling their small estate (*sítio*) in Moji das Cruzes. Notice that a small two-bedroom rural house in Moji das Cruzes cost 5 *contos* (5:000\$000), much less than the *chacareiro's* estate from Chapter 4.³⁹ Duarte's case illustrates the way many middle-class families were changing their way of living in the 1930s, moving from a rental routine to the status of being an owner. It also illustrates Cia City's role in this process and in using it for its own interests.

On December 10, Villares met Governor Salles Oliveira, but again, he did not achieve any positive results in relation to the stadium construction. Villares did report that the government had fully appreciated the Cidade Jardim Company's 600,000-square-meter donation. This fact suggested another calculating move on the part of Cia City. The local committee made the sites in Cidade Jardim, owned by Horácio Sabino's Cidade Jardim Estate Company, a Cia City subsidiary, part of the Pacaembu scheme negotiations. That is, the area donated in Cidade Jardim for the construction of the new São Paulo Jockey Club would distract state and DOP officers from the Pacaembu area and leave the Escritório free from all pressure against it. Right after this donation, Cia City pressured for a decision on the Pacaembu Stadium construction, alleging the municipality needed to construct it before any other competitor decided to build it. The stadium would bring greater benefits to the neighborhood than would a horse-racing track.⁴⁰

These negotiations of 1934 showed how old patronage rules—after encountering unforeseen public technical resistance—struggled and mixed with different interests to find a way of continuing strong and alive. The next section explores how the transferring of the Pacaembu estates from the state government to the municipality challenged traditional patronage practices and generated a new level of negotiations developed in the autonomous local arena.

Municipal Interference and the New Rules of the Game, 1935–1936

On February 4, 1935, managers Villares and Gama de Oliveira resumed the Pacaembu negotiations in a meeting with the governor.⁴¹ Advised by the London board, Cia City intended to give Salles Oliveira an ultimatum: build the stadium now, or the 1921 donation would be canceled and the area returned to the company to be properly treated and used as recreational area (*espaço livre*). Accompanying this strategy was a new financial bid of 4,000 *contos* (4,000:000\$000), complying with the government's expectations. In this meeting, Cia City also agreed to

eliminate any public construction financial role in the deal by nominating the Escritório as the only entity responsible for it. As a sole condition, the government should acquiesce in the sinking of the loan (*reter impostos para amortização*) and provide assurances by conceding to Cia City the stadium's technical and commercial management.⁴² Under this new arrangement, Salles Oliveira committed himself to personally talking to Mayor Prado and director Bayma, easing the pressures and difficulties the latter forced upon the company. Backstage, in a secret private deal, Cia City's local committee had already decided to loan the money to the Escritório to help it to finance its part of the deal.

A week later, on Monday, February 11, Villares, Gama de Oliveira, Lima, and chief engineer George Seville Dodd visited Mayor Prado. The municipality committed to paying for the construction work with municipal bonds (*apólices*), paving some five kilometers of main streets in the area, including Pacaembu Avenue, and bringing a tramway to this main avenue and providing public transport to the stadium's gates. On this very same day, the state government had transferred the Pacaembu-area donation to the municipality. In this new setting, the municipality imposed one condition on Cia City: it had to agree that the stadium building contract was to be given to an engineering construction firm legally chosen through municipal public tender. Cia City expressed its intention to honor the existing bid it had with the Escritório Severo & Villares and did not agree to the prefecture's terms. In March 1935, Cia City managers met with Salles Oliveira, who explained he could do very little in relation to this "private firm versus municipal power" problem. On the other hand, after this was resolved, he would be able to help both because there was a new addendum to the "new" federal constitution related to state government capital funds reserved for urban public works.

It is important to note that on April 10, 1935, Salles Oliveira was a powerful politician who had been elected governor with thirty-six votes against twenty-two votes for Altino Arantes. Alcântara Machado was elected senator with thirty-six votes against thirty-three for Moraes Barros.⁴³ Not coincidentally, Alcântara Machado had been an active leader during the 1932 revolution and the leader of the paulista group (*bacanda*) in the 1934 National Constituent Assembly.

These were uncertain times, pervaded by a new constitution and democratic rules, new parties, and social unrest. During early 1935, Cia City's local board committee expressed fear in relation to political unrest and the delay in starting the construction process. In the following months, the Pacaembu negotiations stalled. On the public side, the Physical Education State Division and DOP technicians studied the project and the building contract. Bayma insisted on the call for public tenders. On the private side, Villares argued his firm could not accept this procedure because his firm had already presented several studies to the municipality, which were already publicly known and would therefore put the Escritório in open disadvantage in relation to other bidders. In May, Mayor Prado communicated to the already irritated Cia City members that the company should also financially assist both part of the stadium construction and the street paving.⁴⁴ To the company's despair, the new municipal plan demanded an additional grant of more than twenty-five thousand square meters to the already donated area.⁴⁵ In the following months, Cia City local committee members did

not give in and they met more than once a week struggling to find a solution for their scheme.

If municipal urban plans were creating an impasse on the stadium-negotiating front, on the sales front, municipal urban improvements permitted the company's deals to boom. Furthermore, uncertain sociopolitical times were making people invest in property more than ever. São Paulo in the mid-1930s was booming, and housing advertisements expressed these changes, as seen in Chapters 2 and 4. Cia City ads were everywhere (in the trams, restaurants, stores, and streets), and they kept invading the most important paulista newspapers, journals, catalogues, and other forms of publication. In 1935, Pacaembu advertisements changed from the deserted rustic view of five years earlier into a scene of streets planted with trees that displayed Swiss cottage houses, portraying the neighborhood as "the new urban wonder (*a nova maravilha urbana*)."⁴⁶ In August 1935, the "new urban wonder" could be acquired through a facilitated down payment and installments starting from 135 *mil-réis* (135\$000) monthly. If the client agreed to build right away, discounts could vary from ten percent to twenty percent, depending on the chosen site location.

In December 1935, in a letter to the London board, the committee explained that the Pacaembu negotiations on the stadium had not changed, because the municipality was still waiting for the company's additional donation of 25,600-square-meter area to sign the contract. The construction estimate (calculated for a ninety-day period) had risen to 4,400 *contos* (4,400:000\$000). On December 16, 1935, the municipality issued the coup de grace, when through an organic law it decreed that any public work worth more than 100 *contos* (100:000\$000) had to undergo public tender.⁴⁷

The Public Tender Law

In January 1936, Cia City's lawyer Juarez Lopes confirmed to the local committee that the Pacaembu Stadium building contract could be signed only after going through public tender. Lopes explained to them that the competition was a vital step demanded by law, and any contract signed without this formality could be annulled. From the Escritório's point of view, the government had changed the rules in the middle of the game, and the new competitive rules demanded unfair, atypical actions. After all, the Escritório had always been the firm for important public works, and it faithfully followed all established procedures, from initial contacts to the development of the project.

To find a legal way out of the situation and still maintain its scheme, Cia City proposed to the Escritório that it accept an administrative contract with the municipality. Cia City's legal department assured the Escritório that this kind of contract would force the mayor to reconsider the Escritório's project, since signing with the firm meant the municipality had approved it in principle. As opposed to a building contract, an administrative contract (*Contrato de Administração*) exempted the Escritório from any possible additional costs. Thus, the local committee proposed signing two different contracts: a building contract and

an administrative contract.⁴⁸ As a Cia-City manager, Villares requested time to decide, because as an Escritório representative, he needed to consult his partner, Ricardo Severo, on this issue.⁴⁹

However, the London board was completely opposed to the local committee's administrative contract plan—a plan recommended and already approved by the paulista company's legal department and the firm's legal counselor. Instead, the London directorate insisted upon proceeding with the scheme and following the new laws, that is, the public tender procedure. Accordingly, the managers were to tell the mayor that Cia City agreed with the prefecture's terms as long as the municipality agreed with their assistance in elaborating the edict's conditions. These conditions should guarantee that no other contender but the Escritório could meet the requirements for the stadium construction. The vital condition Cia City required in the edict was that the winning construction firm was also to be responsible for the financing. The London board suggested this arrangement favored both parties, and negotiations should return to the conditions formerly established. The new arrangement charged Cia City and the Escritório with the Pacaembu stadium construction financing. The firms would share the financing of a total cost estimated at 4,400 *contos* (4,400:000\$000).⁵⁰

The Edict

On April 2, 1936, the mayor called for public tenders for both the stadium building and the street paving in the Pacaembu neighborhood. Right after the official publication of the announcement, Gama de Oliveira met with the mayor and handed him Cia City's draft for the edict (*Edital de Concorrência Pública*). Cia City's legal department had already formulated the edict, its requirements, and a complete folder with plans and technical specifications for the construction. The explanation Cia City's general manager gave to the London board was that the committee's intention was not to annul the work of the municipal departments (juridical and DOP) involved, but to submit to them their expectations to avoid any further delay in the final approval. Cia City also requested that it be notified of the final report before it was published for public knowledge. Nevertheless, despite all of Cia City's efforts, the municipal juridical department and the DOP took complete responsibility for the final edict.

The Additional Tax on Profits

On April 25, 1936, a municipal act (Act 1074) instituted the Additional Tax on Profits in São Paulo.⁵¹ This tax was not to be levied on the Pacaembu lands, because Cia City's local members negotiated with the municipality and agreed to reconsider the mayor's land donation request. The local committee asked Cia City's legal department to study and provide a draft of a deed granting an additional area of 25,598 square meters to the municipality.⁵² Cia City also managed to remain exempt from the State Tax on Selling Prices of Land (*Imposto Territorial*

Urbano). Legally, the company enjoyed the privileged position of a “tax generator” company (*criadora de impostos*), a condition created by the state decree (Law 5096) of July 2, 1931, which was confirmed by a municipal statute (Act 1115) on July 7, 1936.⁵³

On May 14, 1936, the official gazette published the edict for the stadium construction. The committee noted that the competition, now opened, was for the construction of the stadium and not, as anticipated, for the administration of the construction works. The mayor had not fully accepted Cia City’s draft edict. The mayor requested that company members participate in the competition under the conditions set in the edict so as to prevent him from being placed in an awkward position. The mayor also affirmed that any possible alternative tender would be rejected, and the contract was to be given to the *Escritório*. The committee noted all of the above and appreciated the scruples that the prefect displayed in this matter, having pointed out that the participation of the company in the competition depended naturally and to a great extent on the firm of Severo & Villares, whose point of view it was necessary to ascertain before taking any decision.⁵⁴

In May 1936, Villares reported to the local committee that Severo, his partner, still had not agreed to enter a public tender. Severo’s argument was that they were not prepared to make a tender, as now requested by the mayor, for two main reasons. They did not want to spend the 150 *contos* (150:000\$000) called for by the edict as a deposit to guarantee the execution of the building contract—although they acknowledged the deposit was standard procedure in these competitions for the execution of public works. They believed that in the current tightness of the São Paulo money market, they could not possibly obtain financial assistance from any bank at rates below ten percent and, consequently, they would lose three percent interest over the course of eight years on the quota of 2,200 *contos* (2,200:000\$000) they would be required to put up. In other words, the loss might amount to some 300 *contos* (300:000\$000), considering the municipal interest rate.

The edict’s closing date was June 15, 1936. Distressed, Gama de Oliveira immediately telephoned Severo. The general manager reminded Severo that his firm had joined Cia City from the beginning and had accompanied them throughout. The *Escritório* could not fail them at the eleventh hour. Finally, both Cia City and the *Escritório* agreed to the public tender.⁵⁵ Cia City acquiesced and agreed to provide the *Escritório* the necessary financial assistance. That month, the company delivered to the *Escritório* a loan decided upon and authorized by the London board—eight state bonds in the total amount of 80 *contos* (80:000\$000). The loan enabled the *Escritório* to make the initial deposit stipulated in the edict. Further, seven additional bonds would be delivered to the *Escritório* if necessary, increasing the final amount to 150 *contos*, as demanded by the municipality in order to respond to the *Escritório*’s proposal with a contract.⁵⁶

On June 15, the *Escritório* duly submitted its tender to the municipality in the open competition for the construction of Pacaembu Stadium. As anticipated, no other proposal was received. The *Escritório*’s tender, prepared in accordance with the terms of the edict, was opened in public by the DOP director and found to be in order.⁵⁷

In September 1936, the newspaper *Diário Popular* presented the issue to the public in the following terms: "The municipal chamber was informed that less than three months ago, the prefecture's Advisory Council gave its permit for the city stadium construction and the calling for public tenders. The Municipal stadium structure, built on Cia City lands in the Pacaembu valley and worth approximately 3,000 *contos* (3,000:000\$000). The stadium, capable of holding at least 80,000 people, will display the most modern facilities of its kind. Thus, in two years, the paulista capital will enjoy this important urban improvement, one more example of collaboration from the Culture Department's (DC) admirable work."⁵⁸

Urban Space and Politics

On September 6, 1936, the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* illustrated an article about the Pacaembu Stadium municipal plan with a photograph of the paving works at the corner of Itápolis and Morro Verde Streets. This public improvement would increase the value of all private properties in the area. To situate how the population reacted to the deals concocted at the political level, the following section explores how urban issues were considered during this phase of the Pacaembu scheme.

A week later, among many controversial urban issues discussed during an agitated state chamber assembly meeting, the "urban valuation" issue was subjected to significant criticism in relation to the way the municipality was managing city growth. Heading the opposition, engineer Alexandre Albuquerque criticized the deals between the municipality and the private sector, regretted the lack of a global plan for the city, and accused the municipality of completely ignoring the arrangements of former administrations.⁵⁹ Albuquerque blamed the current municipal urban policies for changing the city's growth from a northern to a southwestern direction, a move that transparently reflected the interests of entrepreneurs who had land and businesses in this area.⁶⁰

Accordingly, an abrupt shift in the city's original, historical growth took place. Albuquerque foresaw the process of a city building onto itself and losing its own historical reference points. For instance, the downtown Tabatinguera neighborhood, an important area during the empire, was abandoned and thrown open to speculative interests. Albuquerque went further, noting that the changes affected both "workers" and "owners." Workers were forgotten when the municipality ignored the Circular Avenue plan, which was intended to link Brás, the proletarian neighborhood, to other areas of the city. Owners were disregarded in cases of property devaluation, as had happened at Brigadeiro Tobias Street, a selective residential avenue turned into a commercial area.

Albuquerque blamed the situation on the lack of civic education and political willingness to complete small, important projects already started. Mayors did not continue the work of their predecessors. Rather, they would only do so if their names were to appear on the project's commemorative plaque. Conversely,

Albuquerque praised the work of municipal engineers and technicians, whose ideas were suffocated by political interests. In fact, the city was not growing according to its needs, but according to some people's wishes and caprices. Albuquerque defended zoning and said that public urban improvement programs should be subordinated to an encompassing plan (*Plano de conjunto*).

The Building Contract, 1936

Finally, on October 29, 1936, the municipality closed the Pacaembu building contract with the Escritório. Now, Cia City manager and Escritório owner Arnaldo D. Villares was the Pacaembu stadium's legal contractor. According to the Cia City Acta, the Municipal Works Department (DOP) worded the contract in agreement with the Escritório and disregarded the draft that Cia City's legal department had prepared.⁶¹ Nonetheless, Cia City was not kept apart from this process, given that in other Actas the company local board affirmed that its general manager had participated in the meeting and introduced an amendment to the contract. This amendment was intended "to secure the due execution of the project," an explicit reference to the insertion of a contractual fee.⁶²

On November 28, 1936, the Pacaembu municipal stadium foundation stone was laid during a formal, impressive ceremony. The municipal journal *RAM*, in its "Headlines" section, dedicated a special note to the launching. The state governor, state secretaries, mayor, municipal officers, the second military region's general commander, other military officials, congressmen, councilors, and other high officials and prominent persons in political, social, and sporting circles attended the ceremony.⁶³ Among the institutions quoted, *RAM* referred to the Athletic Sports Paulista Association as an important agent in this process. Among the people present during this commemorative event, the journal highlighted representatives' names from the Escritório and Cia City together, perceived as just one influential group (Arnaldo Dumont Villares, Nelson Gama, J.C. Belfrage, Eurico Bastos Guimarães, J.A.V. de Azevedo, Ricardo Severo, Altino de Castro Lima, George Seville Dodd, Vicente Ancona, C. Ponchon, Alfredo Villares, Antonio Severo, Marcelo de Lacerda Soares, Henrique Villares, and Fausto Soares de Rezende). *RAM* editors emphasized that this event celebrated the successful design and project plans approved after the calling for public tender. During the launching, Salles Oliveira expressed strong interest in all technical documentation presented by the constructor and, using his engineering skills, commented on the Escritório's unique approach to the use of the site (*aproveitamento do local*). After that, Ricardo Severo, speaker for the Escritório, thanked the governor and other authorities in attendance and read the launching speech. Though Salles Oliveira presided over this political event, he was by then already the PC presidential candidate running for the 1938 presidential election. In October 1936, Salles Oliveira, Constitutionalist Party founder and president, left the state executive office to Henrique Smith Bayma, who became interim constitutional governor from October to December 1936.⁶⁴

Escritório Versus Municipality, 1937

Early 1937 proved to be a testing period for a contract with which neither the Escritório nor Cia City nor the municipality were happy. In this period, Cia City increased its advertisements for the Pacaembu area. In February 1937, one of these ads announced Pacaembu's "more than three miles of paved streets."⁶⁵ In March, Cia City requested a deadline extension for the Pacaembu Avenue paving project.⁶⁶ In any event, quite a few changes were rapidly transforming the Pacaembu neighborhood. The Escritório brought workers and machinery to the site; Cia City paved streets and kept selling by advertising the public advantages. The municipality was able to take new steps in urban planning by managing the many urban interventions affecting the development of this area, including making innovative use of its juridical autonomy to change the status of properties in the area. As an example, in April 1937, the municipality changed one of its sites (*terreno*) in the Pacaembu valley from its public (*uso comum*) to private category.⁶⁷

In mid-June 1937, Nelson Gama de Oliveira returned from a three-month trip to Europe with the latest directions from the London board. Among the announcements, Gama de Oliveira reported that the London board had accepted Villares's exoneration. From July on, Villares was not Cia City's local manager but still continued "perfectly integrated with Cia City [and] willing to serve it at any time if his services are needed."⁶⁸ The London board did not nominate a successor.

At the beginning of June, the *RAM* May 1937 edition published DC Education and Recreation Division chief Nicanor Miranda's extensive and controversial article, "The São Paulo Municipal Stadium." In this essay, Miranda analyzed three main issues related to the stadium construction: DC recommendations for changes in the project, descriptions of the site and its conditions, and answers to the main objections to the stadium construction. The DC forcefully supported the need for a municipal stadium but had deep reservations about the approved project. In a detailed presentation, the article suggested modifications carefully marked on the already existing pictures and plans.⁶⁹ The DC completely supported the project's "U" form design (following the lines of the valley where it was to be inserted), the construction of tennis courts, and the disposition of educational facilities within the project. The main modifications in the project were located in the space in front of the facade. Among them, the creation of a square in this area was to demand postponement of the project. Miranda also responded to the great impact construction of the stadium would have on the population. His explanations found their basis in the idea that a stadium served a civic function. The civic vocation should be above any private interest. The clear main message behind this article was that the municipality interfered, modified, and created additions to a project already approved in an "open" public competition. The stadium was a municipal public issue, not a private deal.

Cia City's committee learned about the "suggested" modifications through the *RAM* article. According to the board, these changes in the project, sanctioned by

“one of the DC directors,” were offensive. They were considered offensive because the municipality had not previously notified Cia City about them. Nonetheless, the Acta explained that Villares had already informed the committee (thus, they knew beforehand) that these modifications meant an extra cost of 2 *contos* and 400 *mil-réis* (2:400\$000) in construction and 800 *mil-réis* (800\$000) in paving. Even with the municipality taking responsibility to finance the extraordinary expense, the committee understood that these changes created a completely unbearable situation. The unacceptable situation was that from now on, Pacaembu Stadium’s financial, construction, and paving work were to be conducted by the three agencies: Cia City, the Escritório, and the municipality.

Cia City and the Escritório were mainly concerned with two issues related to the controversial changes in the project. They feared these changes could justify the use of the Additional Tax on Profits (Law 2509) and could provoke more costly delays in the project’s execution. The stadium work started on November 28, 1936, and was supposed to be finished by December 1938. The project languished and was completely off schedule. The Escritório blamed the DOP for never reaching a full financial agreement with the firm.⁷⁰ Cia City found itself in between the municipality and the Escritório, and feared the situation might provoke a drop in its property sales.

Under these circumstances, the municipality decided to terminate its contract with the Escritório. On September 17, 1937, Cia City general manager Gama de Oliveira expressed the company’s dismay with the decision in relation to the Escritório and the company’s intention to use the contractual fee. According to the terms of the July 8, 1936, donation contract, if the stadium was not finished in 1938 the municipality would have to pay a fee of 1,500 *contos* (1,500:000\$000).⁷¹ Among other concerns, Cia City feared that with the termination of the contract, the Escritório would not be able to pay its loan bid to the company.

In August, other meetings were set between the general manager and the mayor. In these meetings, Cia City committee members, Escritório representatives, and DOP officers studied how to adapt newly created municipal taxes to the stadium contract’s financial terms. Cia City’s general manager tried to negotiate two conditions with the municipality before accepting any agreement. The first condition involved the ratification of the Escritório’s 1936 construction contract—averting large fees from the construction, financial, and donation contracts. The second condition was that the Additional Tax on Profits be overlooked on Cia City’s Pacaembu sites. On the other hand, DOP officers requested the additional area for the stadium’s public square main entrance.

The agreements reached foresaw five points: the contract with the Escritório would continue; Cia City conceded the municipality a one-year deadline extension to conclude the works, i.e., December 1939; Cia City’s financial bid remained the original 2,200 *contos*—less 600 *contos* already paid; Cia City was to sell the necessary additional area for the stadium’s square; and the municipality was to pay in cash (not government bonds) a final amount that was not to include the Additional Tax on Profits. The municipality was to pay for the new donated area a value estimated of fifty percent below the 1936 market price.⁷²

The municipality had won this round.

However, in the following months, construction delays and project problems between the Escritório and the municipality evolved. DOP Roadway Division chief engineer José Amadei reported that, eleven months after the commencement of work, the earthwork was not done, the facade work was interrupted, and the rows of seats, water, and sewage work had not even begun. The municipality attributed the delay to the Escritório. The Escritório blamed the changes in the project. In late November 1937, Cia City consulting lawyer Juarez Lopez reported on the Pacaembu project costs and confirmed the continuing delays in the process. The escalating technical problems lost their weight when the whole nation underwent a political earthquake. On November 10, 1937, Getúlio Vargas imposed the Estado Novo and provoked radical changes in the municipal and state apparatus.

Federal Interference and the New Game

O Estado Novo

The new 1937 constitution imposed profound changes both the public and private sectors. Private firms had to adapt to the new taxes and laws. Among these, Cia City was mostly concerned with changes both in the Funds Remittance Tax, related to its mixed foreign-national capital status, and the State Tax on Selling Prices of Land. This concern was evident in the first local board meeting after the Estado Novo coup. On November 23, 1937, the meeting main subject was "The New Constitution." The local committee analyzed how the country's political reorganization affected Cia City's organization, performance, and administration, and how it affected the Brazilian property regime. Cia City's consulting lawyer Juarez Lopes affirmed that the company continued to enjoy the same rights as those acquired in the previous 1934 constitution. The local board's first general perception about the situation was "normality... and a promising situation of business continuity."⁷³

On December 30, Cia City secretary G.T. Gordon Stevens expressed concern with the Constitution's article 32, letter c. According to the Cia City legal department, this article was not related to income tax, and it did not exist in the 1934 document. The 1937 Constitution eliminated any tax exemption for public services concessionaires. According to the 1934 constitution article 17, number X, neither the union, nor the states, nor the municipality could tax concessionaires' properties, incomes (*rendas*), and services. The Estado Novo constitution article 32 allowed the government to do so. This article affected companies such as the São Paulo Light Co., Cia Telephonica, and Cia de Gás, but it did not affect Cia City.⁷⁴

Nonetheless, following the general drift of this article, on January 4, 1938, the state legal gazette issued a new decree eliminating all estate companies' privileges related to the Tax on Selling Prices of Land (*impostos territoriais*).⁷⁵ Cia City's

concern with the State Tax on Selling Prices of Land (*imposto territorial urbano*) law was not in vain. From now on, Cia City and other development companies lost their privileges and, under the law, were equal in status with Brazilian land-owners.⁷⁶ By late January 1938, two other public federal decisions affected the company: the “Bank Supervisory Action” (*fiscalização bancária*) that investigated a complaint that Cia City financed houses through illicit bank operations,⁷⁷ and the “Installment Purchases Legislation” (Law 58 of December 10, 1937) that bureaucratically restrained business flow—a measure that increased the bureaucracy but did not affect the firm’s productivity.⁷⁸

A New Final Contract, February 1938

In January 1938, Cia City considered the stadium work to be “satisfactory” and following a “better” schedule because more workers were hired. On February 22, 1938, Gama de Oliveira met with Mayor Prado when the municipality and the Escritório signed a new construction contract. Under the political pressures of the time, the municipality acquiesced in changing the 1936 building contract into an administrative contract. According to the new contract, the municipality was accountable for any extraordinary costs, and the builders were to receive a monthly percentage related to the work done. The new bid exempted both Cia City and the Escritório from their previous financial role. The new construction estimate jumped to 9,300 *contos* (9,300:000\$000), and the new deadline for finishing the stadium was extended to the end of Prado’s term, November 1938. This deadline considered that “extraordinary work” might extend it to late February 1939.⁷⁹ With the soccer World Cup (*Copa do Mundo*) scheduled for June 1938, Prado’s intention was to inaugurate the stadium before finishing his term—crowning what could be considered a triumphant political achievement. However, in April 1938, interventor Adhemar de Barros terminated Prado’s administration and nominated engineer Francisco Prestes Maia as the new mayor of São Paulo.

Cia City’s last agreement with Prado was completely disregarded in the firm’s public report for the stadium’s Inauguration Catalogue in 1940. According to the report, when Prado left the government, the east row of seats, half of the gymnasium, and the pool were ready. The Escritório alleged that the 4,400 *contos* (4,400:000\$000) in funds reserved by contract for its construction were insufficient, since 1,700 *contos* (1,700:000\$000) had already been used, and the construction delay was to incur a fee of 1,500 *contos* (1,500,000\$000) from the government. The Escritório also claimed that, by this time, most facilities had not been anticipated, space had proved to be insufficient, and the company had even contemplated giving up the arched row of seats. Prestes Maia suspended the work, studied the technical and financial conditions, and decided to remake all the contracts among the municipality, Escritório, and Cia City.

In late May 1938, Mayor Maia met with Cia City general manager Gama de Oliveira to set a new deal on the stadium construction. The mayor requested from Cia City an extended deadline and the elimination of the 1,500 *contos* (1,500:000\$000) fee from the contract. In return, the municipality was to take

full financial responsibility for all extraordinary work involved,⁸⁰ including street paving and the main facade's row of seats. Gama de Oliveira, advised by Cia City lawyer Lopes and chief engineer Dodd, succeeded in releasing the Pacaembu sites from the Additional Tax on Profits. Prestes Maia also reset a new contract with the Escritório. On July 14, 1938, Mayor Maia invited high municipal officers and representatives from the Escritório and Cia City to Pacaembu Stadium site to celebrate the new deals among the municipality, the Escritório, and Cia City. According to Cia City's notebook, the press widely reported the event on July 14, 1938.⁸¹

The Pacaembu Scheme, or the Story of a Happy Financial Ending

On the evening of August 31, 1938, the new stadium deed was signed. Cia City's relationship with the government improved so much that it even reached an agreement with the Physical Education Department on the previously contentious donation-of-area issue. In this new arrangement, the municipality was to buy approximately nineteen thousand square meters according to Cia City's price estimate of 50 *mil-réis* per square meter (50\$000/m²). Cia City required the payment to be made through 1933 municipal bonds worth 500 *milréis* (500\$000) each up to a total of 701 *contos* (701:000\$000) under an yearly interest rate of eight percent.⁸² In early September, the Escritório paid Cia City back the 150 *contos* (150:000\$000) in municipal bonds it had borrowed during the call for public tender.⁸³ With this payment, all obligations between Cia City and the Escritório were concluded.

During the 1938 World Cup soccer games, Mayor Maia declared a special holiday "so that all employees from public divisions and business houses could follow the main games on the radio."⁸⁴ In November 1938, the municipality called for public tenders for the stadium's square and some street opening work.⁸⁵ In January 1939, according to the local committee, "last but not least" the "stadium scheme" turned into reality.

The firm ended up not having to finance the construction and, in the final accounting, it had the municipality investing more than 15,000 *contos* (15,000:000\$000) in the stadium construction, street opening and paving, and the additional enlarged popular plaza (*praça*). As anticipated, all these works brought enormous "progress" to the Pacaembu neighborhood. These improvements were reflected in the explosive sales and the very profitable terms involved in the sales contracts. Most of all, in November 1938, Cia City had already profited more than 10,000 *contos* (10,000:000\$000) in terms of the sales prices of its Pacaembu sites, a process that was steadily thriving. According to the firm's report, the company made 16,000 *contos* (16,000:000\$000) from January 1938 to January 1939, and 6,500 *contos* (6,500:000\$000) from January 1937 to January 1938.⁸⁶

In May 1939, the Cia City committee members met with Mayor Prestes Maia to settle the deal on the newly donated areas in Pacaembu. The committee members were A.H. Morris (substituting for Gama de Oliveira, who was on leave for

a three-month visit to the United States), submanager Lima, and chief engineer Dodd. The media reported that this deal was based on the exchange of areas between Cia City and the municipality to “reduce the public expense.”⁸⁷ Some municipal sites were exchanged—small estates in the Ibirapuera and Pinheiros neighborhoods.⁸⁸ Accordingly, the areas in green were only a small percentage of the total deal. The official map stated the following distribution: Cia City sites (in yellow, 29,391 square meters), sites exchanged (in green, 4,483 square meters), municipal areas (24,908 square meters), Cia City clients’ areas (4,215 square meters), and a final total municipal area of 19,123 square meters. The final deal had the municipality paying for the twenty-five thousand square meters in government bonds in the amount of 2,550 *contos* (2,550:000\$000); that is, 102 *mil-réis* per square meter (102\$000 per square meter), an amount that followed the overvalued market price of May 1939.⁸⁹ Prado had paid in cash an amount related to 50\$000 per square meter for a similar area in 1936.⁹⁰ After the closing of this deal, Cia City’s minutes stopped devoting space to Pacaembu Stadium.

In September, newspapers promoted the final steps of the stadium construction: “Soon, the paulista people will be proud to have the best stadium in South America. And one of the better in the world; providing our sporting entities the right to request the housing of international competitions in our capital... and to be respected by foreigners (*gente de fora*) who so far have completely ignored us.”⁹¹

According to the Inauguration Catalogue, the total construction cost was approximately 20,000 *contos* (20,000:000\$000), of which the Prestes Maia administration paid ninety percent. This amount excluded the changes in the project.⁹² Thus, the new administration spent 20,000 *contos* plus the costs involved for the great plaza (*Grande Praça*). Beyond paying for Cia City sites, the municipality paid for work related to the improvement and enlargement of the main avenues and streets around the stadium and for significant changes in the work of canalization, ground leveling, and paving done mostly by the Escritório. The financial scheme ended by providing excellent economic conditions for Cia City and the Escritório, and it turned into vital political propaganda for the newly instituted Estado Novo.

The Inauguration: April 27, 1940

On March 25, 1940, Cia City president Herbert Guedalla died. Cia City honored him by designating Jardim Guedalla, a special area in its Butantan estate, as a very selective upper-class area. The interim president became Sir Arthur du Cross. On April 3, 1940, Escritório partner Ricardo Severo died—the *Folha da Noite* dedicated an extensive obituary to Severo: “Personality, Life and Work of Ricardo Severo” (1940). In the following week, Cia City general manager Gama de Oliveira received from the mayor a special invitation to the ceremony. The four-member local committee was also honored with a medal symbolizing the company’s major place in the event.⁹³

The "Catalogue Program for the São Paulo Municipal Stadium Inaugural Events" displayed on its cover a composition that very much resembled the 1936 Olympic announcement in Germany: a young Greek man's head with the main facade of the stadium in the background. The simple advertisement over the illustration disappeared in relation to the bold letters that appeared under it with the name of the stadium's construction firm—"Project and Construction by Escritório Técnico Ramos de Azevedo SEVERO, VILLARES & CIA LTDA." The first pages pictured President Getúlio Vargas, followed by interventor Adhemar de Barros and Mayor Prestes Maia. The whole catalogue spread within its pages a rich collection of current advertisements, among which Cia City's ads were a significant contribution. During the inauguration, the main attraction was a soccer game between the Corinthians Soccer Club (1940 paulista champion) and the Atlético Soccer Club (1940 *mineiro* champion), which gathered an impressive crowd at the stadium.⁹⁴

The stadium festivities took place on a warm and luminous afternoon on April 27, 1940. Present at the ceremony were the nation's dictator-president Getúlio Vargas, São Paulo interventor Adhemar de Barros, and Mayor Prestes Maia. Among other important people were Henrique Dodsworth (Federal District mayor), Carneiro da Fonte (police chief), Major Barbosa Leite (Physical Education National Department director), Captain Hermílio Ferreira (Gustavo Capanema's representative), and Francisco Patti (DC director).⁹⁵

Pacaembu's inauguration was an important sociopolitical event. Both Getúlio Vargas and Prestes Maia successfully linked themselves to the Pacaembu event. The Pacaembu construction process, a project conceived throughout a decade that had fought Vargas's dictatorial tendencies, ironically crowned the Estado Novo's tenets during its inauguration. Thus, the April 1940 festivities marked the end of the great expectations of the period that promoted its construction, given that neither Salles Oliveira's nor Prado's urban and cultural policies resisted the new political situation.

The Estado Novo ended the period's quest for democratic urban policies and transformed urban interventions into politico-cultural promotions. The professional apprentices of the 1930s (e.g., scholars, intellectuals, technicians, engineers, politicians) symbolically graduated in the 1940s to become the masters of the following decades. The way local government and academia structured themselves in this 1930s also set the tone for the transformations to come. Prestes Maia was already being depicted as the great mayor-entrepreneur, starting his successful public-work crusade (*realizador de obras*). Fábio Prado turned to private entrepreneurial and cultural activities; Paulo Duarte came back from exile to dedicate himself to academia and journalism; and Anhaia Mello devoted his life to academia.⁹⁶ The private and public sectors were to thrive and reproduce an interactive dynamic that still survives today. Urban vocations were politically delineated for a generation whose imprint on São Paulo reflected the state's history and its influence on the nation.

The Pacaembu inauguration was an explosive political symbol of modernity and a metaphor to the way urban works and politics were to fuse in civic events. It also marked a turning point in the practices related to urban intervention.

This change marked the transition between the generation of Cia City president Herbert Guedalla's and Escritório president Ricardo Severo's generation—who learned in turn-of-the-century schools—and a new model molded by professionals raised in the political events of the decade of the 1930s. In the Escritório, Arnaldo Dumont Villares absorbed and translated these new rules into his engineering office, which was now a joint-stock company (*sociedade de cotas*). ADV's firm entered the 1940s as a successful national firm with strong branches in Rio de Janeiro and Santos (see Illustrations 2.9 and 2.10). On the other hand, Cia City did not face the 1940s as strongly as the Escritório did. On March 11, 1941, Erasmo Assumpção resigned from the Cia City local board presidency, and the new decade saw the company maintain its traditions but lose its political preeminence.

Contingent Coalitions

Historian Boris Fausto stressed that the 1930 revolution resulted from a multifaceted historical process and did not voice the interests of an industrial bourgeoisie. Political scientist Francisco Weffort maintained that a "citizenship project" never permitted the middle class to cohere. Actually, this chapter shows that this project provoked a ceaseless and constant negotiating process among different layers of society. Cohesion was made of several ephemeral moments punctuating the various arrangements that took place during the fifteen years Vargas was in power. In these ever-shifting fifteen years, Vargas never took his government for granted. Weffort's view was that if no single group or class was able to establish political hegemony, the various competing factions ceded control to a strong, autonomous state. This idea was embodied in the concept of the "compromise state" (*estado de compromisso*). Studying this period's political coalitions, Sonia Draibe and Barbara Weinstein stressed the idea of instability rather than compromise. Weinstein found instability at the root of the industrialist's strong commitment to an open political system. Accordingly, this commitment favored the formation of a more cohesive and homogeneous bourgeois project, which agrees with Fausto's thesis that the state played a significant role in the strengthening of an industrialist order.⁹⁷

Fausto argued that the behavior of entrepreneurs in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in the 1920s and 1930s demonstrated the same pragmatic trait and a lack of a national project. Accordingly, the same patronage rules the entrepreneurs used, they required from the government.⁹⁸ Fausto held that an oligarchical elite linked to the military and technical officials fostered São Paulo's industrial policies. This elite was aloof from any development program that went beyond their domestic, daily concerns.⁹⁹ Such a statement reflects the general idea that entrepreneurs influentially voiced and backed socially irresponsible economic development because they looked for the easiest way out of hard times. If the rich private sector played here the evil part, the government seemed not to be accountable for even clientelistic situations within the public machine.

This chapter explored through the instability of patronage negotiations how the “pragmatic trait”—a culturally shared facet of all social groups’ reality—was adapted in various ways to political situations of the 1930s. As Joseph Love pointed out, the new generation—divorced from the railway—caused new and old practices to struggle. Mauricio Font explored this battle in the formation of the PD. Font asserted that the PRP expressed an alliance between the old coffee sector and the traditional middle class that shared anti-immigration leanings. On the other hand, the PD represented an alliance between the state bourgeoisie and the new, well-to-do immigrant sector, the “new” middle class, among which were most of the new entrepreneurs and part of the municipal technical staff. Woodard brings a more nuanced idea to this debate.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the rapid events of the decade permitted a split within the already heterogeneous conservative group. Arnaldo Villares is an exemplar of this group. ADV was a man raised and educated in terms of turn-of-the-century entrepreneurial posture who adapted to the social transformations through the role of an urban, oligarchical entrepreneur. ADV was highly trained and a competent manager in both the private and public sectors. Though he expressed strong feelings of nationalistic pride in the country and its vast human and natural resources, international connections and regionalism exerted a vital force upon his convictions. In contrast to the traditional and cultural regionalism of the European countries, the regionalism of São Paulo rested mainly on an economic base. This regional patriotism was often narrow in its outlook and understanding of the interests of other parts of the country.

In March 1933, during its first meeting with the municipality on the Pacaembu issue, Cia City repeated common procedures already seen in Parker’s notes during the late 1910s (see Chapter 1). The company provided all technical studies, performed by its staff, and simply presented them for the municipality’s approval. The “Pacaembu Scheme” underwent several phases that showed how difficult it was to change these standard practices. The period from August 1933 to December 1934 saw the stadium increasingly become a municipal issue. At the macro level, municipal acts interwove with other federal laws, which affected the city’s urban development, provoking unintended adjustments to the Pacaembu scheme. From 1935 to 1937, the municipality controlled the game. By the same token, Cia City’s policies were shaped by ongoing changes. Though any political decision required the London board’s approval, this approval was based on technical decisions that were a local affair. Those involved decisions made by different professionals (e.g., engineers, salesmen, those in marketing, or staff from other departments). Legal decisions were also made first at the local level and then sent for the London board’s edification.

After the 1937 coup, the general attitude of the private sector was one of cautious support in the short term and one of uncertainty in the long term. There was considerable consolidated support for the government’s policies and great resolve to make the needed political and fiscal reforms. Cia City’s procedures confirm this practice. After the coup, Cia City’s lawyers rushed to verify if the coup had altered the way they were doing business. Given that the new laws seemed not to affect immediately the firm’s *modus operandi*, the coup was deemed unalarming. The subsequent meetings confirmed this posture, and the group of lawyers

struggled to adapt the business to new laws—a decision also encouraged by the company's European headquarters.

Two months after the Estado Novo coup, Mayor Prado's desperate last move toward urban entrepreneurs was to comply with their terms to quickly steer São Paulo's urban policies in a direction that gathered public opinion in his favor. At the same time, a vital political battle was taking place inside all of the state bureaucracies. After Constitutionalist Party (PC) reformers politically surrendered to mostly PRP entrepreneurs, a common belief took shape that there was truth behind the general fear that these reformers were an instrument to promote labor's interest. Those who shared this belief were referred to as the "conservative" elite by the *O Estado de São Paulo*. This period's outcome not only decided the state's future, but also had a far-reaching effect on the whole nation.

How can a reflection that focuses on the ethical activities of individuals contribute to the understanding of the political urban organizations of the 1930s? Those ethical activities were linked to the sociocultural network of their time. As cultural hosts, representatives from the three urban agencies have guided us through this book. Considering that the preservation and recollection of the past is always selective, they took us by the hand in this truncated narrative. Drawing on the philosopher, "the past is not only what is bygone—that which has taken place and no longer can be changed—it also lives in the memory thanks to arrows of futurity which have not been fired or whose trajectory has been interrupted" (Ricoeur, "Reflections," 8). The unfulfilled future of this past forms perhaps the richest contribution of this chapter.

Conclusion

It is said that the famous U.S. architect Frank Lloyd Wright once took Finnish architect Alvar Aalto for a drive around Boston's suburbs to show him what he had done in the city. In characteristic fashion, Wright majestically gestured to the surrounding scenery and said, "None of this could've been accomplished without me." Aalto later commented, "You know, I couldn't see it."¹ It was very difficult for a European architect like Aalto to see the logic of American suburban sprawl. In a similar way, when American architects Philip Lippincott Goodwin and George Everard Kidder Smith visited Brazil in 1942, it was very difficult for them to understand the logic of Brazilian cities, the urban professionals who had designed them, and their peculiar regional solutions from north to south.² Nevertheless, the work of Goodwin and Smith and that of other foreigners massively influenced Brazilian intellectuals, who translated, interpreted, and adapted their theories and methodologies into their own work.

The works and lives of middle-class professionals have been the core of this study. As opposed to piecing together the connectedness of things that seemed to have happened, the emphasis here has been on how their work both guided and reflected a shared environment and pieced-together works and lives. From that perspective, time did not flow like successive days on a calendar. Rather, time was constructed by considering greater and lesser paths, which crisscrossed, ran together for a while, separated again, but shared the same sociopolitical and cultural space of the 1930s.

The Place of Space

São Paulo's urban evolution differed from most Latin American cities. Originally anchored in an agrarian landscape, the city capital underwent a process of rapid technological change and economic development after the mid-nineteenth century. It was not the nation's capital but a secondary city, whose bureaucratic, trading, political, and cultural centers were shaped by the events of the early twentieth century and by demands of industry. This process gave birth to a new generation of elites who oversaw the restructuring of professions and businesses and the reorganization of the workplace. Amid rapid social change, elite groups negotiated their own specific circumstances by importing U.S. and European models of "modernization" and "development" into the urban space. Scholarship

on this subject has reiterated the classic thesis of a disorderly society, under ineffectual municipal governments, that developed without a comprehensive sociopolitical and urban plan. The gradual evolution of a central authority for São Paulo was a concerted accomplishment in which technical firms, private companies, and local public agencies took on diverse and overlapping roles after the advent of the republic. For instance, through its capacity and desire to finance large public works (the result of its financial holdings), the F.P. Ramos de Azevedo, Severo & Villares engineering firm functioned as a quasi-public agency. The development of strong government agencies such as the local municipal sphere (DOP), powerful private firms such as Azevedo's, and development companies such as Cia City became necessary for the formation of important professional activities in São Paulo. These urban institutions generated professional and social rules for practices, which were read and interpreted by small firms, their employees, and by the population at large, who translated these rules into their daily lives.

The aesthetically, morally, and civically inspired city improvement programs of the first decades of the twentieth century gave public, rather than commercial, priority to civic buildings. Politically, historians seem not to consider that the six years before the 1930 coup d'état were a period of convalescence. In 1924, the city of São Paulo underwent a politically traumatic state of siege. During the recovery years, the city experienced intense urban restructuring, ranging from its downtown civic center (including its postcard-perfect public buildings) to its various neighborhoods, in a process that sent ripples to the municipalities in the state's hinterland. This process, once based on clientage, began to change to one based on strategies for individual advancement and political activity, which continued evolving throughout the 1930s. The urban initiatives depicted throughout this book demonstrate how the concerns for urban aesthetics and social hierarchy of the DOP and the private sphere (Escritório) led to a singularly monofunctional urban center. These very same concerns permeated Cia City's strategies for housing the upper and middle classes in exclusively "residential" areas. These urban institutions reflected how political concerns intertwined with a modern idea of planning were learned, adapted, and implemented in São Paulo. Azevedo and his generation established a set of rules that were at the root of all urban developments in the city. Urban changes in the 1930s were a consequence of the interaction among earlier traditions and the interpretations of contingent economic and sociopolitical realities expressed in the work of urban professionals. Chapters 1 and 2 presented various facets, accounts, and perceptions of this pioneering moment while focusing on this interaction between the past and the search for a path to the future.

In providing an account of the early twentieth century's transnational traffic in social and political ideas, Chapter 1 drew on Brazil's national politics as the background against which private and public urban interests shaped their actions. Transnational linkages and foreign assistance played a significant role in the discourse embedded in reform politics, which came to impart a lasting legacy to paulista governance. During the 1930s, the dynamics among the DOP, Escritório, and Cia City revealed the way urban planning was structured in and through the institutional arrangements of local governance, as well as through sociocultural

ideas and practices. The 1932 revolution indelibly marked and rearranged local municipal power, which assigned key political positions to ex-combatant engineers engaged in technical work. Under Fábio da Silva Prado (1934–1938), the spirit of the 1932 “Paulista War” and its revolutionary engineers was kept alive and expressed in the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building and numerous other urban interventions that permanently marked São Paulo’s social and urban fabric. The municipal administration, part and parcel of this contradictory and ambiguous political period, built on the energies of regional identity to address housing and other important social issues.

During the first part of the twentieth century, the Escritório was the most influential paulista private urban agency, and its organization, economic, and political connections reflected Arnaldo Dumont Villares’s key role in managing the new urban market of office buildings and civic works. Throughout the 1930s and beyond, Villares succeeded in maintaining the Escritório as the largest engineering firm in São Paulo. The housing market was an expression of the firm’s production, which was in turn a microcosm of larger local social realities. Through the cross-fertilization between public and private activities, engineers and technical professionals continued and enlarged their influence and prestige in local government. In this sense, the logic behind the political and sales strategies of Cia City’s local board also manifested itself by influencing zoning practices in São Paulo and people’s ideal of living.³ Through its advertising techniques, Cia City helped to build the concept of housing as a prosperous and modern middle-class ideal that reached a multitude of consumers of different ages, social strata, and professions. Increasingly, employees believed in and aspired to higher social positions through success in a professional career. Targeted as workers, citizens, and consumers, middle-class employees saw their desires take form in the way they aspired to live and, most of all, in the paradox presented in the reality of the places they were able to choose to live.

By illuminating local urban investors’ practices, the silent, interdependent agreements maintained between the private and public sectors becomes apparent. The consequence of overlapping public and private spheres of urban power, the new housing pattern made it possible for foreign and local capital to develop a paulista version of the *cidade-jardim* (garden city). The apex of this period was the 1932 revolution, the aftermath of which had a profound effect on the influence of business and social management on local government. Blurred public and private responsibilities started to take new shapes after 1932, when the body of municipal employees who emerged from the political turmoil helped to define new work practices and cultural values in São Paulo. The professionalization of new activities articulated a new dynamic that adapted traditional practices (e.g., *parentela* and patronage) into the evolving character of work methods and ways of living.

Between 1934 and 1938, much more emphasis was put on local authorities to provide the bulk of housing, which was now regarded as essential to offset the growing dispute between capital and labor. Though housing was viewed as a social necessity in the 1930s, it was still largely provided by private enterprises, particularly in São Paulo. Private enterprises, such as Cia City, stimulated the market through an elaborate system of loans and mortgages, later incorporated

into the newly created “public corporate programs” (e.g., IAPI and IAPC), along with local authorities.⁴

On the housing issue, the elements of interest changed over time. There was a shift from the nineteenth-century perceptions primarily directed against the immigrant into more of a twentieth-century regional racism—as seen in politician-entrepreneur Cincinato Braga’s depiction of an almost fictional proletariat to illustrate his theory on urban housing. Immersed in this reality, business and urban practices intersected with professional practices and were interpreted and incorporated into the local context. This context permeated the *Escritório*’s and *Cia City*’s production and role in the new, modern, professional wage earners’ housing market in São Paulo.

The Middle-Class “Creature of the State”

The focus on the work of urban professionals adds another dimension to the much-studied theme of prejudice and nepotism (clientelism and *parentela*). Family ties evolved within different groups in society, and not only among the upper classes. The decade of the 1930s marked the great divide between the old discriminative strategies of the seigniorial system of the Old Republic and the new effective modes of negotiation that came to rest at the core of the urban, political, and socioeconomic models of the following decades. These new modes of negotiation crystallized workplace relations that transformed old patronage clientelist models into quasi-meritocratic practices that remain strong and alive in contemporary Brazilian society.

Intertwined with the growing authoritarian characteristics of the times, municipal power engaged and struggled in an endless political and economic negotiating process within its own hierarchical machine and that of private institutions. Elected officials, civil servants, and the body of technical professionals were the key actors on the local scene and in municipal government.⁵ Facing economic uncertainties, industrialists made use of professional staffs in both the social and marketing spheres, which engaged in social action, advertising, and publicity for solutions.⁶ Inquiries into family budgets, organized by sociologists in the state (such as those of the DC) or by professionals in private companies (such as *Cia City*), showed common awareness of a new urban universe.⁷

The 1930s and 1940s forged a new intellectual group in the form of salaried professional employees committed to applying their expertise in the social arena. As civil servants and professors, these middle-class salaried professionals assumed influential positions. Emerging from the 1932 political turmoil, the municipal body of professionals and employees helped to delineate peculiar though effective work practices through policies and decisions taken in their daily responsibilities. Immersed in times when blurred public and private sphere responsibilities had started to take new shapes, the technically oriented municipal employee was a person who brought together the skills of a property dealer, the academic rigor of an intellectual, and the stubborn dedication of a bureaucrat.

The construction of middle-class identities resulted from the concerted work of professionals in the public sphere, who sought to establish their salaried positions (e.g., social researchers, superintendents, inspectors, and city planners) as well as preserve their autonomous professional status in the private sphere. These professionals sought to demonstrate the indispensable character of the services they offered to society based on scientific methods offered by new professionalizing disciplines (e.g., sociology, anthropology, psychology, statistics, and political science). They promoted the idea of technical expertise by using these methods in combination with established fields such as law, medicine, or engineering. These methods were directed explicitly to support political action and were born out of an entrenched political culture that now developed new possibilities. In this sense, the “modern” professionals depicted here (ranging from DOP engineers Plínio Branco and Alberto Zaggotis to physicians Durval Borges and Flávio Maurano, and female sociologists Ernestina Giordano and Lucila Herrmann) made use of the entrenched practice connecting public and private activities to boost their technical work. This arrangement highlighted a conflicting idea of democracy and modernity as a hallmark in the “spirit” of these critical years. Both Samuel Lowrie’s inquiries into family budgets and the municipal engineers’ research on new paving methods were part of the same routine. It is also remarkable that most of these professionals raising serious questions about the impact of urban growth were just ordinary officers or young scholars. These professionals thereby had a role in helping to foster or impede the formation of competing political coalitions.

The practices of these professionals legitimized the new professions and the importance of the services provided. The stress laid on the competence of the new professionals made them equal with lawyers or doctors. This legitimating process was extended to “new” schools (such as ELSP, FFCL, and POLI) or teaching institutes (such as IPT). The growing role of the state, especially after 1934, helped these new professions—mainly through encouragement and subsidies for associations and mutual societies rather than by direct action.

North American urban planner Robert Moses noticed the political importance of the atypical Brazilian professional. In 1949, the São Paulo municipality asked Nelson Rockefeller, the head of the International Basic Economic Corporation (IBEC), for professional advice on São Paulo’s urban growth. IBEC sent a group of consultants, headed by Robert Moses, to report upon the city’s more immediate problems. Moses stated that “unusual” politics and other conditions turned the municipal government of São Paulo into a unique and unorthodox public organization: “the creature of the state.”⁸ Nonetheless, Moses acknowledged that the work of public professionals could overcome this political condition given that good solutions resulted from “the ability and sincerity of [those] officials.”⁹ It was these officials, entrusted with the program, who could muster public support.¹⁰ Overall, the state assumed the status of the manager and organizer of the social realm by incorporating in its organizational chart new social techniques and professions.

Most of the accounts of the 1930s and 1940s have usually portrayed middle-class groups as apolitical, a sector whose demands were simply shaped by a context

that engendered their actions. However, with the private professional and the public employee interwoven in the same person, urban middle-class clusters exerted a powerful weight in political outcomes and influenced important changes in Brazilian society. They molded political results through their interpretation and performance of their daily tasks in the process of constructing the national state. The DOP and the DC middle-class staff brought internal coherence to the process. This network of paulista middle-class professionals knew how to manipulate their symbolic capital in a variety of ways, whether for professional, electoral, or personal purposes. Arising from new urban municipal cadres, the technical middle-class expressed itself politically through competence and expertise, and it influenced middle-class political positions, attitudes, and lifestyles.

Intertwined Networks

Modernity, urban space, the relationship between public and private, and conflicting notions of “middle class” presented analytic challenges throughout this book, but seen in relation they help us understand and disclosed intertwined historical narratives. These narratives bring to light São Paulo’s urban specificity, which was built around a regional, national, and international network that gravitated toward and interacted with the city of the 1930s.

Specific local circumstances determined how urban professionals interpreted and incorporated foreign urban models into ideas, values, skills, and visions of their local world.¹¹ Involved in many issues at the same time, these professionals contributed to a new capitalist society shaped by the rise of industry, urbanism, and sociopolitical conflicts. São Paulo underwent progressive urban reform. This process determined where different social groups would fit into municipal reform by ultimately determining the nature of these groups. As professionally trained municipal experts turned into an important political group, many unknown professionals (e.g., Samuel Lowrie, Nicanor Miranda, Plínio Branco, and Frederico Herrmann) and some renowned professionals (e.g., Francisco Prestes Maia, Donald Pierson, Mário de Andrade, and Luiz Anhaia Melo) developed strong commitments to various aspects of political reform, from the development of social sciences to popular education, and from the extension of democracy to the improvement of working conditions.

Bringing politics and conflicts to the story of the construction of São Paulo’s modern municipal stadium provided a new reading of a story that has been usually associated with the success of the Estado Novo’s policies. This process, immersed in its contingent sociopolitical and economic context, did not foresee the failure of the Prado administration’s urban model and the events right after the Estado Novo coup. The events before 1938 showed the active role engineers played as mediators among the involved socioeconomic and political groups. The events of this period—shaped by experiments, failures, and limitations—actively paved the way for the practices of professionals, as well as the state itself, in years to come.

The discussion of the “Pacaembu Scheme,” which was not centered on entrepreneurs or urban policymaking, instead outlined asymmetries between private and public power that at the same time revealed the importance of agents in the middle. It illustrated the place of professionals’ distinctive orientations in the crazy quilt of incidents and problems that constituted local political practices and their strategies vis-à-vis entrepreneurs and the municipality.

Understanding the formation of a paulista urban middle class links the Brazilian process of social formation to an interpretive historical notion that the state itself expressed the articulations of different socioeconomic and professional groups at the local level—this in opposition to a state ostensibly representative of dominant classes, i.e., an institution above society. Middle-class working people were relevant political groups and key negotiating agents who imposed their view on the changing process. Rather than suggesting an organized middle-class initiative (which never existed), this study has explored various important middle-class responses that interpreted, molded, changed, and defined the existing political configurations of São Paulo in the 1930s and Brazil after that.

Part and parcel of the arrhythmic and nonlinear urban decisions of the 1930s, the analysis of the construction of the municipal stadium focused on the private/public coalitions that formed during the period from 1933 to 1940. The political decisions derived from this urban initiative involved a process marked by the differing political phases shaping those negotiations. Those different phases explain why one set of policies were chosen instead of another, what kind of political options existed and their context. These considerations were framed in the political moment and brought together the various roles of the involved agents, who were discussed from different angles in the previous chapters.

Beyond the delimitation between the private and public spheres, negotiations behind the Pacaembu scheme brought upon the scene competing factions within local governance. During this period, the local government’s struggle for autonomy gained legitimacy by mobilizing urban popular support and not by ruling in the name of a specific class or political group. In this process, the state imposed roles and outcomes that located and relocated different groups in the political game, and these groups were affected by this relocation, its tensions, and the considerable ambivalence of the process. By focusing on professional practices, the Pacaembu scheme helped to revealed murky distinctions between the illegal and the legal and demonstrated how urban policies promoted conflict. Such policies set the terms of a legalized space under times of political change and showed how political democracies do not necessarily produce a democratic rule of law.

The Pacaembu scheme tied all the different players together, exposing the paulista machine at work and its involvement in a complex process of give and take, with the “take” increasing with the contingent and ever-changing political situation of the 1930s. Politics and conflict rested at the core of the construction of the modern municipal stadium and provided a new reading of a story that has been usually associated with the success of the Estado Novo’s policies. Politically, the years that Getúlio Vargas was in power (1930–1945) reflected the drama of an authoritarian dictatorship in two defined acts: the informal Provisional government (October 1930–1934) and the formal Estado Novo (November 1937–1945).

The construction of the stadium exposed the porous, liminal boundaries encompassing the elusive *intermezzo* between both acts. This period's economic context derived from the initial *getulista* antiliberal government, anchored in state intervention and control of foreign capital, which provoked a general desire for a stable situation favoring the resumption of business. Thus, the stadium process reflected daily activities immersed in a contingent sociopolitical and economic context.

The construction of the municipal stadium was a story of failures and limitations, and provided an implicit critique. It was a spectacle of self-interest at the center of urban policymaking, but a manifestation of the asymmetries between private and public power. Most important, the micro-approach to this process revealed specific dissonant policies pursued by different social agents at different moments. In the continuous challenges to the interests behind the Pacaembu scheme's ebb and flow and concomitant urban policy adjustments, what remained were the entrepreneurs' strategies used vis-à-vis the municipality. These local political practices, which originated in the nineteenth century, were adapted to the new political situations and demonstrated the historical mind-set that drove them. By taking a closer look, this study has illustrated the professionals' and policymakers' distinctive orientations and the sometimes bewildering array of incidents and problems that constituted their relations.

* * *

In November 1948, young U.S. historian Richard Morse¹² lectured at the School of Philosophy in Curitiba, Paraná, about his ongoing fieldwork in the city of São Paulo.¹³ In his lecture, Morse suggested that rather than focusing on forces, mechanisms, and tendencies, history should consider people's ordinary lives by bringing their daily experiences into the narrative.¹⁴ Historians should be open to other disciplines and make use of objective variables to grasp aspects of social and cultural life. Morse made space a powerful disciplinary category in his field research, and that guided his analysis of the nature of urban life.¹⁵ At the end of his talk about São Paulo, Morse acknowledged that it had been "a fascinating and rewarding year," both in his professional and personal life.¹⁶ Indeed, his revisiting of one hundred and fifty years of paulista history would result in a classic book on the subject, and his experience led to friendships that he cultivated throughout his life.¹⁷

Morse's study reinforced the idea that Brazil set itself the task of modernizing in the 1930s and 1940s. Morse defined "modernizing" as a project based on the ideas coming from Europe and the United States and the way they intermingled with fragmented local traditional values and beliefs. Accordingly, the idea of modernity thrived in the tensions between new imported beginnings and continuing traditions. This book has revisited this period and focused on the conflicting values permeating the dialogue between what Morse referred to as the "modernizing" process and the persisting "continuing traditions." Morse captured this dialogue in his own analysis by his reference to both the noise of oxcarts in the streets of the city (a city characteristic referred to in the writings of

French visitor Saint-Hilaire in the early nineteenth century) and objective data about the modern traffic system, based on scholarly reports “filled with tables and graphs.”¹⁸ It was in this context that Brazilians and people from the outside, like Morse, were caught and struggled to find their way forward.¹⁹ In this sense, the relations of the historian to the things, events, and people of São Paulo became a relevant additional factor capturing this moment and opening a window for further reflection. This kind of analysis recontextualizes perspectives and revisits people’s narratives (including Morse’s) of how problems were resolved during the significant moments they and others struggled to interpret.

Historians not only brought agency to the narratives they wrote—they were themselves agents, “human beings, gifted with language and living in history.”²⁰ The different professionals’ works and lives revisited here revealed how political power, career positions, and participation in public works were commodities that could increase one’s fortune or seal one’s fate. By mapping, filtering, and framing the various routes professionals took, this study has highlighted the role of middle-class professional groups during the 1930s in Brazil. Middle-class visions permeated the construction of historical memory and social identity during the period, and illuminated the mind-set that politically drove urban policies and managerial activities.

Notes

Note of Explanation

1. Richard Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958); Annibal Villanova Villela and Wilson Suzigan, *Política do governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Planejamento Econômico e Social/Instituto de Pesquisas, 1977); and Carlos Manuel Peláez and Wilson Suzigan, *História monetária do Brasil: análise da política, comportamento e instituições monetárias* (Brasília: Editora da Universidade de Brasília, 1981).

Introduction

1. Throughout the book, these three groups are referred to as the Escritório (F.P. Ramos de Azevedo Technical Firm), DOP (Municipal Works Department), and Cia City (City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited), respectively.
2. Historians have positioned themselves within different paradigms in the discipline, as seen in Stanley Stein's "The Historiography of Brazil: 1808–1889," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 2, (1960): 234–78; Thomas Skidmore's "Studying the History of Latin America: A Case of Hemispheric Convergence," *Latin American Research Review* 1998; and John Johnson's "One Hundred Years of Historical Writing on Modern Latin America by U.S. Historians," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65, no. 4 (1985): 745–766. The study of the history of Brazil was at first diachronically divided into periods—colonial (from encounter to 1816), empire (1816–1889), the "Old Republic" (1889–1930), the first time Vargas was in power (1930–1945), the democratic era (1945–1964), military dictatorship (1964–1985), and the New Republic (1985 to present)—and then saw its emphasis gradually move from periodization to other methodological approaches. The focus on themes marked a transition to a more interdisciplinary approach and a pluralist methodology. When Stein wrote his article, the colonial period enjoyed more research than the modern period and historical work was mostly descriptive. In the 1970s, descriptive approaches were deemed conventional as opposed to the dependency theory or Marxian-oriented analyses introduced in the field. The latter led to a radical critique and the former came to express "the older generation rooted in a liberal consensus," quoted in Skidmore (1998) 15. The 1980s

- and 1990s called "traditional" the studies developed under politico-economic history and foreign relations approaches that focused on studies of the state and local politics. As opposed to these, studies devoted to labor, the left, messianic movements, race relations, and gender received a "sociocultural" label.
3. This can be seen in influential historiographical articles, such as Sam Adamo, "Recent Works on Modern Brazilian History," *Latin American Research Review* 27, no. 1 (1992): 192–204; David Dent, "Past and Present Trends in Research on Latin American Politics, 1950–1980," *Latin American Research Review* 21, no. 1 (1986): 139–151; David Bushnell, "South America" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65 (1985) no. 4: 767–787; Joseph Tulchin, "Emerging Patterns of Research in the Study of Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* 18, no. 1 (1983): 85–94; and Túlio Donghi-Halperin, "Dependency Theory and Latin American Historiography," *Latin American Research Review* 17, no. 1 (1982): 115–130.
 4. Richard Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958); Glenn Beyer, ed. *The Urban Explosion in Latin America: A Continent in Process of Modernization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); and Jorge Hardoy, *Las ciudades de América Latina: Seis ensaios sobre la urbanización contemporánea* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1972).
 5. James Scobie, *Buenos Aires: From Plaza to Suburb, 1870–1910* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974); Eulália Lobo, *História do Rio de Janeiro: da capital comercial ao capital industrial e financeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: IBMEC, 1978); and Richard Morse, "Los intelectuales latinoamericanos y la ciudad 1860–1940," in *Ensayos histórico sociales sobre la urbanizaciones in América Latina*, Jorge E. Hardoy and Richard Morse, eds. (Buenos Aires: Ediciones SIAP, 1978): 91–112.
 6. Thomas Waverly Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation. A State Out of Balance" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1950); Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969); Frederick Vincent Gifun, "Ribeirão Preto 1880–1914" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1972); Luis Gonzalez, *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974).
 7. Paul Israel Singer, *Economia política da urbanização* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1973).
 8. Any attempt to compress the development of a cultural approach in Latin American and Brazilian history into a brief introduction would inevitably provoke cries of protest from those who see their own contributions constrained, distorted, or ignored. The best recent effort tackling this task is Barbara Weinstein, "Brazilian Historiography Beyond the Cultural Turn: Rethinking Elite and Subaltern in a Postcolonial Society," in Jose C. Moya, ed., *Latin American History and Historiography* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2006). On the development of a trajectory of urban history, see Diego Armus and John Lear, "The Trajectory of Latin American Urban History," *Journal of Urban History* 24, no. 3 (1998): 291–301.
 9. Ronn F. Pineo and James A. Baer, *Cities of Hope and Despair, Urbanization in Latin America, 1870–1930: Daily Life and the Patterns of Working Class Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998); George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1988–1998*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); Diego Armus *Mundo urbano y cultura popular. Estudios de historia social Argentina*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1990); Samuel Baily, "The Adjustments of Italian Immigration in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870–1914," *American Historical Review* 88 (1983): 281–305.
 10. Pablo Piccato, "La experiencia penal de la ciudad de Mexico," Carlos Illades ed. *Ciudad de Mexico: instituciones, actores sociales y conflicto politico, 1774–1931*

- (Zamorra: El Colegio de Michoacan, 1996); Thomas H. Holloway, *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a 19th Century City* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); Donna Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Margaret Rago, *Os prazeres da noite: prostituição e códigos da sexualidade feminina em São Paulo, 1890–1930* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1991); Lucia Helena Gama, *Nos bares da vida: produção cultural e sociabilidade em SP, 1940–1950* (São Paulo: Editora SENAC, 1998); Sarah Feldman, “A territorialização da prostituição feminina em São Paulo” (Master’s thesis: FAU/USP, 1989).
11. James N. Green, *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
 12. Joel Wolfe, *Working Women, Working Men: São Paulo and the Rise of Brazil’s Industrial Working Class, 1900–1955* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); John French, *The Brazilian Workers’ ABC: Class Conflict and Alliances in Modern São Paulo* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
 13. June Hahner, *Poverty and Politics. The Urban Poor in Brazil* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); Sidney Chalhoub, *Trabalho, lar e botequim* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986); Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).
 14. Silvia Marina Arrom and Servando Ortoll, eds. *Riots in the Cities: Popular Politics and the Urban Poor in Latin America, 1765–1910*, (Willmington: Scholarly Resources, 1996); Teresa Meade, “Living Worse and Costing More, 1890–1917,” *Journal of Latin American History* 21 (1989); David Sowell, “The 1893 Bogotazo,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 21 (1989); José Álvaro Moisés, *Cidade, Povo e Poder* (Rio de Janeiro: Coleção CEDEC/Paz e Terra, 1982).
 15. John D. French, *Drowning in Laws: Labor Law and Brazilian Political Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); and “The Populist Gamble of Getúlio Vargas in 1945: Political and Ideological Transitions in Brazil,” in David Rock, ed., *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Post-War Adjustments* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
 16. In Sueann Caulfield, Sarah C. Chambers, and Lara Putnam, eds. *Honor, Status, and Law in Modern Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), the contributors wrote about the convergence of status, honor, and law by exploring how gender- and class-based notions of honor were transmitted from traditional to modern societies, as well as how liberal ideologies and republican politics molded principles of social exclusion.
 17. Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World’s Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation*. The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics Series 35 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Diego Armus, *Huelgas, habitat y salud en el Rosario de Novecientos*. (Rosario: Universidad Federal de Rosario, 1995); Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Rio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Nicolau Sevcenko, *Literatura como missão: tensões sociais e criação cultural na primeira república* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983).
 18. Barbara Weinstein, *For Social Peace in Brazil. Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920–1964* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
 19. Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).
 20. Jerry D’Avila, “Diploma of Whiteness”: *Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

21. Dain Borges, "Healing and Mischief: Witchcraft in Brazilian Law and Literature, 1890–1922," in Carlos Aguirre, Gilbert Joseph, and Ricardo Salvatore, eds., *Crime and Punishment in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); and "Puffy, Ugly, Slothful, and Inert: Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880–1940," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25 (1993).
22. Barbara Weintin, "Racializing Regional Differences: São Paulo Versus Brazil, 1932," in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, ed. Nancy Appelbaum, Anne Macpherson, and Karin Roseblatt (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). Weinstein studied race and regional identity in twentieth-century Brazil, with particular attention to São Paulo and the construction of "whiteness" and conflicting claims of modernity within a dominant discourse of racial democracy.
23. Green, *Beyond Carnival*.
24. Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).
25. Brian Philip Owensby, *Intimate Ironies: Modernity and the Making of Middle-Class Lives in Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), and "Domesticating Modernity: Markets, Home, and Morality in the Middle Class in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 1930s and 1940s," *Journal of Urban History* 24, no. 3 (1998): 337–363.
26. These workers, known as *empleados*, were analyzed in their trajectory from lower-income labor (serving the upper class) to the *empleado* status. In this condition, they strived for labor conditions just like the working class. See David S. Parker, "White-Collar Lima, 1910–1929: Commercial Employees and the Rise of the Peruvian Middle Class," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (1992): 47–72.
27. Those skilled workers did not resist Mexico's transition to capitalism and turned into unskilled workers connected with rural communities. Jonathan C. Brown, "Foreign and Native-Born Workers in Porfirian Mexico, 1876–1911," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 3 (1993): 786–819.
28. The period's moral reform, which established high standards of morality and social conduct, had a profound effect on the existing order and was vital to the process of class formation. "Good morals" defined a person's social standing and imputed "degenerative vices" to the lower classes, who were to be controlled and removed from the midst of decent society. Through morals, the middle class differentiated itself from those perceived to be inferior, and they were part of a great effort by elite groups to transform the masses into a peaceful, reliable workforce. William E. French, *A Peaceful and Working People: Manners, Morals, and Class Formation on Northern Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).
29. To name a few, those institutions include the São Paulo State Bank (BANESPA) Museum, the ELETROPAULO Historical Preservation Division, and the Companhia City Archives. Sources also extended from books, newspapers, and journals to dissertations, conference papers, and technical publications from public and private institutions.
30. Carlos Illades, ed., *Ciudad de Mexico: instituciones, actores sociales y conflicto politico, 1774–1931* (Zamorra: El Colegio de Michoacan, 1996).
31. Michael Francis Jiménez, "The Limits of Export Capitalism Economic Structure, Class, and Politics in a Colombian Coffee Municipality, 1900–1930" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1981).
32. Guido Di Tella and David Platt, eds., *The Political Economy of Argentina: 1880–1946*, (London: Oxford, 1986).
33. Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Changing the City: Urban International Information and the Lyon Municipality, 1900–1940," *Planning Perspectives* 14 (1999): 19–48; Roberto

- Ferretti, "Fonctionnaires ou 'professionals,' les ingenieurs des administrations locales en Italie au debut du 20e siècle," *Fourth International Conference on Urban History*, Venice (Sept. 1998); Jean-Yves Nevers, "Bureaucratie, corporatisme et politique, les transformations du gouvernement municipal à Toulouse, 1900–1960," paper presented at the *Fourth International Conference on Urban History*, Venice (September, 1998); Gloria Clifton, *Professionalism, Patronage, and Public Service in Victorian London: The Staff of the Metropolitan Board of Works, 1856–1889* (London: Athlone Press, 1997).
34. In recent decades, under fierce resistance, the practical revaluation of the vernacular has been incorporated into the discipline of architectural design in a dramatic reversal of the dominant trends of the past two centuries of architectural professional development. Architects realized that design could not just be a conversation among specialists, and there was an effort to rebuild the common ground of a broader, public architectural culture.
 35. The new posture is in large part a professional response to the whole pattern of technical specialization that took place in the past half century. In the 1980s, planners realized that people ought to have a say in the way cities were planned, only to discover that people did not have a clue as to what to do with that "say" once it was handed to them. The various professional specialties involved in the new posture, part of a profound process of intraprofessional reform, joined with new kinds of interprofessional collaboration to address this situation.
 36. Antonio Augusto Arantes fused Victor Turner's concept of liminality with other categories, such as the field of extended transition (*champs de transit prolongé*) emphasized by Marc Augé and the symbolic constitution of place put forth by Sharon Zukin. Accordingly, urban segregation carried "ephemeral and contradictory social places at the edges of territories that [were] usually interpreted as expressions of clearly contrasted and well-defined social identities," quoted in Arantes, "The War of Places: Symbolic Boundaries and Liminalities in Urban Space," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 13, no. 4 (1996), 81. In his understanding of Brazil's short experiments with republican systems, James Holston examined the idea of insurgent democratic citizenships in *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* (Princeton University Press, 2008). They are insurgent because those practices express peoples' reaction to imposed state actions (e.g., imposed city planning, housing projects). Those insurgent practices target established conditions of inequality, and in doing so, they are themselves alternatives for sociopolitical inclusion. The practice of becoming citizens involves the redistribution of land as well as rights. Holston's research focused especially on a generation born out of the Brazilian urban working classes. His study emphasized how in the recent process of democratization as the "dominant regimes of rule destabilize, the insurgent remains entangled with the entrenched." Accordingly, this process entailed both new kinds of citizens and new forms of violence, illegality, and exclusion.
 37. Under this rubric are all of those professionals involved in studying urbanization. Many of them are scholars, who detect the historical origins of systems of inequality, and as such they are themselves examples of a privileged entangled social cluster. How does a "privileged" scholar find certain avenues to write about this reality is in itself another knot in a professional network this study aims at shedding light into.
 38. All public works are expressions of their own times and solutions. However, after they are inserted into the public space, they take on specific expressions. Those expressions include the "original" historical formulation as well as their possibilities in the present.

39. Quoted in Paul Ricoeur, "Reflections on a New Ethos for Europe," *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 21, vol. 21, no. 5/6 (1995): 12.
40. Donald Pierson, "Um estudo comparativo da habitação em São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 82 (1941): 241–54; Durval Rosa Borges, *Estudos sobre sífilis com especial referência à classe média paulistana* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Ateneu, 1941); Philip Lippincott Goodwin and George Everard Kidder Smith, *Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old, 1652–1942* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1943); Robert Moses, *Programa de melhoramentos públicos para a cidade de São Paulo. Program of Public Improvements* (New York: International Basic Economic Corporation (IBEC) Technical Services Corporation, 1950); Ernestina Giordano, "Conhecimentos que os adolescentes possuem a respeito dos cursos necessários à sua formação profissional," *Publicações Avulsas* 144 (São Paulo: Instituto de Administração USP, 1954).
41. This format's inspiration is taken from Antônio Castilho de Alcântara Machado d'Oliveira (1901–1935) in his *Brás, Bixiga, and Barra Funda* (1927). In this master work, Machado gathered a combination of fiction, memoir, aphorisms, combined notes, observations, reality, and philosophy in a work that is a metaphor of the period. The different chapters of this book examine social perceptions based on a variety of different professionals' accounts (e.g., opinions, interviews, eulogies) and different contemporary studies, which may be considered "dated," as well as "social fictions." These "social fictions" were part of the prevailing sense of the social world and constitutive of the reality studied.
42. Bourdieu conceived the social world as an "aggregation" and as a multidimensional space. This space can be empirically constructed by discovering the main factors of differentiation that account for the differences observed in a given social universe. In other words, this can be done by discovering the powers of *forms of capital* that are or can become efficient in a given site. In the struggle (or competition) for the appropriation of "scarce goods," these forms of capital can be easily detected; quoted in Pierre Bourdieu, "What Makes a Social Class? On the Theoretical and Practical Existence of Groups," *Berkeley Social Journal of Sociology* 32 (1987), 4.
43. Chapter 3.
44. On the private publishing market, see Heloísa Pontes, "Brazil com Z – A produção estrangeira sobre o país, editada aqui, sob a forma de livro, entre 1930 e 1938," in Sergio Miceli (ed.), *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil, vol. 2* (São Paulo: Editora Sumaré, FAPESP, 1995).
45. Morse's analyses in *From Community to Metropolis* (1958) were based on his 1947–1948 field work in São Paulo and provided valuable information from the 1930s that could still be recovered in the 1940s.
46. This attitude persisted in the *Dicionário histórico-biográfico brasileiro, 1930–1983*. Although there is a small reference to Prado in the dictionary as a whole, it completely ignored Prado's role and erroneously attributed his achievements during Armando de Salles Oliveira's administration to Francisco Prestes Maia (CPDOC 1984, 3038).
47. "L'objectif des journaux, avant même d'informer, était de prendre position, d'essayer de mobiliser leur lecteurs," André de Seguin des Hons, *Le Brésil Presse et Histoire, 1930–1985* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1985), 13. On the Brazilian press, see Maria Helena Capelato, *Os arautos do liberalismo: imprensa paulista 1920–1945* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1989).
48. During the 1920s, *O Correio Paulistano* (established 1854), together with *Jornal do Comércio*, supported the work of young "modernists" and accepted contributions from Menotti del Picchia and Cassiano Ricardo, among others; Sérgio Milliet, *De ontem, hoje, sempre. Amigos, amiga...* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1960),

186. Nonetheless, in the 1930s, *O Correio Paulistano* was seen as a PRP supporter: Thomas Waverly Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation. A State Out of Balance" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1950), 69; and Paulo Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*. (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976), 230.
49. This group, controlled since 1897 by the Mesquita family, included among its publications the morning edition *O Estado de São Paulo* (1897), the afternoon/evening edition *O Estadinho* (1917), and the *Revista do Brasil* (1916). The Mesquita family was a key cultural agent, and in the 1930s sponsored the creation of the University of São Paulo (USP).
50. In the 1930s, both *Folha da Noite's* and *Folha da Manhã's* pages mainly addressed a working-class audience, as it was in their pages that Cia City used to advertise its less-expensive housing units.
51. In the 1930s, this group included *O Diário da Noite* (1925), *Diário de São Paulo* (1865), *O Diário Popular* (1884), considered the *jornal da cozinheiras* and "feared and respected by the government" (Picchia 1972), and *O Diário Nacional*, considered a PD supporter according to Paulo Duarte, *Memórias, Os mortos de Seabrook*, 46.
52. Cultural publications before the 1920s were produced inconsistently, and there are no general catalogues on Brazilian journals and magazines for the 1930s. For the period before 1930, see historian Heloisa Faria Cruz, *São Paulo em Revista. Catálogo de Publicação da Imprensa Cultural e de Variedades Paulistanas, 1870–1930* (São Paulo: Arquivo do Estado, 1997). After 1930, however, these publications became more differentiated, selective, and rich sources for this work, which has consulted *A Cigarra, A Revista do Brasil, Novíssima, Revista de Antropofagia*, and local primary sources such as neighborhood journals and magazines published by recreational associations.
53. Percy Alvin Martin, ed., *Who's Who in Latin America. A Biographical Dictionary of the Outstanding Living Men and Women of Spanish America and Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1940 and 1935); Ronald Hilton, ed., "Preface to Part VI," *Who's Who in Latin America. A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of Latin America v.2.* (Stanford University Press, 1971 and 1948); and *Science and Science Information in Latin America* vol. 2. (Stanford University Press, 1967).
54. In his preface to Part IV, *Who's Who's* editor Ronald Hilton, director of Hispanic-American studies at Stanford University, recorded as one of his key regional informants (1948 edition) engineer and Escritório partner Arnaldo Dumont Villares. Hilton also reinforced a contemporary regional perception about São Paulo in the 1940s when he acknowledged the "fittingness of the praise bestowed on the industry and alertness of the Paulistas."
55. At the end of the dissertation that provides the original basis for this book, I provide a biographical appendix that offers a synthesis of all major figures cited in this book according to their professional influence, occupation, and their responsibilities in the municipal government, Cia City, and the Escritório. See Cristina Peixoto-Mehrtens, "Urban Space and Politics: Constructing Social Identity and the Middle Class in São Paulo, Brazil, 1930s-1940s" (Ph.D. diss., University of Miami, 2000), 365–406.
56. Boris Fausto, *A Revolução de 1930. Historiografia e História* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997).
57. Fausto, *A Revolução de 1930*, 77.
58. Marxists defined those who owned the means of production (bourgeoisie) and those who did not own them (the proletariat), those who had social class awareness and the feeling of "one's own place" and those who were alienated. Saes reported the concept as explained by Lenin and Raymond Aron. According to Lenin: "On appelle classes des vastes groupes d'hommes, qui se distinguent par la place qu'ils tiennent dans

- un système historiquement défini de la production sociale, par leur rapport (la plus part du temps fixé et consacré par la loi) aux moyens de production, par leur rôle dans l'organisation sociale du travail, et donc, par les moyens d'obtention et la grandeur de la part des richesses publique dont ils disposent. Les classes sont des groupes d'hommes dont l'un peut s'approprier le travail de l'autre, par suite de la différence de la place qu'ils tiennent dans un régime déterminé de l'économie sociale" (in Lenin, V. 1947. "La grande initiative, *Oeuvres Choisies* II, Moscou, quoted by Saes, 1973, 107). According to Aron, "social class is a social gathering defined according to the person's place in the economic productive process, as specified in the juridical social definition (property and means of production)" (Aron's *Novos Temas de Sociologia Contemporanea*, quoted by Saes, 1973, 111).
59. Paul Israel Singer, *Desenvolvimento econômico e evolução urbana: análise da evolução de São Paulo, Blumenau, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, e Recife* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1968), 8.
 60. For this approach to the middle classes, see Noberto Bobbio, *Direita e Esquerda: Razões e significados de uma distinção política* (São Paulo: UNESP, 1995); and Marcelo Ridenti, *Classes sociais e representação* (São Paulo: Cortez, 1994).
 61. Addressing populism, Décio Saes suggested that as opposed to the United States and France, where a layer of small farmers formed and later backed populist politicians in the 1930s, the Brazilian middle class was essentially urban, and "populism" became an urban phenomena par excellence. Décio Azevedo Marques de Saes, *O civilismo das camadas médias urbanas na primeira república brasileira, 1889–1930* (Campinas: UNICAMP, 1973). In 1891, voting restrictions reflected a society that excluded from political participation illiterates, foreigners, the masses of rural poor (immigrants and uneducated white and black Brazilians), and almost the totality of urban workers (immigrants in the majority) (p. 41). Accordingly, proletarian classes were formed during the process of urbanization and the formation of an industrial society; that is, before the full advent of an industrial age (p. 121). The urban middle classes, as an autonomous group, only developed their practices as active agents in the process of modernization.
 62. James Woodard, *A Place in Politics. São Paulo, Brazil, from Seigneurial Republicanism to Regionalist Revolt* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), note 60.
 63. James Woodard, *A Place in Politics*, 30.
 64. In this sense, the 1932 Revolution is a moment that symbolically expressed this contradictory and ambiguous historical phase (as explored in Chapter 2).
 65. In Brazil, access to high public positions became an antechamber to well-paid entrepreneurial positions; that is, to upper social mobility, the transition to an upper-class salary, and an enhanced sociopolitical position.
 66. This group is mainly formed by professors and teachers, some of whom are also public officials in key positions. There is also a significant presence of leftist middle-class professionals in municipal and state agencies. Some of these professionals are platform makers for political parties. Ridenti studies the ambiguity in these professionals' political and union postures. These are professionals—professors, doctors, engineers, architects, and economists—for whom the government is both a partner and boss. The origin of this feature is to be found in the 1930s, and this theme is developed in Chapter 3.
 67. The importance of clerks, administrators, and professionals in the twentieth-century economy has generally been recognized by social scientists since the pioneering work in the 1950s of C. Wright Mills, who located the increase in this group's numbers as a feature of modern economic growth. White-collar workers

formed a growing proportion of São Paulo's workforce in the 1930s. Studies on social configuration emphasized a quantitative analysis based mainly on occupation. Accordingly, most of the social history written on this period explained social mobility as the result of an expanding economy that created new middle- and upper-strata positions—in opposition to a process that might entail upward mobility having a reciprocal downward movement of privileged groups. Actually, both processes were not mutually exclusive in the 1930s, and this book takes an approach that allows for that possibility.

68. Quoted in Pierre Bourdieu, "What Makes a Social Class? On the Theoretical and Practical Existence of Groups," *Berkeley Social Journal of Sociology* 32 (1987), 9. Bourdieu's definition of social class as body follows a category deriving from the Latin term *corpo*; that is, the group represented is nothing other than what represents it, or the fact of the representation itself (p. 14). "The 'class,' or the 'people' . . . or the gender, or the age group, or the Nation, or any otherwise elusive social collective exists, if and only if there exists one [or several] agent[s] who can assert with a reasonable chance of being taken seriously . . . that they are the 'class,' the 'people,' the 'Nation,' the 'State' and so on . . . A 'class,' be it social, sexual, ethnic, or otherwise, exists when there are agents capable of imposing themselves, as authorized to speak and to act officially in its place and in its name . . . the balance of power depends on the symbolic capital accumulated by those who aim at imposing the various visions in contention, and on the extent to which these visions are themselves grounded in reality," (quote on pp. 14–15).
69. Some people tend to underreport their social origins, while others tend to exaggerate them depending on the story they are trying to tell. People tend to display or to conceal information according to practical interests defined in each case by reference to the concrete situation at hand. Bourdieu, "What Makes a Social Class?" 12.

1 Public and Private: Crossed Paths in the Paulista Process of Urban Consolidation

1. Richard Barry Parker (1867–1947) was a consulting architect to First Garden City Ltd. Parker and Raymond Unwin planned New Earswick. They were partners from 1896 to 1914. In 1915, Parker was commissioned to produce a plan for remodeling the central area of Oporto, Portugal, which was never executed. In 1927, he advised on the design of Wythenshawe. Parker was president of the Town Planning Institute (1929–1930). Those who worked with him retained a vivid impression of his insistence upon accuracy and attention to minute detail. In 1941, Parker received the Ebenezer Howard Memorial Medal for services to town planning; in 1942, he retired and spent his last days in Letchworth.
2. Barry Parker. "Two Years In Brazil," *Garden Cities and Town Planning Magazine* 9, n. 8 (1919), 143–5. On Barry Parker's works in Brazil, see also Carlos Roberto Monteiro de Andrade, "*Barry Parker em São Paulo: ressonâncias da idéia de cidade-jardim*," *IVSHCU* (Nov. 1996) and for Parker's short biography in the Bibliographical Appendix.
3. Parker, "Two Years in Brazil," 144.
4. Parker, "Two Years in Brazil," 145.
5. *Parker* (n. 1), p. 145.

6. Ernani da Silva Bruno, *História e tradições da cidade de São Paulo* v 3 (São Paulo: Livraria José Olympio, 1954); Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis. A Biography of São Paulo. Brazil* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958); and Juergen Richard Langenbuch, *A Estruturação da Grande São Paulo. Estudo de Geografia Urbana* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação IBGE, 1971).
7. Carlos Alberto Cerqueira Lemos, *Arquitetura Brasileira* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1979); Benedito Lima de Toledo, *São Paulo, três cidades em um século* (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1981); Hugo Segawa, *Arquiteturas no Brasil 1900–1990* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1998); and José Geraldo Simões, Jr., *Anhangabaú: história e urbanismo* (São Paulo: Editora Senac, 2004).
8. Each of the triangle's eminences was a monastery, which occupied the most easily fortified strategic points. The missionaries entrenched themselves against the traders. The fortified plateau permitted them to carry on their missionary enterprise. Parker, *Two Years*, 149–150.
9. Morse's *From Community to Metropolis*; Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (University of Texas Press, 1969); and Joseph L. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).
10. Morse *From Community to Metropolis*, 23. This cluster form of occupation is reflected in all urban analysis produced over time about the city.
11. Ab'Saber, "Geomorfologia do sítio urbano de São Paulo" (PhD diss., FFLCH/USP, 1957). This exchange exemplifies an intense international as Ab'Saber's work crowned a geographical approach promoted by Eurípedes Paula and French geographer Pierre Monbeig (Bibliographical Appendix). Ab'Saber stressed the importance of geographical circumstances to São Paulo's historical urban organization.
12. Brazilian cities' organization differed from that of Spanish-American cities. The latter were characterized by a regular geometry and by hierarchy imposed through King Philip II's 1573 Ordinances. There was no such guidance from the metropolis in Portuguese colonies. There was some regularity in cities such as Salvador (1549) and São Luís (1612), but this was not the rule. During the seventeenth century, cities founded between Rio de Janeiro and Santos were organized along an orthogonal design. On architectonic and urban issues, see Lemos, *Arquitetura Brasileira*. On political economy and urbanism, see Paul Israel Singer, *Economia política da urbanização* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1973), and on Latin American scholarly production, see Gerald Greenfield, "New Perspectives on Latin American Cities," *Journal of Urban History* 15 n. 2 (1988): 205–14. On Spanish influence in São Paulo, see Aracy Amaral, *A Hispanidade em São Paulo: da casa rural à capela de Santo Antonio* (São Paulo: Nobel/EDUSP, 1981).
13. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 25.
14. Langenbuch *A Estruturação da Grande São Paulo*.
15. Affonso Antonio de Freitas, *Tradições e reminiscências paulistanas* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1955).
16. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 112.
17. Benedito Lima de Toledo, *Prestes Maia e as origens do urbanismo moderno em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Empresa das Artes 1996), 20. Morse explains that the four major arteries to the hinterland became known as the Mogiana, the Paulista, the Ituana, and the Sorocabana (*From Community to Metropolis*, 167).
18. Among others, see Eurípedes Paula, *Contribuição monográfica para o estudo da segunda fundação de São Paulo: de pequena cidade de há meio século à grande metrópole de hoje* (São Paulo s.c.p. 1936); Adolfo Casais Monteiro, *Os Italianos no Brasil: Ensaio histórico bibliográfico e jurídico sobre os bens, tradições e colaboração de elementos no Brasil*

- (São Paulo: Nova Jurisprudencia 1945); Pierre Monbeig, *La croissance de la ville de São Paulo* (Grenoble: Institut et Revue de Géographie Alpine, 1953); Bruno, *História e tradições* 1954; Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*; Langenbuch, *A Estruturação da Grande São Paulo*; Thomas Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Franco Cenni, *Italianos no Brasil: “andiamo in mèrica” 1875–1975 Centenário da imigração italiana* (São Paulo: Martins/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo EDUSP, s.d.); and Zuleika Maria Forlioni Alvim, “Emigração, família e luta. Os italianos em São Paulo: 1870–1920” (Master’s thesis, History/USP, 1983).
19. On the role and importance of hostelries for newly arrived immigrants, see Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land* (1980), and Hugo Segawa, “Construção de ordens. Um aspecto da arquitetura no Brasil: 1808–1930” (Master’s thesis, FAU/USP, 1988).
 20. Scholars accentuate the *carioca* preponderance in national industry between 1880 and 1910: Richard Graham, *Grã Bretanha e o início da modernização do Brasil, 1850–1914* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1973); Richard Morse, *Formação histórica de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1970), 148–156; Wilson Cano, “Alguns aspectos da concentração industrial” *Formação econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1978); and Paul I. Singer, *Desenvolvimento econômico e evolução urbana: análise da evolução de São Paulo, Blumenau, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, e Recife* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1968). According to them, until the 1910s, the state of Guanabara brought together favorable conditions to become the nation’s most important commercial and industrial center. By then, it was considered the third port in the Americas. During the 1910s, the state of São Paulo reached first place in the nation’s industrial park, and the city of São Paulo surpassed Rio de Janeiro in the years between 1920 and 1938. After that, the tendency for industries to concentrate in São Paulo state became even greater.
 21. Several works deal with the relation between the coffee economic cycle and São Paulo’s spatial configuration. On contemporary perceptions in the 1930s, see Preston E. James, “The Distribution of People in South America,” *Geographic Aspects of International Relations*, Charles Colby, ed. (New York: Books for Library Press, 1938); and Pierre Monbeig, *Ensaio de Geografia Humana Brasileira* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1940). With special emphasis on the history of the city are the works by Bruno, *História e tradições*; Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*; Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo*; Langenbuch, *A Estruturação da Grande São Paulo*; Graham, *Grã Bretanha*; and Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation*. On the coffee wave and city’s architecture and urbanism, see Lemos, *Arquitetura Brasileira* and “Arquitetura contemporânea,” in *História Geral da Arte no Brasil*, vol. 2. (São Paulo: Instituto Walther Moreira Salles, 1983); Toledo, *São Paulo, três cidades*; and Prestes Maia e as origens; Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Aspectos da história da Engenharia civil em São Paulo, 1860–1960*, Cia brasileira de Projetos e Obras (São Paulo: Livraria Kosmos Editora, 1989); and Luis Saia, *Morada paulista* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1972). For those works with an emphasis on economy and urbanization, see Sérgio Silva, *Expansão cafeeira e origens da indústria no Brasil* (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1976); and Caio Prado, Jr., *A cidade de São Paulo: geografia e história* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983).
 22. Langenbuch, *A Estruturação da Grande São Paulo*, 135.
 23. On the first private vehicles and public transportation that emerged in São Paulo, see João Cruz Costa, *Contribuição à história das idéias no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1956); and Waldemar Stiel, *História dos transportes coletivos em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Editora McGraw-Hill do Brasil, 1978).

24. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 221.
25. Several scholars investigated this theme. On the pioneering occupation, see geographers James, "The Distribution of People"; and Monbeig, *La croissance de la ville de São Paulo*. On urban configuration, see Paul I. Singer, *Desenvolvimento econômico* (1968); and Jorge Rezende Dantas, *A nucleação central e a centralidade como estruturas de relações na organização do espaço intraurbano* (São Paulo: FAU/USP, 1981). When the urbanization process took off in the 1930s, this rejected land belonged mostly to the public institutions and comprised the only central estates still available, which played an important role in the political process.
26. Luis Saia, *Morada Paulista* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1972). Saia belonged to a generation nurtured in the 1930s and had an influential role in the creation of the state agency for historical preservation.
27. Candido Malta Campos Filho, *A Grande São Paulo: trabalhos e entrevistas de 1965 a 1973*, (São Paulo: FAU/USP, 1973). In the late 1970s, FAU/USP professor and architect Campos Filho was the director of the first State Planning Division (COGEP).
28. Rebeca Scherer. *Decentralização e planejamento urbano no município de São Paulo* (PhD dissertation, FAU/USP, 1987). Scherer was a USP professor and municipal advisor in the 1980s.
29. During the empire, state executives were called province presidents. It was only after 1889, with the republican system, that the political heads of the state were referred to as governors.
30. Toledo, *Prestes Maia e as origens*, 27.
31. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 180.
32. On the political aspects of João Teodoro's administration, see Howard Allen Marcus. "Provincial Government in São Paulo. The Administration of João Teodoro Xavier, 1872–1875" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1973).
33. On the importance of the *Liceu*, as the establishment became known, see Ricardo Severo, *O Liceu de Artes e Ofícios* (São Paulo s.c.p: 1934) and Ana Maria Belluzo, "Artesanato, arte e indústria" (PhD diss., FAU/USP: 1988). On positivism in Brazil, see Robert Gabriel Nachman, "Brazilian Positivism as a Source of Middle Class Ideology" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1972).
34. Toledo's *São Paulo, três cidades* reconstructs a city of São Paulo built in *taipa* through a series of photographs and drawings that portray a society of austere customs and the absence of luxury. It was a city of *taipa*, with one- or two-story patriarchal dwellings and humbler one-story housing.
35. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 186. On this subject, see *Taipa, Tijolo e Concreto*, a study by the Construtora Moraes Dantas S/A, São Paulo, s.c.p. from the 1940s. In his *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório* (São Paulo: Pini, 1993), Carlos Lemos studied this transitional process from *taipa* to brick through the work of engineer architect Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo, who is a central personage and exemplary figure in this chapter.
36. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation*, and José Cláudio Barriguéli's edited volume, *O pensamento político da classe dominante paulista: 1873–1928* (São Carlos: Universidade Federal de São Carlos, 1986), offer a comprehensive analysis of paulista upper-class thought between 1873 and 1928.
37. Quoted in Bruno, *História e tradições*, 929. Tommazo Gaudêncio Bezzi (1844–1915) also designed the Ipiranga Museum (1885) and important works in Rio de Janeiro. The Prados also hired him to build the velodrome in 1897 (Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *São Paulo e outras cidades. Produção social e degradação dos espaços urbanos* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1994, 68)), initiating the construction of sporting arenas as another form of

upper-class investment. The networks created in this process are at the root of both the Jockey Club and the Pacaembu Stadium construction during the 1930s.

38. Carlos Lemos (1989).
39. In the 1930s, the twin two-story houses (*sobradinhos geminados*) became known as V8 because of the Ford car model V-8 launched in the same decade. Similar to those cars, these houses were modern, affordable, and repetitive.
40. Carlos Alberto Cerqueira Lemos wrote *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório*, the most extensive, careful, and complete work on Ramos de Azevedo's life and work, as well the architecture of his time. There are other important sources, such as a 1920s contemporary commemorative edition, *Album de Construções*, which presented the collection of works attributed to Ramos de Azevedo's Escritório. The brochure is both a commercial and official report on the office's activities. See also J.F. Barbosa da Silveira, *Ramos de Azevedo e suas atividades* (São Paulo: Richuelo, 1941). Anita Salmoni and Emma Debenedetti devoted a chapter, "Os colaboradores de Ramos de Azevedo," to Azevedo and his Italian collaborators in their *Arquitetura italiana em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1981). But it was only after the 1970s that more complete works were published on the Escritório's importance and place in São Paulo's history. In this sense, Ana Maria do Carmo Rossi Gonçalves's undergraduate thesis, "A obra de Ricardo Severo," (FAU/USP, 1977), was the first to focus on Ricardo Severo (Ramos's partner) and the firm. Maria Cristina Wolf Carvalho explored the architectonic work of young Azevedo in "O itinerário profissional do engenheiro-arquiteto, protagonista da introdução dos modelos europeus em São Paulo, na virada do século," *Cidade: Revista do Departamento do Patrimônio Histórico* 5 no. 5 (1998): 4–19, São Paulo: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura.
41. POLI professor and historian Alfredo d'Escagnole Taunay depicted the Campinas of 1865 as more attractive and cordial than the province's capital. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 124.
42. José F. da Rocha Pombo, *História de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1918), 115–116.
43. Between 1874 and 1875, during the work on the Paulista Railway branch, Azevedo worked under the leadership of republican engineer Antonio Rebouças.
44. Lemos, *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório*, 9.
45. Lemos, *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório*, 3–6.
46. In my own family from my father's *mineiro* side, his mother and aunts had married brothers. My father had thirteen siblings and nine cousins bearing the same last name.
47. Lemos, *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório*, 9. Under the social Darwinist ideology of these times, the term Europeanized meant urban (anti-*caipira*) and civilized (though not enlightened).
48. Lemos, *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório*, 9.
49. He was the protégé (*afilhado*) of the Viscount of Paranaíba.
50. In the chapter "A City Made of Mud," *Arquitetura Brasileira* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1979), Carlos Lemos takes the reader on a tour through the paulista region and its different municipalities to characterize its architectural practice during the "green-gold" coffee invasion. In another chapter, "Mostly Brick and Whitewash," Lemos shows how this *caipira* architecture was conditioned by the available construction materials.
51. Lemos, *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório*, 27.
52. Toledo, *Prestes Maia e as origens*, 66.
53. Gonçalves, *A obra de Ricardo Severo*, 18.

54. As noted by Woodard, the phrase “connecting web” was first used by Richard Graham in his study of Brazilian political elites (n. 7, p. 253).
55. See Richard Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil* (1974), 175; Plínio Ayrosa, “Nomenclatura das ruas de São Paulo,” *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 43 (1938), 157; Bruno, *História e tradições*, 1028, 1150, and 1446.
56. “Planta da Cidade de São Paulo,” Companhia Cantareira de Esgotos, 1881, and “Nova Planta da Cidade de São Paulo,” 1891, reproduced in Benedito Lima de Toledo, *Prestes Maia e as origens do urbanismo moderno em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Empresa das Artes, 1996).
57. Victor Dubugras (1868–1933), born in La Flèche, France, was raised in Buenos Aires, Argentina, where he graduated with a degree in architecture. In 1891, Dubugras moved to São Paulo, became a municipal official and a collaborator in the Escritório. In 1894, he taught at São Paulo School of Engineering (POLI). Later, Dubugras opened his own firm and became a successful architect (Lemos in “Arquitetura contemporânea,” and Toledo, *Prestes Maia e as origens*).
58. In 1954, celebrating anniversary of the city of São Paulo, Álvaro Gomes da Rocha Azevedo Filho wrote the biography of his grandfather Joaquim Eugênio de Lima (1845–1902). In 1872, Lima launched the newspaper *Omnibus*. In 1873, the government granted Lima a forty-year period of privilege in all public park works. Lima also created the newspaper *A Cidade de São Paulo*. See Gomes, *Um pioneiro em São Paulo: Joaquim Eugênio de Lima: o urbanista, o jornalista, o filantropo* (São Paulo: Ed. Revista dos Tribunais, 1954).
59. Quoted in Maria Cecília Prado, *O prédio Martinelli: ascensão do imigrante e verticalização de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Projeto, 1984); Toledo, *Prestes Maia e as origens*; and Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a lei. Legislação, política urbana e territórios na cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Studio Nobel, 1997), to illustrate the process of suburbanization in São Paulo.
60. Higienópolis brought a new urban language to the city as it was the first paulista “cottage-square.”
61. Quoted in Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 186.
62. Quoted in Azevedo Filho, *Um pioneiro em São Paulo*, 72–73.
63. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 279.
64. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 175.
65. Jeffrey Adelman, “Urban Planning and Reality in Republican Brazil: Belo Horizonte, 1890–1930” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1974), 27.
66. There is a rich and extensive bibliography on this topic (produced after 1970) in the Edgar Lewenworth archive, UNICAMP; e.g. Paulo Pinheiro and Michael M. Hall, *A classe operária no Brasil: documentos 1889–1930* (São Paulo: Alfa Omega, 1979); and Francisco Foot Hardman, *Nem pátria nem patrão: Vida operária e cultura anarquista no Brasil* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983); Hardman and Victor Leonardi, *História da Indústria e do trabalho no Brasil* (São Paulo: Global Editora, 1982). On the mineira political generation, a rich contribution comes from the work of Amílcar Martins Filho, “The White-Collar Republic: Patronage and Interest Representation in Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1889–1930” (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1986); and Marshall C. Eakin, *Tropical Capitalism: The Industrialization of Belo Horizonte, Brazil* (MacMillan, 2002), and *British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d’El Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830–1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989).
67. Azevedo Filho, *Um pioneiro em São Paulo*, 15.
68. In “A territorialização da prostituição feminina em São Paulo” (Master’s thesis: FAU/USP, 1989, 28), Sarah Feldman analyzed the sociocultural space occupied by women

- prostitutes in the city of São Paulo. In 1914, according to the São Paulo Public Safety Department, 63 percent of prostitutes were foreign women. This fell to 45 percent in 1922 and increased again in 1936, when the more than ten thousand foreign women prostitutes represented 54 percent of the total.
69. Jan Fiola, "Race Relations in Brazil: A Reassessment of the 'Racial Democracy' Thesis," *Program in Latin American Studies Papers Series 24* (University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 1990), 7.
 70. Octávio Ianni, *Industrialização e desenvolvimento social no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1963), and *Raças e classes sociais no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1966).
 71. Pierre Bourdieu, "What Makes a Social Class? On the Theoretical and Practical Existence of Groups," *Berkeley Social Journal of Sociology* 32 (1987), 1–17.
 72. For a complete account, see Dirce Mendes, I. Poleti, and L. Soares, "A formação do Grupo Light. Apontamentos para a sua história administrativa," *Memória Eletropaulo* 24 (1997): 35–65.
 73. For a better understanding of the electrical sector in Brazil, see the ELETROPAULO publications, among them the *Memória Eletropaulo* journal and Duncan McDowall, *The Light: Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company Limited, 1899–1945* (University of Toronto Press, 1988).
 74. Lemos, *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório*, 55.
 75. Geraldo Ferraz, *Warchavchik e a introdução da nova arquitetura no Brasil: 1925–1940* (São Paulo: Museu de Arte de São Paulo, MASP, 1965, 5).
 76. Roberto C. Simonsen, *A evolução industrial no Brasil* (Missão Universitária Norte-Americana, mimeo, 1939), 57–59.
 77. Network based mostly on Gonçalves, *A obra de Ricardo Severo*, and Lemos, *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório*.
 78. Severo's financial skills were vital for the firm's success, and this was evident during the Pacaembu scheme from 1933 to 1940 (see Chapter 5).
 79. José Geraldo Simões, Jr., *O setor de obras públicas e as origens do urbanismo na cidade de São Paulo* (Master's thesis, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, São Paulo, 1990, 45).
 80. Municipal codes from 1875 to 1886 facilitated the definitive central role to urban works the private sector was to have in the years to follow.
 81. In the city of São Paulo, those activities were captured by photographer Militão Augusto de Azevedo from 1862 to 1887.
 82. Azevedo Filho, *Um pioneiro*, 73. Among other nineteenth-century European immigrants who became successful urban entrepreneurs in São Paulo were the already mentioned Frenchman Martinho Buchard and the Germans Victor Nothmann and Frederico Glette.
 83. Primary sources on this period are mainly the Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Works Secretariat reports (state level); mayors' reports sent to the municipal chamber; and the engineering journals.
 84. The Portuguese term is *ordenação espacial*, which fits well with the positivist goal of bringing order and progress.
 85. José Geraldo Simões, Jr., "O setor de obras públicas e as origens do urbanismo na cidade de São Paulo" (Master's thesis, FGV/SP, 1990), 71.
 86. Throughout the different municipalities within the state, this position became the privilege of either county or district or neighborhood notables, who were selected by local "political bosses." The state executive bore the title of president, and he "was in fact the preeminent party boss... 'the supreme administrator and the supreme chefe politico....'" Quoted in Woodard, *A Place in Politics*, 34.

87. Victor da Silva Freire, see Biographical Appendix.
88. Note that Municipal Works Department, or DOP, the acronym used here, stands for all other names the department received, including Municipal Works Service (Serviço de Obras Municipais, 1898–1900); Municipal Works Directorate (Diretoria de Obras Municipais, 1900–1913); Works and Highways Directorate (Diretoria de Obras e Viação, 1913–1935); Works and Municipal Services Directorate (Diretoria de Obras e Serviços Municipais, 1935); and Public Works Department (Departamento de Obras Públicas, 1936–1945).
89. *Conselheiro* means councilor and it was a title either given to members of the Emperor's Council or bestowed on ministers of the Imperial Cabinet. Prado had been minister of agriculture during the empire. The title could also be honorary.
90. Toledo, *Prestes Maia e as origens*, 77.
91. From the social spectrum, see Teresa A. Meade, *Civilizing Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889–1930* (University Park, 1997). The Brazilian elite's plan to transform its capital into a Parisian-inspired "civilized" metropolis turned out to be a socially segregating public policy.
92. See Vera Ferraz, *Vila Economizadora: projeto de conservação e revitalização*, (São Paulo, 1978); and Nabil Bonduki, *Origens da habitação social no Brasil. Arquitetura moderna, lei do inquilinato e difusão da casa própria* (São Paulo, 1998).
93. Marco Osello, "Planejamento urbano de São Paulo 1899–1961: introdução ao estudo dos planos e realizações" (Master's thesis, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, São Paulo, 1983), 56. Among the many plans representing different social arrangements of the period was engineer Alexandre de Albuquerque's project, which congregated a partnership among public agencies, landowners, and prominent businessmen.
94. São Paulo was not the nation's capital city. It had always played a secondary role in relation to Rio de Janeiro. Rio had been a colonial, imperial, and republican capital. Among many other reasons, as seen here, São Paulo city's importance was vitally linked to its local entrepreneurialism.
95. José Bovo, "Desenvolvimento econômico e urbanização. Influência do capital inglês na estrutura urbana de São Paulo: 1850–1930" (Master's thesis, University of São Paulo, 1974).
96. Toledo, *Prestes Maia e as origens* (n. 12), 91.
97. Bacelli, *Jardim América*, 30–33. In 1926, authorized and nominated by the English directorate, the local committee had among its members Arnaldo Dumont Villares, Azevedo's son-in-law and his partner in the Escritório.
98. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 280.
99. Source: Barry Parker, "Two Years In Brazil," *Garden Cities and Town Planning Magazine* 9(8): 143–151 (London: Garden City Association, 1919), p. 150.
100. Cia City caused the creation of a series of new laws related to building easements, residential building permits, and the construction of curved streets that were not covered under existing legislation, Scherer "Decentralização," 281.
101. Bacelli, *Jardim América*, 30–33.
102. Thomas Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation. A State Out of Balance" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1950), 122.
103. Elias Saliba, *Idéias econômicas de Cincinato Braga* (Brasília, 1983), 26.
104. In 1924, the city of São Paulo was the unexpected site of a mobilization/military rebellion led by mostly young junior officers whose troops captured and held the city of São Paulo and much of the rest of the state for weeks.
105. Thomas Waverly Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation. A State Out of Balance" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1950), 47. Accordingly, other books on

- this theme were published only after Vargas came to power in 1930, and they soared in number after 1932.
106. Saliba, *Idéias econômicas*, 34.
 107. Quoted in Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation," n. 31, pp. 11–14.
 108. Saliba, *Idéias econômicas* (1983): 35.
 109. Saliba, *Idéias econômicas* (1983): 415–417.
 110. Horace Davis, "Brazil's Political and Economic Problems," *Foreign Policy Reports* 11, no. 1 (1935), 2–3.
 111. See Cincinato Braga, *Erros da economia pública. Lições da Rússia* (São Paulo, 1931).
 112. Saliba, *Idéias econômicas*, 394.
 113. Luther Worstenholm, *Joseph Rowntree (1836–1925): A Typescript Memoir and Related Papers* (York: 1986), k4.
 114. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 279.
 115. Quoted in Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 281.
 116. Quoted in Toledo, *Prestes Maia e as origens*, 114.
 117. To the mayor's cabinet were linked the Municipal Treasury and the General Secretariat, comprised of five directorates, including the DOP. Rebeca Scherer, "Decentralização e planejamento urbano no município de São Paulo," (PhD diss., University of São Paulo, 1987).
 118. Scherer, "Decentralização," 279.
 119. The first section, the Central Office and City Planning (Escritório Central e Plano da Cidade), became the embryo of today's Municipal Planning Secretariat (SEMPLA—Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento), Works Secretariat (SSO—Secretaria de Serviços e Obras), and the Public Roadways Secretariat (SVP—Secretaria de Vias Públicas). The fourth section became what is today Regional Administrations (AR, or Administrações Regionais). Scherer, "Decentralização e planejamento," 279.
 120. Langenbuch, *A Estruturação da Grande São Paulo*, 132.
 121. Scherer, "Decentralização e planejamento," 279.
 122. Claudio Bertolli Filho, "Epidemia e sociedade: a gripe espanhola no município de São Paulo" (Master's thesis, history, FFLCH/USP, 1986), is a study about this epidemic and its effects on paulista society.
 123. On this subject, see Angela Gomes, *Burguesia e trabalho. Política e legislação social no Brasil 1917–1937* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Campus, 1979); and James Woodard, *A Place in Politics, São Paulo, Brazil, from Seigneurial Republicanism to Regionalist Revolt* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009). Gomes explored the social legislation debates in the 1920s and its political context—from the oligarchical groups' cleavage during José Bernardes's election to the enactment of the Foreigner Expulsion and the Eloy Chaves Law, to the creation of an advisory board (the Conselho Nacional do Trabalho, CNT), representative of both entrepreneurs and employees. Woodard reconsidered paulista republicanism, its political culture, criticism and opposition to write a political history of the paulista society. Woodard focused on political participation and the formation of a public sphere to draw a detailed account of the mechanisms of oligarchic politics.
 124. Marco Osello, "Planejamento urbano de São Paulo 1899–1961: introdução ao estudo dos planos e realizações" (Master's thesis, EAESP/FGV, 1983), 127. Municipal engineer Cintra and state engineer Francisco Prestes Maia based their plan on the work of German municipal advisor Joseph Stübben (1845–1936), French preservationist and urban planner Eugène Alfred Hénard (1849–1923), and American architect Daniel Burnham (1846–1912). Burnham was the creator of the City Beautiful

- movement and the model for Prestes Maia and DOP director Victor Freire. Toledo, *Prestes Maia e as origens*
125. After retiring, Freire opened his own private firm, the Paving and Public Works Co., of which he was director and president (1926–1932). Freire not only kept influential positions all his life in both private and public sectors, but also was a key international broker. He was bestowed different honorific titles: councilor (Greece), delegate to the International Highway Association (Brazil), and a member of the English and the American Engineering Institutes. Ronald Hilton, *Who's Who in Latin America*, vol. 2, (Stanford, 1971), 98.
 126. Gabriel Ayres Netto, comp. *Código de obras "Arthur Saboya"* (São Paulo: LEP/Manuais Técnicos LEO, 1950).
 127. Campos Elíseos was an elite residential neighborhood designed in 1879 by von Puttkamer. It followed a rigid geometric form, with gardens and front and lateral setback requirements (*recuos*), and it introduced the *alameda*, a street with a series of trees on both sidewalks.
 128. Quoted in Scherer, *Decentralização e planejamento*, 284.

2 The Dynamics of Paulista Urban Institutions in the 1930s

1. Though this is a fictional paragraph, Laura Villares did write a novel: Laura Villares, *Vertigem* (São Paulo: Casa Editora Antonio Tisi, 1926).
2. "Maneco" Manuel Lopes de Oliveira Filho was municipal Biological Institute employee during the 1930s; he was a consulting "engineer" and municipal garden supervisor in 1936, when he was considered a contemporary myth among municipal professionals. He was respected by engineers and intellectuals. In 1926, Rio de Janeiro mayor Antonio Prado Junior took Maneco to the federal capital and the municipal garden worker made the "birds come back to Paris square (a traditional carioca *praça*)," quoted in Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, 194. In the 1930s, Maneco was back at the Biological Institute, when Catholic and conservative French professor of geography Pierre Deffontaines visited Manequinho's nursery garden (*viveiro*). Deffontaines inquired about his scientific method and Maneco did not hesitate to answer as the *olhômetro* methodology, to what Deffontaines annotated and observed: "Epatant! Olhomètre!" quoted in Duarte *Memórias, Os mortos de Seabrook*, 207. Referring to engineers, Maneco used to say he despised "men who needed a little ruler to be able to work," quoted in Fábio Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado na prefeitura de São Paulo através de entrevista concedida ao "O Estado de São Paulo"* (São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura/Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1936), 4. Maneco expressed the current professional tension between *licenciados* (those without a diploma) and the new technical times.
3. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 41.
4. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 97.
5. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 24.
6. James Woodard, *A Place in Politics: São Paulo, Brazil, From Seigneurial Republicanism to Regionalist Revolt* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).
7. Such logistics are clear in the revolt of 1924 and the creation of the Democratic Party in 1926, vital political events of the 1920s. Therefore, the official PRP, who

represented the legalist force in 1932, was a party that had already undergone many schisms since the hectic 1920s.

8. Horace Bancroft Davis, "Brazil's Political and Economic Problems," *Foreign Policy Reports* 11 no. 1 (1935), 6.
9. Abguar Bastos, *História da política revolucionária do Brasil vol I. 1930–1932* vol. I (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1969), 263.
10. Barbara Weinstein explored how paulista regional identity reinforced the idea of class as a racialized category. Accordingly, paulistas constructed a "hegemonic discourse" that equated their state with the vanguard of progress and civilization, whereas the "rest" of the nation followed behind. These representations strongly survived the Vargas era. Weinstein argues that the paulista discourse disregarded diversity and insisted on a hierarchy of regional identities, which came to reinforce a racial discourse. "Racializing Regional Differences: São Paulo Versus Brazil, 1932," in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, edited by Nancy P. Appelbaum et al. (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2003).
11. Davis, "Brazil's Political," 6.
12. Roughly put, during the 1930 revolt, Legalists meant a very heterogeneous group fighting against the "conservative" forces, including here the paulista PD, created in 1926. In 1932, Legalists were those who backed the dictatorship, and Constitutionalist were those representing São Paulo, including many of those who belonged to the PD.
13. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 246–247.
14. Quoted in Monica Pimenta Velloso, *A brasilidade verde-amarela: nacionalismo e regionalismo paulista* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação GV/CPDOC, 1990), 1: "A Espanha estilhou-se numa poeira de nações latino-americanas. Mas sobre o tronco sonoro da língua Portugal reuniu 22 orquídeas desiguais." The poem was written in 1924, the same year that the city of São Paulo was taken by the *tenentes*.
15. Davis, "Brazil's Political and Economic Problems," 6. Davis's data on the movement are in the same range of other few but reliable sources: the number of Constitutionalist combatants was between 35,600 and 65,500 men (23,000 and 45,000 volunteers; 9,000 and 13,000 men from the Força Pública; and between 3,600 and 7,500 from the army), Vavy Pacheco Borges, *Memória Paulista*, São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1997), 48–49. There were more volunteers on the Constitutionalist side (though equipped with only 25,000 weapons, and the notorious *matracas*—a harmless machine that reproduced the sound of guns), Arthur Morgan, *Os engenheiros de São Paulo em 1932: Pela lei e pela ordem* (São Paulo: s.n., 1934). In 1935, the casualties (dead and wounded) were estimated at 15,000, Davis, "Brazil's Political and Economic Problems," 6. On the Constitutionalist side, later accounts on the deaths stated a number between 630 to 800, of which 180 to 190 were Força Pública military, Borges, *Memória Paulista*, 49.
16. It is noteworthy that the number of immigrants decreased in both 1930 and 1931 (2,700 people in each year), in Samuel H. Lowrie, "Previsão da População," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 15 (1935), 91.
17. Borges, *Memória Paulista*, 82.
18. Even thirty years after the movement, historian Hélio Silva acknowledged that of the five books he conceived for the "O Ciclo Vargas" series, *A Guerra Paulista* (written in 1968), which explored behind-the-scenes politics during the revolution, was personally his most difficult book to write.
19. Borges, *Memória Paulista*, 19–20.
20. Borges, *Memória Paulista*, 47.

21. For instance, in the *Dicionário histórico-biográfico brasileiro, 1930–1983* (published by the CPDOC in 1984), Henrique Bayma's and Francisco Machado de Campos's political contributions are limited to their 1936 activities; Plínio Barreto, Alfredo Ellis, Jr., or Alberto Coutinho Filho are ignored or barely mentioned. On the other hand, some politicians receive consideration, such as Jorge Americano, whose opposition in the mid-1930s is overshadowed by his later alliances.
22. Quoted in "A fotografia como instrumento de propaganda política," Pedro Vasques, *Revolução de 32. A fotografia e a política* (Rio de Janeiro: Edição FUNARTE, 1982), 7.
23. A better term would be "progressive" because it was based on progress and its positivist content. Nonetheless this is a loaded term in U.S. terminology and the term "reform" encompasses the idea of change, but change following order and progress (in this order).
24. The publication cost five times more than the price of an ordinary magazine. The luxurious, one hundred-page issue presented three hundred photographs and a historical account of the "October Revolution." The illustrations included military campaigns, portrayals of military and civil chiefs, the Aliança Liberal political platform, and Getúlio Vargas's manifesto. The revolution was defined as the set of "events which...marked the beginning of the dictatorial regime presided by Mr. Getúlio Vargas" (*O Cruzeiro*, 1932).
25. The 1931 *Diários Associados* Annals dedicated several pages to this urban program, "The Development of the City of Rio de Janeiro in One Century, 1831–1931." This expensive twelve *mil-réis* (12\$000) issue presented data on area, population, birth rate, maps, statistics, old and current illustrations and photographs, and an encompassing essay on Rio de Janeiro's public urban interventions.
26. Quoted in Nagiba Maluf, *Revolução de 32. O que foi, porque foi* (São Paulo: Edicon, 1986), 59.
27. Quoted in Davis, "Brazil's Political and Economic Problems," 6.
28. *A epopéia de Piratininga. São Paulo em armas pela grandeza do Brasil, special number 1932. São Paulo State Archive.*
29. Antoine or Delcide Carvalho Rénard, *São Paulo é isto!* (São Paulo: Edição do Autor, 1933), 119.
30. Maluf, *Revolução de 32*, 51.
31. Hernani Donato, *Breve história da Revolução Constitucionalista de 1932. Comemorando os 65 anos do evento* (São Paulo: Lerlisa, 1997), 65.
32. Holien Gonçalves Bezerra, *O jogo do poder. Revolução paulista de 32* (São Paulo: Moderna, 1988), 33.
33. Photographs shown in Arthur Morgan (Armando Arruda Pereira's pseudonym), *Os engenheiros de São Paulo em 1932: Pela lei e pela ordem* (São Paulo: s.n., 1934), and *IPT: Nine Decades of Technological Development* (São Paulo: Instituto de Pesquisas Tecnológicas, 1990).
34. Fifteen years later, in 1947, the movement was brought back to the *Revista Engenharia* pages, reproducing the twelve engineers' biographies. These were "officially" first published in *Cruzeiros Paulistas* (1936), during Mayor Fábio Prado's term, for the municipal campaign "Monument to the 1932 Paulista Soldier" (Mausoléu ao Soldado Paulista de 1932).
35. See Chapter 1, note.
36. Francisco Machado de Campos graduated as a POLI civil engineer in 1904. He was the city of São Paulo representative (1923–35, 1936–37) and mayor (1931). In 1932, Major Francisco Machado de Campos commanded the Campos do Jordão CIDT.

- Campos was State Works Division director (1933–34), and VASP president (1935). He was São Paulo municipal chamber president (1936–37). In 1948, Campos lived in an apartment at Piaui Street in Pacaembu.
37. See Chapter 3 note.
 38. Luiz Ignácio Romeiro de Anhaia Mello (1891–1974) was POLI civil engineer and architect (1909–13), professor (1919–61), vice director (1928 and 1930), and director (1930). Mello worked for the Escritório (1913), Cia Iniciadora Predial (1913–1964), and Ceramica Vila Prudente (1934). He was PD councilor (1926), Engineering Institute president (1929/30), mayor (1930–31), vice mayor (1931–34), and State Division of Transport and Public Works director (November to March 1932 and 1941–43). In the 1932 revolution, Mello also had an influential role, when directing from POLI several works for the Bellicose Material Technical Commission linked to the Ammunition Central Department, the DCM (Departamento Central de Munições). All his professional life, Mello was a professor, and retired from USP in 1961. Mello was FFCL/USP director (1941), School of Architecture and Urbanism (FAU/USP) founder and first director (1948), and USP vice rector (1950). After retirement, Mello was Miguel Brada, Jr.'s firm consulting engineer. In 1934 and in 1948, his address was Ministro Rocha Azevedo Alameda in Cerqueira Cesar.
 39. On the lawyer's place during the empire, see A. Almeida Junior, "A Faculdade de Direito e a cidade," *Ensaios Paulistas. Contribuição de O Estado de São Paulo às comemorações do IV centenário da cidade* (São Paulo: Ed. Anhambi, 1958), 49–61.
 40. The article, "Edifício Campanha do ouro para o bem de São Paulo," in *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 22, 1935, illustrated the strikingly different architecture presented by the two finalist projects. The picture portrayals a turning point after which the modern language wins over the neocolonial and eclectic styles of the period.
 41. Rufino Alves Sobrinho, *São Paulo triunfante. Depoimento e subsídio para a história das revoluções de 22, 24, 30, e 32, no Brasil*. (São Paulo: Author's Edition, 1932), 160–162.
 42. The flag was designed in 1888 by *mineiro* Júlio César Ribeiro Vaughan (1845–90), a naturalist writer and journalist, to represent the new republican nation. On federal symbols, see José Murillo Carvalho, *A formação das almas. O imaginário da República no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990), and on state symbols, see Hilton Federici, *Símbolos Paulistas: estudo histórico-heráldico* (São Paulo: Secretaria da Cultura, Ciência e Tecnologia, 1980).
 43. Vavy Borges, *Tenentismo e revolução brasileira* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1992).
 44. Oswald de Andrade, *Marco zero. A revolução melancólica* (São Paulo: Editora Globo, 1991, first published in 1943), 163.
 45. As the paulista flag was not yet an official symbol, paulistas could play with it in this fashion. In 1946, under law, the flag adopted thirteen horizontal stripes of black and white with a red rectangle in the upper left corner. The red rectangle contained the Brazilian map outline within a white circle, framed by four stars.
 46. FAU USP Archive.
 47. FAU USP Archive.
 48. Source: 1932 State of São Paulo Roadways Map in José de Barros Martins, *Album de família 1932* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1954). On the role of women and gendered perceptions, see Barbara Weinstein, "Inventing the Mulher Paulista: Politics, Rebellion, and the Gendering of Brazilian Regional Identities," *Journal of Women's History* 18, n. 1 (2006): 22–49.
 49. Hélio Silva, *A Guerra Paulista*. Coleção Documentos da História Contemporânea. O Ciclo de Vargas, vol. 5. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1967), 113. Silva

- explored young Alcântara Machado's posthumous excerpts to report on the post-revolution early days in October 1932, when "São Paulo, the occupied capital of a vanquished rebel state" (247) was "vanquished but not submissive" (205).
50. Clóvis Gonçalves, *Carne para canhão! O Front em 1932* (Rio de Janeiro: Renascença Editora, 1933), 29–30. Gonçalves's account is not an appraisal of the Legalist action but a criticism of selected sectors of the Constitutionalist side.
 51. Thomas Waverly Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation. A State Out of Balance" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1950), 75.
 52. Borges, *Memória Paulista*, 79.
 53. During the Old Republic (1889–1930) this position was mostly filled by local "political bosses," county or district or neighborhood notables. In the 1930s, this position was occupied by engineers.
 54. Quoted in Getúlio Vargas, *Diário 1930–1936* (São Paulo: Siciliano/Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1995), 231. On Armando de Salles Oliveira, see Ilka Cohen, "Para onde vamos? Alternativas políticas no Brasil, 1930–1937" (PhD diss., History FFLCH/USP, 1997).
 55. Annibal Villanova Villela and Wilson Suzigan, *Política do governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Planejamento Econômico e Social/Instituto de Pesquisas, 1977), 3–5.
 56. Miguel Angelo de Barros Ferreira, *Meio Século de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1954).
 57. Paulo Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976).
 58. Quoted in Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, 159. Duarte's statement was an open criticism of Vicente Ráo, who accepted the constitutional justice minister position in 1934.
 59. Quoted in Paulo Duarte, *Memórias, Os mortos de Seabrook* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976), 144.
 60. Among the programs developed by the DC was the children's park program, which was Paulista Republican Party former mayor and engineer-architect Anhaia Mello's "idea [of providing] physical, moral and educational assistance to São Paulo's poor children," quoted in Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*. The park program involved much more than recreational opportunities and will be explored in Chapter 4.
 61. Scherer, "Decentralização e planejamento," 151.
 62. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 11.
 63. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 20–21.
 64. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 24.
 65. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 34. One can argue that this policy came to create a culture of dependence and accommodation for part of these "new" middle groups. The few groups that benefited from it, such as public employees, consolidated themselves into pressure groups that are still today extremely resistant to any project to reform the unequal system.
 66. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 36.
 67. In the 1930s, the municipal government rented its own headquarters, the Palacete Prates, at Líbero Badaró Street, Suite 377. Taxpayers paid to the *palacete's* owner, Antonia dos Santos Prates or Countess Prates, the monthly rent of 32 *contos* from 1937 to 1940 (*RAM* 34, April 1937, Law 3583). On the other hand, urban private agencies owned their own office buildings: Cia City's headquarters was also conveniently located at Líbero Badaró Street, Suite 50, and the Escritório at 15 de Novembro Street.
 68. Cristina Peixoto and Miriam Steinbaum, *A experiência francesa de aluguel social. Relatório de estágio* (São Paulo: Companhia de Desenvolvimento Habitacional e Urbano do Estado de São Paulo CDHU, 1990).

69. That is, "*a casa do pobre erigida sofredoramente com o tostão economizado cada dia.*" Quoted in Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 29.
70. According to Act 983, the Hygiene Department supervised domestic service in São Paulo and registered the domestic employee. The municipal registration professional card was obtained through the father or guardian (for those less than eighteen years old) and a good behavior and mental health certificate (for all). This card was annulled in case of morbid practices, prostitution, stealing, bad references, or any other grave offense proving the cardholder unfit to work in a family house. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 32.
71. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 30.
72. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 53.
73. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 11.
74. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 53.
75. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 47.
76. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 64.
77. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 98–99.
78. Among the many decorations ADV received, one may cite British knight (1950) and Crown of Italy. ADV died in São Paulo on February 5, 1965.
79. Henrique Dumont (1832–1893), the son of a French engineer, received formal training in Paris and started his career as a civil engineer in Minas Gerais, where he worked in Ouro Preto as timber supplier in Morro Velho. He lived on the Jaguará estate, where three of his eight children were born, including Virginia (1866), ADV's mother. Henrique Dumont then built the Dom Pedro II road to Barbacena, the most important coffee-export route. After that, Henrique had his first experience as a coffee planter while part owner of the Cazal estate in Rio de Janeiro. Henrique decided to sell his part and left for Ribeirão Preto, where from 1880 to 1890 he acquired land and consolidated the holdings of the Companhia Agrícola Fazenda Dumont. The activities of Henrique Dumont in Ribeirão Preto, although of short duration, gave the region its most important single unit of coffee production, with 4.5 million plants (*pés de café*) by 1900, and earned for him the title King of Coffee (*rei do café*) in 1891. Arnaldo Dumont Villares, "As origens da família Santos-Dumont/Villares no Brasil" (mimeo, 1964), 8–12; and Frederick Vincent Gifun, "Ribeirão Preto 1880–1914" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1972), 89–91.
80. "On January 28, 1892, Dumont sold his house (on Rua General Osório) and a lot... (extending to Rua São Sebastião) ... for ten *contos* (10:000\$000). As an indication of the appreciation of property during these years, it can be noted that Dumont had purchased the same house and land in 1885, from Victor Nothmann and Co. for two *contos* and 500 *milréis* (2:500\$000)," Gifun, "Ribeirão Preto 1880–1914," 104.
81. Incorporated by engineer Paulo de Frontin, considered the most important Brazilian engineering entrepreneur then, and Luis da Rocha Miranda, among others.
82. "The British company bought the stock of the original company, which remained Brazilian, and retained the name Dumont because of the excellent reputation [Henrique Dumont's] estate's coffee production acquired in international trade. Further refinements were introduced under British control, such that 'Dumont coffee' commanded 'better prices than ordinary Brazilian kinds,'" Gifun, "Ribeirão Preto 1880–1914," 104.
83. Their three children were Arnaldo (b. 1913), Alfredo (b. 1916), and Lúcia (b. 1920).
84. See Chapter 1.
85. The production is based on the most significant works gathered at the Ramos de Azevedo's archive in the School of Architecture and Urbanism (FAU) and the

- most significant works so far written about Ramos de Azevedo. See references in Chapter 1.
86. Source: Paulo Villares Oliveira.
 87. Azevedo and Severo belonged to the group that founded and worked in institutions for professional training: POLI and the School of Arts and Crafts. Both men had a prominent role in the formation of the new professional apparatus, comprised of engineers and skilled laborers such as painters, brick workers, and sculptors. See Chapter 1 for the network Azevedo built.
 88. Ricardo Severo's son, Antonio (Oporto 1902), started his studies in Zurich and finished them at Rio de Janeiro School of Beaux Arts.
 89. Alfredo Dumont Villares (Porto 1896–SP 1970) was Escritório's partner (1938) and its technical section chief engineer (1920–1940). Alfredo was Arnaldo's cousin, and he graduated in civil engineering at the Zurich Polytechnic School. In 1940, Alfredo left the Escritório and joined his brothers, Luiz and Alberto, to expand the successful *Indústrias Villares* group their brother Carlos had founded twenty-two years earlier.
 90. Eurico Bastos Guimarães (1894) was Escritório's chief engineer (1919–35) and partner (1936 on). He was a POLI civil engineer (1912–17) and an outstanding student. He attended Mackenzie School (POLI file 1579). Both in 1934 and 1948, Eurico's address was Itararé Street in Bela Vista.
 91. *Meio século de progresso paulista*, 1938. This network encompassed other powerful public institutions such as POLI, the Liceu (School of Arts and Crafts), and IPT. I analyze this powerful network in the following chapters and through one main event, the construction of the Pacaembu Stadium, in Chapter 5.
 92. Roney Bacelli, *Jardim América* (São Paulo: Departamento de Patrimônio Histórico DPH/PMSP Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1988), 58.
 93. Of all his responsibilities, he recognized architecture as his profession. There were no schools of architecture in the state of São Paulo. Some engineers from POLI USP would choose architecture as a specialization, which would give them the title of engineer architect. Though ADV graduated in engineering in London, it is interesting to observe that, in 1935, his professional registration card identified him as an architect rather than an engineer (CREA 1438, 6th region).
 94. LBMB 10, 4.
 95. LBMB 7, Acta 114.
 96. LBMB 8, Acta 153.
 97. Lemos, 1993, 108.
 98. LBMB 7, Acta 128a.
 99. The London headquarters entrusted the new local board with many decisions, and it took six years, until January 1939, for Arthur Du Cross to come back and pay another "inspection" visit to the local committee.
 100. Plínio Barreto (1882–1958) graduated from the São Paulo Law School in 1902. During the 1930 postrevolutionary forty-day government, Barreto was provisional government chief and justice secretary in São Paulo. In 1932, before the conflict, Barreto had been nominated by João Alberto as his successor, but he was not accepted "by the *tenentes*," quoted in Alcibiades Miranda, *A rebelião de São Paulo. Com documentos inéditos* (Curitiba: s/n, 1934), 168. According to James Woodard, Barreto signed the motion, put together by former Mayor Firmiano Pinto and São Paulo Archbishop Dom Duarte Leopoldo e Silva, to end the rebellion of July 1924. Woodard explains that he was "a journalist by trade (he was a junior editor of *O Estado de São Paulo*) then serving as the acting president of the Nationalist League,"

- quoted in *A Place in Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 111. During the 1932 revolution, he supported it as Brazilian Lawyer Institute (OAB) president. Lawyer and journalist Barreto was one of the DC creators in 1935. In 1945, Barreto wrote Armando de Salles Oliveira's eulogy. He was *O Estado de São Paulo* editor (1900–27) and editor in chief (1927–42). He was the author of a detailed legal case between Cia City and Fontaine de Laveleye in *Uma temerária aventura forense (a questão entre D. Amália de Moreira Keating Fontaine de Laveleye e a City of San Paulo Improvement and Freehold Land Company, Limited)* (1933). He lived at Antonia de Queiróz Street in Consolação (1935, 1948).
101. 1) ADV as an engineering student in Europe (1910s); 2 and 3) Escritório's partners (late 1930s and 1940s); 4) ADV in the 1930s; 5) ADV and Roberto Pereira de Almeida (1943); 7 and 8) ADV in the Rio de Janeiro Escritório branch (1950s). Source: FAU/USP Archive.
 102. Hélio Silva, *A Guerra Paulista*. Coleção Documentos da História Contemporânea. O Ciclo de Vargas, vol. 5. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1967).
 103. Antonio Carlos Pacheco e Silva. *Armando de Salles Oliveira* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1980).
 104. On this subject, see Woodard, *A Place in Politics*, where the author insightfully explores how the relationships that tied political players together involved complex processes of give and take—the take increasing with the exaltedness of the particular player in question.
 105. Even the position of liberal professionals in social hierarchy was not always clear. In some contexts, they were placed in a category apart, as the “liberal classes” (*classes liberais*). In others, high-status liberal professionals, in particular law professors and well-educated newspaper editor-proprietors, were counted among the conservative classes, while lower-status liberal professionals (pharmacists, dentists, beat reporters) were lumped in with the popular groups. Woodard, *A Place in Politics*, 27.
 106. The discussions were fully copied in the *acta* book and the issues were indexed, in alphabetical order, in a registry book—most of the sources of this book are the result of the patient work of middle-class amanuenses and clerks.
 107. Brazilian lands have always been a national patrimony. The origin of any private estate was as vacant land/*terras devolutas* that was given to private owners to be colonized; coastal land/*terras de marinha* and reserved land/*terrenos reservados* was government land. ADV and Cia City bought several areas close to public rivers, which had fifteen meters of public easement. Yet, both the constitutions of 1934 and 1937, had public rivers' adjacent areas (Tietê River and others) put down as reserved land domains for public purposes (*destino público*). Any private estate could be requested to be used for public use in the name of public interest, and they were considered administrative servitude areas (different from expropriation) and did not require any form of remuneration/indemnification. Candido Cunha Cintra, “Reintegração sem posse e sem domínio!” *Apelação civil # 22.575* (São Paulo: Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1944), 86–87 and 132.
 108. Second to it was a legal question, the de Laveleye Case. This case was dealt with in more than one hundred meetings between February 1929 and December 1940. Media coverage on this issue can be found in the article “Protest” by Laveleye and his lawyers, published in *O Diário de São Paulo* (October 1932), and in *O Diário da Noite* (April 21, 1933). On the contention between the company and Laveleye, see Plínio Barreto, *Uma temerária aventura forense (a questão entre D. Amália de Moreira Keating Fontaine de Laveleye e a City of San Paulo Improvement and Freehold Land Company, Limited)*, 2 vols. (São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais, 1933).

109. LBMB from 1939, Acta 257.
110. LBMB 7, Acta 141.
111. During this meeting, the committee managers, the mayor, and officials from both organizations studied the Pedroso de Moraes Street rectification (the street provided a main access from downtown to Pinheiros, a southwestern neighborhood), Jardim América street paving, Cia City Anhangabaú donated areas (where Anhangabaú Avenue was to pass), and Pacaembu Stadium.
112. LBMB 8, Acta 152.
113. LBMB 8, Acta 158a.
114. Clips from the early 1930s in the Cia City's archive album include "Opportunity," published in 1930 and 1931; "Eleven More Units!" noticing Brasil Avenue as the neighborhood main referential artery from December 16, 1934; and "It Is Getting Better!" which makes the quoted remarks and Cia City's thankful note to the municipality in the central part of the ad from September 1934.
Source: O Estado de São Paulo and The Time, Cia City Archives
115. According to the table "Cia City Sales in Jardim América, 1929–1938," in Bacelli, *Jardim América*, 60.
116. LBMB 12, Acta 223.
117. LBMB 12, Acta 212a.
118. LBMB 13, Acta 226.
119. LBMB 13, Acta 226.
120. LBMB 7, Acta 117a.
121. "Shares or Land?" *Times of Brazil*, March 27, 1931.
122. LBMB 7, Acta 117a.
123. "Unique Opportunity," *Folha da Noite*, February 1934.
124. LBMB 11, Acta 205.
125. LBMB 13, Acta 231a.
126. In 1908, Braga defended the establishment of a federal-state organization for purposes of valorization and regulation of coffee deliveries and federal endorsement of state coffee loans. His proposal included state gold guarantees to the federal government. Braga even offered paulista willingness to bear the burden of a loan service alone. Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation," 122. In 1915, Braga pleaded for and won a federal endorsement of loans. He based his plea on regional and common interests, when he stated that, although valorization weighted heavily on São Paulo, all of Brazil derived advantage from it.
127. In 1931, Braga was part of the ultraconservative group that accused Treasury Minister Oswaldo Aranha of destroying Brazil's foreign credit. On Braga's and Aranha's position, see Mario Henrique Simonsen, "Oswaldo Aranha e o Ministério da Fazenda," *Oswaldo Aranha, a estrela da revolução* (São Paulo: Editora Mandarin, 1996), 397.
128. It is noteworthy that, in the early 1920s, Cia City had in its Brazilian directorate both Cincinato Braga, who was then Banco do Brazil president, and Sampaio Vidal, who was the Brazilian treasury minister. Elias Thomé Saliba, org., *Idéias econômicas de Cincinato Braga* (Brasília: Senado Federal/Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1983), 26.
129. Other writings appeared only after Vargas came to power in 1930, and their number soared after 1932. Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation," 47.
130. Saliba, *Idéias econômicas*, 33.
131. Saliba, *Idéias econômicas*, 34. In the early 1900s, Campos Sales stressed that "to govern São Paulo was to govern a nation, and that the state was actually superior

- in political and economic progress to many Latin American countries," Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation," 177. Following this line, in his book *Magnos problemas econômicos de São Paulo*, Braga made use of economic data related exclusively to export trade (São Paulo's economic strength) to demonstrate that from the current forty-eight nations on earth, twenty-six had a public taxation inferior to that of the state of São Paulo.
132. Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation," 11–14.
 133. Saliba, *Idéias econômicas*, 35.
 134. Saliba, *Idéias econômicas*, 415–417.
 135. This could be attributed to a "narrower gap between the lower and upper classes in São Paulo," Palmer, Jr., "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation," 177.
 136. Davis, "Brazil's Political and Economic Problems," 2–3.
 137. Saliba, *Idéias econômicas*, 393.
 138. Braga believed urban social problems could be solved by allowing people to stay in rural areas (the majority of the time) and "avoiding industry concentration . . . Cities will always exist and a proper social legislation will protect industrial arts" (Saliba, *Idéias econômicas*, 394).
 139. Luther Worstenholm, *Joseph Rowntree (1836–1925): A Typescript Memoir and Related Papers* (Great Britain: Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, 1986), k4. Joseph Rowntree (1836–1925) was connected to Quaker businessmen and the chocolate and confectionery industries in York (North Yorkshire) Great Britain.
 140. Worstenholm, *Joseph Rowntree*, k2.
 141. Worstenholm, *Joseph Rowntree*, k4.
 142. The paulista group's (*bancada*) motto was "For a United São Paulo of a Strong Brazil" (*Por um São Paulo Unido Num Brasil Forte*) Saliba, *Idéias econômicas*, 37.
 143. LBMB 8, Acta 147.
 144. Among other things, the Rothschild Bank in London loaned and financed the state and federal government operations in the coffee export sector.
 145. The sales section, practically extinct in 1930, was completely rearranged in August 1933. As we see, the public or private sector could only reorganize after the 1932 revolution.
 146. LBMB 14, Acta 247.
 147. LBMB 14, Acta 247.
 148. LBMB 12, Acta 212a.
 149. According to the Acta, manager Arnaldo Villares did not vote for his nomination, but made clear his satisfaction. The rectification work was to bring improvements and profits both to Cia City and Villares's estate company. On this subject, see also note 114.
 150. LBMB 9, Acta 168.
 151. I follow here the path of scholars such as Weinstein and Woodard, who have well explored how regionalist symbols connected ideas of capable citizenship, manly independence, and racially coded identity.
 152. According to LBMB 7 of March 17, "half of the sum invested, ten *contos* (10:000\$000) monthly, would come from profit resulting from the transfer of land and/or houses."
 153. "Mens Sana in Corpore Sano," *Times of Brazil*, April 6, 1934; and *Anglo-Brazilian Chronicle*, March 31, 1934.
 154. Both from *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 1, 1935.
 155. *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 29, 1935.
 156. From *Times of Brazil* and *Anglo Brazilian Chronicle* 1934 editions.

157. *Times of Brazil*, December 19, 1930.
158. Different clips from the company's archive album in this period.
159. *Associação dos Proprietários de São Paulo*, August 1934.
160. *Diário da Noite*, April 8, 1935.
161. *Folha da Noite*, January 25, 1934.
162. In the following headlines, Cia City tried to reach its Pacaembu clients: "Why should you pay rent?" (*Review of Brazil*, December 1927); "Make your dreams come true this year" (*Review of Brazil*, January 28, 1928); "Built Today With Our Financial Assistance the House of Your Dreams" (*Review of Brazil*, September to October 1928); and "Cia City Solves the Problem of Acquiring Your Own House" (*Architectura e Construções*, 1929).
163. *Anglo-Brazilian Chronicle*, May 27, 1933.
164. *Times of Brazil*, June 1934.
165. *O Estado de São Paulo*, November 11, 1934.
166. *Times of Brazil*, November 16, 1934.
167. *O Estado de São Paulo*, January 6, 1935.
168. *O Estado de São Paulo*, January 13, 1935.
169. *Folha da Noite*, February 19, 1935.
170. *A Gazeta*, April 25, 1935.
171. *Diário de São Paulo*, April 1935.
172. *O Imparcial*, June 29, 1935.
173. Provincial São Paulo of the 1930s equated urbanism to the work of Cia City in Jardim América, that is, something "made by British" (Ficher, 1989, 233).

3 The Making of Urban Middle-Class Employees in the 1930s

1. Interview with the author, September 1998.
2. *Bedéis* were more than proctors, as they were usually also janitors and caretakers. These "educational" foremen were male, Afro-Brazilian unskilled workers who watched over students in different situations, including supervising examinations to prevent cheating.
3. Richard Graham's classic work on nineteenth-century Brazil, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), underlines the structure of politics in São Paulo. Accordingly, these politics were characterized by patronage and personalism, fraud and favor, corruption and clientele building.
4. Following the National Education Council, which controlled the country's higher education in the 1930s, it is important to remark that legitimate college education was either in Catholic or government institutions. In relation to municipal engineers, after the 1932 revolution, the federal government suspended the diplomas issued by Mackenzie, a Presbyterian American School of Engineering (June 1932), and eliminated the course of architecture of the private School of Fine Arts.
5. One should not forget that immigrants brought technical knowledge from their countries, and that at least 90 percent of São Paulo's construction workforce was Italian at that time. Carlos Lemos, *Alvenaria burguesa. Breve história da arquitetura residencial de tijolos em São Paulo a partir do ciclo econômico liderado pelo café* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1985).

6. Sylvia Ficher "Ensino e Profissão. O curso de engenheiro-arquiteto da Escola Politécnica de São Paulo" (PhD diss., FFLCH/USP, 1989), 292.
7. POLI and Mackenzie offered specialization courses that entitled people to perform technical occupations and permitted them to survive decently in a job market dominated by two or three big construction companies; Carlos Lemos, *Alvenaria burguesa*, 17. Such professionals opened a firm, usually with one partner, giving architectonic assistance to big firms such as the Escritório Técnico Ramos de Azevedo, Pucci, de Bianchi, and Sociedade Comercial e Construtora.
8. Manoel Henrique Campos Botelho, *A história da construção civil em São José dos Campos* (São Paulo: SINDUSCON Sindicato das Indústrias da Construção Civil de Grandes Estruturas no Estado de São Paulo, 1989), 30.
9. Metaphorically, the charts produced by the administration show how the very same scheme was simply extended and complicated.
10. These directorates were 1) Storage; 2) Municipal Library; 3) Accounting; 4) Registry and Allocation of Employees; 5) Public Utility Supervisory; 6) General Market Supervisory; 7) Works and Roadways (DOP); 8) Property; 9) Administrative Police; 10) Fiscal Attorney; 11) Judicial Attorney; 12) Protocol and Archive; 13) Treasury; and 14) Sanitation.
11. The DOP's eight sections were 1) Urbanism; 2) Works; 3) Roadways; 4) Private Building Supervisory; 5) Industrial Buildings Supervisory; 6) Public Facilities Services; 7) Sanitary Engineering; and 8) Employee Registry.
12. These departments were 1) Employee Registry; 2) Treasury; 3) Public Works (DOP); 4) Public Services; 5) Juridical; 6) Culture; and 7) Hygiene.
13. The Code contained 13 chapters and 175 articles (April 1934).
14. The Civil Service Municipal Commission, created in 1930 (Act 35), decided that all contracted and commissioned employees were to be considered permanent (*efetivados* or *cargo vitalício*) employees if they had more than two years of effective work or had been approved by competition (*concurso*) after 1930—even if the competition had been annulled by other administrations; *Revista do Arquivo Municipal (RAM)* n. 3, 1934.
15. Paulo Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976), 208.
16. It is interesting to note that the material symbolized modernity and that it was the same kind of gift Ramos de Azevedo received from his employees in 1890 (see Chapter 1).
17. Cristina Mehrrens, "Urban Space and Politics: Constructing Social Identity, and the Middle Class in São Paulo, Brazil, 1930s–1940s," (PhD diss., University of Miami, 2000).
18. 1) Works of Art; 2) Plans Approval; 3) Paving; 4) Highways; 5) Registry of Employees; 6) Construction Supervisory; 7) Register; 8) Elevators, Factories, and Workshops Supervisory; and 9) Urbanism.
19. For more details, see tables in Mehrrens, *Urban Space and Politics*, chap. 3.
20. In 1934, the only DOP chief of Section, Euclides Silva, who was not an engineer (Section 5 was Employee Registry), made less than his "hierarchically inferior" DOP senior engineers. Division 8, Employee Registry, was headed by a "nonengineer," Luiz Galliano, who in 1934 created the *RAM*.
21. In 1934, Arthur Saboya earned 4:200\$000, his secretary earned 1:820\$000, and all DOP chief section engineers earned the same wage (2:750\$000), except João Cintra, who was paid more (3:000\$000). Section 5, Employee Registry, was headed by a "nonengineer," Euclides Silva, who made two *contos* and 160 *mil-réis* (2:160\$000). According to Act 829 of March 29, 1935, Arthur Saboya retired and kept his director's

- monthly wage of four *contos* and 200 *mil-réis* (4:200\$000). Saboya had more than thirty-five years of municipal service (*RAM* 11), i.e., he had been a DOP official since DOP was created in 1898 (see Chapter 1, note).
22. The five sections were Registry of Employees, Urbanism, Public Works, Roadways, and Taxes and Improvements.
 23. Sources included the 1934 issues of *RAM*; POLI student and professor files; POLI Annals; Mackenzie Annals; interviews; Martin, 1935 and 1940; Hilton, 1971; and Morgan, 1934. See tables 8 through 12 in Mehrrens, *Urban Space and Politics*.
 24. Nestor Marques da Silva Ayrosa was a POLI civil engineer (1908–14). He was introduced to the school in 1908 by Affonso d'E. Taunay. He attended São Bento School and resided at João Ramalho Street in Vila Pompéia (1934).
 25. Jorge Corbisier graduated in Mackenzie College (1913) and became a São Paulo Telephone Co. technical department engineer. Later as a municipal aero-topographic supervisor engineer, Corbisier (together with Sylvio Noronha and Agenor Machado) supervised the *Mapa Topográfico do Município de São Paulo*, made by SARA Brasil SA between 1928 and 1930. In 1932, Corbisier commanded the Engineering Headquarter Service (Q.G.). Corbisier was a Brazilian aero club delegate, Mackenzie professor, and *A Gazeta* collaborator. In 1932, he lived at Eça de Queiróz Street in Vila Mariana.
 26. José Amadei was POLI electrical and mechanical engineer (1912–1919). Before graduating from POLI, Amadei attended King's College (1913), University of London (1914–1915), and the Ecole Préparatoire des Arts & Manufactures, Université de Gand, in Belgium (1914). In 1932, Amadei acted as a conduit between the municipality and the revolution. Amadei was DOP Section of Paving chief engineer (1934), DOP Division of Public Roadways chief engineer (1935), and DOP school convention engineer chief (1951). Work: *Problemas do Convênio Escolar* (1951). In 1934, Amadei lived at Pires da Motta Street in Liberdade. There is both a street and a municipal school named after him.
 27. Domicio de L. Pacheco e Silva attended (1915) and taught (1930s) at Mackenzie College. Silva participated in American geologist C.W. Washburne's petroleum research studies for the São Paulo state government and collaborated in technical journals. Silva was Municipal Employees Union president, São Paulo aero club president, Roadways Association president, and a Mackenzie College Advisory Board member. He wrote *O Petróleo no Brasil* (1923) and lived at Gabriel dos Santos Street in Sta Cecília in 1932.
 28. Regino de Paula Aragão was a POLI industrial engineer (1895–1900). He was introduced to the school by his father, Cypriano de Aragão, and by Dr. Fernando de Aragão, doctor in medicine from Rio de Janeiro University. In 1934, Aragão had already retired as POLI laboratory preparer (*preparador de material*) and worked as chief engineer of the DOP 6th Section (Construction Supervisory). In 1934, he lived at Turiassu Street in Perdizes.
 29. See Chapter 1.
 30. Joao Baptista Aranha was a POLI mechanical engineer (1904–08). Aranha did not attend POLI during his senior year, alleging a study trip to Europe (1908). In June 1934, Aranha requested from POLI a certificate acknowledging his preliminary and mechanic engineering studies “to serve as diploma” (POLI file 201).
 31. Sylvio Cabral Noronha was a POLI civil engineer (1912–18) (POLI file 2534). He was municipal aero topographic supervisor engineer; Noronha (together with Jorge Corbisier and Agenor Machado) supervised the *Mapa Topográfico do Município de São Paulo*, made by SARA Brasil SA (1928–1930). Noronha was DOP 9th Section of Urbanism chief engineer (1934) and *RAM* collaborator. Noronha and Saboya both

- signed the Código de Obras, known as the Arthur Saboya Code. He lived at Alfredo Pujol Street in Santana in 1934.
32. Sources include the Municipal Act 834 (April 1935); POLI student and professor files; POLI Annals; Mackenzie Annals; interviews; Martin, 1935 and 1940; Hilton, 1971; and Morgan, 1934. Note: Division 8, Employee Registry, was headed by a "non-engineer," Luiz Galliano, who in 1934 created the *RAM*.
 33. Chapter 4.
 34. Their monthly salaries ranged between 4:000\$000 and 2:000\$000 in 1935. They all made 2:700\$000 in 1937. Sources: Municipal Act 834 (April 1935); POLI student and professor files; POLI Annals; Mackenzie Annals; interviews; Martin, 1935 and 1940; Hilton, 1971; and Morgan, 1934.
 35. In 1935, their wage was 1:800\$000; in 1937 it was 2:300\$000. Sources: Municipal Act 856 (May 1935); POLI student and professor files; POLI Annals; Mackenzie Annals; interviews; Alessandro, 1944; Martin, 1935 and 1940; Hilton, 1971; and Morgan, 1934.
 36. OBS: In 1935, they all made 1:600\$000 (less than the secretary); and in 1937, they made 2:000\$00. Sources: Municipal Act 856 (May 1935); POLI student and professor files; POLI Annals; Mackenzie Annals; interviews; Alessandro, 1944; Martin, 1935 and 1940; Hilton, 1971; and Morgan, 1934. Note: in 1937, an intern made one *conto* and 200 *mil-réis* (1:200\$000).
 37. Required registration documents included: 1) diploma and transcripts from middle/high school (*ginásio*), 2) birth certificate, 3) good moral conduct certificate, 4) vaccine report, 5) army reservist certificate (from the 1920s on), and 6) the father's recommendation letter. Other documents kept on file were scholar transcripts, with yearly registry request letters, and type of scholar approval (passing, good, and outstanding) during all three parts of the six-year course—general (one year), basic (two years), and specialization (three years).
 38. In 1939, there were 629 schools in Brazil, from which 550 were private schools, and almost one-third were in São Paulo state (196). Of all public schools (99), half were in São Paulo (43) (Schwartzman 1984, 190). In 1935, the city of São Paulo had just one public middle school (Ginásio do Estado, established 1894) and thirty-eight private "high" schools (*ginásios*), of which twenty-four were Catholic schools: Circe Maria Fernandes Bittencourt, *Pátria, Civilização e Trabalho. O ensino de história nas escolas paulistas 1917–39* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1990), 39. Schools did not have many students. Of the private schools, only Mackenzie, Rio Branco, and Dante Alighieri had an average of two hundred students (*ginasianos*). Bittencourt, *Pátria, Civilização e Trabalho*, 43.
 39. Engineer João França Pinto completed the course of studies of the Gymnasium in Mackenzie College and illustrates the ideal background profile of an engineering candidate. The diploma stated that "throughout his course gentlemanly comportment, we, the President and Faculty of Mackenzie College at S. Paulo, Brazil (under charter of Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York), grant him this Certificate of Maturity in testimony of his having passed satisfactorily final examinations in: Portuguese, Latin, French, English, Sacred History, General History, and Physics. The History of Brazil, Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry, Drawing, Botany, Trigonometry and Land Surveying, Chemistry, Physiology and Geography, Zoology. Obtaining in all the grade of Cum Laude" (POLI file 1853).
 40. Both POLI and Mackenzie required a number of fees from its students. Regino Aragão's student file reveals that POLI semester registration (year of 1895) was 40 *mil-réis* (40\$000) (POLI file 197). In 1934, costs had more than tripled, since semester registration, test tax, and diploma tax cost 150 (150\$000) *mil-réis* each, and each

- makeup exam cost 300 *mil-réis* (300\$000) (State Secretary of Education and Public Health, June 13, 1931).
41. POLI file 222. In 1931, Ayrosa was responsible for the expansion of the Colony Asylum Santo Angelo for lepers; in 1934, Ayrosa was Municipal Sanitary Service engineer. On Ayrosa's professional work, see Flávio Maurano, *História da Lepra em S. Paulo* (3^o monografia dos arquivos do Sanatório Padre Bento) vol. 2 (São Paulo: Empresa Gráfica dos Tribunais, 1939), 171.
 42. Interview with the author, 1999.
 43. Marchini's letter of February 1915 stated: "Exmo. Mr. Dr. S. Paulo Polytechnic School Director. Hereby, I explain that I have been struggling under straining financial difficulties. For the first time in my life I had to remake an academic year, the demanding POLI general course first year. Because of my family poverty it has been almost impossible to pay for my registration. I respectfully request your exma. to exempt me from this fee. Adriano Marchini." The same letter, notarized by director Paula Souza, was submitted again in 1917, 1918, and 1919. A copy of the memo was also sent to the state interior secretary.
 44. Regino Aragão, from Ceará, was an exception who last appeared in the DOP chart in 1934.
 45. In the late 1920s, POLI undergraduate students who needed money to support themselves usually worked as tutors and received from three to three and a half *mil-réis* per hour (3\$000 to 3\$500). Alexandre d' Alessandro, *A escola Politécnica de São Paulo. Histórias da sua história*, vol. 3 (São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais, 1943), 33. This amount meant two times the fee for giving piano lessons, a female occupation par excellence. It is interesting to remark the huge informal private-lesson market performed by middle-class women (e.g., languages, sewing, piano).
 46. Quoted in Bittencourt, *Pátria, Civilização e Trabalho*, 72.
 47. For instance, Adriana Marafon (School of Education–UNICAMP) investigated the origins of mathematics education in Brazil and focused on how the development of this discipline was closely related to those POLI engineers who first taught math and sciences to FFLC students and how their social capital network built in the 1930s raised the pillars of the discipline in the state.
 48. Eurípedes Simão de Paula was FFCL/USP professor of history (1937–77), vice director (1947–50), several times director (1950–77), several times chair (1954–57), and USP rector. Paula participated of the 1930 and 1932 revolutions (four-week prisoner in Ilha das Flores, Rio de Janeiro), and was a World War II veteran. He earned a B.A. in law (1931–35)—one of the first students to graduate from FFCL/USP (1934–36). Paula was Fernand Braudel's assistant (1936–37) and his PhD committee was formed by Jean Cagé (his advisor), Pierre Monbeig, Conde Emanuel de Benningsen, Plínio Ayrosa, and Alfredo Ellis, Jr. Paula wrote about São Paulo's history, was a medieval history specialist, and *Revista de História* founder (1950–77). Works: *Contribuição monográfica para o estudo da segunda fundação de São Paulo: de pequena cidade de há meio século à grande metrópole de hoje* (1936). In 1939, Paula wrote a classic study on São Paulo state president João Teodoro administration. The book, *In Memoriam de Eurípedes Simão de Paula: artigos, depoimentos de colegas, alunos, funcionários e ex-companheiros da FEB; vida e obra* (1983), presented accounts from national and foreign intellectuals at USP in the 1930s, such as Jean Cagé (1938–46) and Lewis Hanke, who met Paula in 1938.
 49. Eurípedes Simão de Paula, *In Memoriam, Eurípedes Simão de Paula: professor da USP, ex-combatente da 2a. guerra mundial* (São Paulo: Seção Gráfica da FFLCH/USP, 1983). 443.

50. Quoted in Bittencourt, *Pátria, Civilização e Trabalho*, 49.
51. Durval Rosa Borges, *Estudos sobre sífilis com especial referência à classe média paulistana* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Ateneu, 1941), 63–64. Borges was born in Pernambuco, where he graduated in medicine. He moved to São Paulo, where he developed this study.
52. The study revealed that 31 percent of his sample presented different forms of the disease. Brazilians whose parents were both Brazilian (BBB) presented the highest incidence of acquired (inherited) syphilis.
53. Borges, *Estudos sobre sífilis*, 91.
54. Borges, *Estudos sobre sífilis*, 103.
55. Borges, *Estudos sobre sífilis*, 98.
56. Emilio Willems, “Brazil,” *The Positive Contribution by Immigrants*. International Sociological Association (Paris: UNESCO, 1955), 197.
57. Thomas Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), xvi.
58. Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 50–51.
59. Since the First Republic (1889–1930), the importance of local traditional families in peripheral neighborhoods as Santana arose not from the material resources these families controlled, but from the number of votes they could contribute to the PRP. Those families had accumulated considerable symbolic capital in this process.
60. Elizabeth Riggs Hansen, “Santana Middle Class Families in São Paulo, Brazil” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1976), 164.
61. Hansen “Santana Middle Class,” 185.
62. Based mostly on data from commercial associations in Rio de Janeiro, Brian Owensby stated that “there was to be a boundary between collar-and-tie employees and professionals, on the one hand, and mere manual works, on the other,” because commercial clerks in 1948 did not want to be confused with their social inferiors. Owensby, Brian Philip, *Intimate Ironies: Modernity and the Making of Middle-Class Lives in Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 48. This *carioca* reality encountered a different development in São Paulo.
63. Quoted by Hansen, “Santana Middle Class,” 84.
64. Hansen, “Santana Middle Class,” 202.
65. Letter from December 27, 1933, addressed to “Exmo. Mr. Dr. Polytechnic School Director,” POLI file 556.
66. POLI file 1953.
67. It is noteworthy that classes were suspended during the revolution but all senior POLI students were able to graduate thanks to a municipal act.
68. Ficher, “Ensino e Profissão,” 381.
69. Cardim had a long career in the government (1924–54). In 1936, Cardim succeeded Ulhôa Cintra as chief of the first Division of Urbanism. In 1947, he was Department of Architecture director and became state secretary of Public Works in the following year. Cardim retired as director of the Urbanism Department. Lodi became director of division in the Department of Urbanism in 1950. Andrade was a municipal engineer all his professional life (thirty-two years), was director of the Urbanism Department in 1953, and he retired in 1957. Heitor Nardon retired from municipal service in 1970.
70. Eugênio de Andrada Egas, a lawyer (POLI file 1092), had been a member of the executive commission for the Diogo Feijó monument (built by the Escritório in 1913). Eugênio Egas wrote an important essay on municipal administration, *Os municípios paulistas* (1925), and was a model Brazilian historian during the First Republic, respected by the DC and other influential members of that administration.

71. Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, 175.
72. Albuquerque graduated as a POLI engineer in 1906. He had been the first student president (1903) and the first POLI graduate to join the school's faculty (1917–1940). He was also POLI librarian (1917–37), secretary (1932 and 1935), and director (1937–38). From an elected PRP representative in 1926, when the PD had the upper hand, to a colonel in the 1932 revolution, Albuquerque had also been Housing Congress executive commission president (1931), where he presented a study about the Arthur Saboya Code, São Paulo's first building code. Recently graduated, Albuquerque contributed to the Escritório during the Municipal Theater construction (1903–11). Ramos de Azevedo and Albuquerque did not get along well. However, after Azevedo's death, Albuquerque taught Azevedo's course, Civil Architecture (1928). In 1909, he owned his own firm (Albuquerque & Longo), and with Max Hehl and George Krug, designed São Paulo's cathedral, Sé Square. A neocolonial enthusiast, Albuquerque took his students on field trips to Minas Gerais historical cities. He was responsible for the vital CIDT scheme and organization. Albuquerque was also IPT advisory Council member and twice Engineering Institute president (1923–24 and 1935–36). In the late 1930s, Albuquerque clashed politically with Adhemar de Barros. In 1934, Albuquerque lived at Humaitá Street in Bela Vista.
73. In 1935, Almeida left the DOP due to health problems and died in 1937. For his role in the revolution, Almeida's name was given to a street in the sophisticated neighborhood of Jardim Europa.
74. Pedro's brother, João (b. 1897), was also a POLI civil engineer (1914–19) and the 1932 major who commanded the Itararé CIDT.
75. POLI file 2101 and Morgan, 1934.
76. As an example, in 1934, both Rodrigues brothers lived in Santa Cecília and had been raised in Bela Vista (Rua dos Franceses). Alexandre lived in Avenida Angélica and Lúcio lived in the Largo Santa Cecília.
77. Duarte, *Memórias, Os mortos de Seabrook* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976), 68.
78. The Tietê River separated Barra Funda from Santana neighborhood, considered a middle-class neighborhood. In 1934, Santana was the most heavily populated district north of the Tietê River, with 43,588 inhabitants; Hansen, "Santana Middle Class," 133.
79. Livia Alvares Pedreira, "Arquitetura, política e paixão, a obra de um humanista," *Arquitetura e Urbanismo* 1(1):23–29 (São Paulo: Editora Pini, 1985).
80. Artigas observed that at the root of his professional choice were his perceptions of Machado de Assis's romances, which portrayed men (*machão*) as politicians, lawyers, and engineers.
81. Pedreira, "Arquitetura, política e paixão," 26.
82. Herrmann, Lucila, "Alterações da estrutura demográfica-profissional de São Paulo, da capital e do interior, num período de quatorze anos, 1920–1934," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 89 (1943), 16.
83. Herrmann, "Alterações da estrutura demográfica-profissional," 22–24.
84. Giordano worked in the Administration Institute, created on December 19, 1947, which was attached to the School of Management and Economic Sciences of the University of São Paulo.
85. These teenagers (*ginasianos*) would be similar to U.S. high school students.
86. Ernestina Giordano, "Importancia das profissões no julgamento dos adolescentes," *Publicações Avulsas* 160 (São Paulo: Instituto de Administração USP, 1956), 13.
87. Ernestina Giordano, "Profissões do agrado dos pais e profissões preferidas por pais e filhos," *Publicações Avulsas* (São Paulo: Instituto de Administração da Universidade de São Paulo, 1957), 42.

88. Giordano, "Profissões do agrado dos pais," 44.
89. In 1935, all of the DOP and DC chiefs made two *contos* and 500 *mil-réis* (2:500\$000) monthly. However, in October 1937, Laws 3661 and 3662 differentiated DOP and DC salaries. For instance, a DOP division chief made almost one *conto* more per month than a DC division chief—3:200\$000 and 2:500\$000, respectively.
90. See Table 17, POLI Organizational Chart—Employees' Residence and Wage, 1934–1935, in Mehrtens, *Urban Space and Politics*. Source: Arquivo POLI/USP and *Anuário da Escola Politécnica*, 1934 and 1935.
91. *Anuário da Escola Politécnica*, 1934, 35.
92. *Anuário da Escola Politécnica*, 1934, 35.
93. Among them were Alexandre Albuquerque and Francisco Emygdio da Fonseca Telles, who went into exile at the end of the 1932 movement (Chapter 2) and by 1934 already occupied this important advisory position. F.E. da Fonseca Telles (Campinas 1888) was an electrical and mining engineer educated in Liège (1910) and Mackenzie College. He was a POLI professor (1914) and director (March/April 1931 and 1934–36). Telles was State Division of Communications and Public Works (1931–32) and Engineering Institute president when he was sent into exile to Portugal in 1932. In 1934, he lived at Alagoas St. in Higienópolis.
94. The entrepreneurs were José Ermírio de Moraes, owner of Votorantim Group, and Horácio Lafer, a banker. Both men lived in Jardim América, highlighting the profile of its upper-class inhabitants.
95. Azevedo was the director of POLI when he died in 1928.
96. *Anuário da Escola Politécnica*, 1934, 37.
97. "IPT Organizational Chart—Employees' Residence, 1934–1935," Mehrtens, 2000, *Anuário da Escola Politécnica*, 1934, 1935.
98. Table 20, Mehrtens, *Urban Space and Politics*. Source: *Anuário da Escola Politécnica*, 1937.
99. Source: *Anuário da Escola Politécnica*, 1934, 1935, 1936, and 1937.
100. Simon Schwartzman, *A Space for Science: The Development of the Scientific Community in Brazil* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 132.
101. Schwartzman, *A Space for Science*, 179.
102. In 1935, Silva worked in both the private sector (owner of various streets and estates) and the public sector (POLI professor and DOP subdivision chief engineer). Silva's POLI file has a letter received from the Brazilian Treasury Ministry Tax Income Directory, in 1941, demanding he report his earnings as a POLI professor during 1935. Of all his activities, teaching was the one that paid him least.
103. Quoted in Raul Andrada Silva, Odilon Matos, and Pasquale Petrone, *A evolução urbana de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Separata da Revista de História 5, 1955), 112.
104. Later, Mello designed the paulista headquarters of the São Luis school, which moved to São Paulo in 1918; Adolpho Augusto Pinto, *Minha vida. Memórias de um engenheiro paulista* (São Paulo: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1970), 13. The school became known as the cradle of many paulistano politicians, such as Paulo Maluf and Bresser Pereira.
105. In these programs, Freire searched for a balance among "technical, hygiene, and aesthetic" procedures. Following these concepts, urban solutions went beyond the typical symmetrical and Haussmannian technical-aesthetic roadway directives. Marco A. Osello, "Planejamento urbano de São Paulo 1899–1961: introdução ao estudo dos planos e realizações" (Master's thesis, EAESP/FGV, 1983), 79.
106. Nadia Somekh, *A cidade vertical e o urbanismo modernizador, São Paulo 1920–1939* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo (EDUSP)/Studio Nobel, 1997), 42.

107. In Europe, the idea of a Society of Friends was developed to instill a sense of civic responsibility among tenants of municipal social rental houses. As opposed to Europe, the Society of Friends in São Paulo, born in the mid-1930s, was an initiative of urban private investors, owners, politicians, and intellectuals.
108. According to DOP engineer Cardim Filho, they had opposing solutions to urban issues, and although both were “men of great worth,” they never followed the same course (*homens de valor que nunca rezaram a mesma cartilha*). Ficher, “Ensino e Profissão, 484.
109. Francisco Prestes Maia, *O zoneamento urbano* (São Paulo: Edições da Sociedade Amigos da Cidade, 1936).
110. Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, 210.
111. Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, 229. Among other things, Duarte also recalled that it was Mello who had noticed and alerted DOP officials that the municipal building code “ironically” lacked the word “housing” in its final program. Duarte, *Memórias, Os mortos de Seabrook*, 291.
112. Duarte, *Memórias, Os mortos de Seabrook*, 134–5.
113. Editorial, *Revista do Serviço Público*, August 1938.
114. Freire, 1942, 80.
115. This procedure reflected neither a modern nor a modernist urbanism, but rather a “modernizing urbanism.” Somekh, *A cidade vertical*, 76.
116. American urban planner Robert Moses (1888–1981), “who molded New York City into a twentieth century metropolis,” never held elected office, yet exercised wide and long-term political power. Kenneth T. Jackson, “Robert Moses and the Planned Environment: a Re-Evaluation,” *Robert Moses: Single-Minded Genius* (New York: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1989), 21. From 1924 to 1968, Moses was the dominant planning influence in the city and state of New York—Moses served as New York’s secretary of state from 1927 to 1937 and was a Republican candidate for governor in 1934. The sole member of the Henry Hudson Parkway Authority and Marine Parkway Authority (1934–38), Moses was the executive officer of the New York City World’s Fair Commission (1936–40) and served on the New York City Planning Commission. David Oats, “The Man Who Changed the Map of Queens,” *Robert Moses: Single-Minded Genius* (New York: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1989), 115. Moses’s rise to power came in the context of the New Deal as Maia’s came in the context of the Estado Novo; that is, when the federal government had made an unprecedented commitment to public works in response to massive unemployment (United States) and to modernization (Brazil). Authoritarian federal support gave Moses and Maia the opportunity to make possible projects that were unthinkable before.
117. Quoted in Rebeca Scherer, “Decentralização e planejamento urbano no município de São Paulo” (PhD diss., FAU/USP, 1987), 359.
118. According to Sylvia Ficher, Maia’s most persistent critic was Leo Ribeiro de Moraes, a POLI engineer who wrote daily columns for the *Diário da Noite*, *Hoje* and *Folha da Noite* newspapers. Maia answered his critics through several articles, of which “Mudancistas e fiquistas” (1957) is an especially good window on the heated contemporary debates.
119. Perhaps the strongest indictment of Maia are the charges that he loved the public but disliked people, and that he built a city but destroyed its vitality. Writing about São Paulo after Maia’s term, Godofredo Telles characterized it as a city without parks and recreational areas. It was common knowledge in the 1950s that Maia had taken away all benches from the very few recreational spaces in the city because of his politics of “no benches, no bums.”

120. Mello was POLI professor (1919–61), vice director (1928 and 1930), and director (1930); FFCL/USP director (1941); FAU/USP founder and first director (1948); and USP vice rector (1950). Mello retired from USP in 1961.
121. Quoted in Ficher, “Ensino e Profissão,” 389.
122. Interview with the author, 1999.
123. In the 1950s, Maia was a Metropolitan Commission member (1953 and 1955), Cia City local manager (1957), and Cimentos Portland president director (1958). Politically, Maia ran unsuccessfully for executive positions in 1950, 1954, and 1957—as a mayoral candidate, supported by Janio Quadros’s UDN/PTB, Maia lost to Adhemar de Barros. Ironically, the Estado Novo’s imposed mayor became the last elected mayor of the democratic period. Supported by Carvalho Pinto, Maia was again São Paulo’s mayor from 1961 until his death in 1965.
124. Magazines and professional journals adapted modern themes to their specific regional sociopolitical contexts. In the 1930s, each Brazilian state developed its own character while showing the common goal of becoming modern.
125. Woodard reinforced that the politics of republican Brazil was led by a paulista upper class made of two not necessarily coterminous groups: the rulers and the owners. (*A Place in Politics*, n. 54, p. 251). Privileging social capital, the people in the middle were an “extremely heterogeneous intermediate group . . . ranging from liberal professionals of ‘good backgrounds’ . . . struggling for the upper positions” (28). In the interior counties there were local liberal professionals, resident planters and industrialists, local merchants and businessmen, and upper-level civil servants: a municipal “elite.” In the capital, they would be people from the middle.
126. During the old republic, Woodard posits that the intelligentsia’s two great poles were the São Paulo Law School (exemplified by the *bacharel*, or degree holder) and the great and powerful newspapers of the state capital (the journalist: writer, editor, or reporter). Though Woodard highlights the importance of middle-class groups, he does not focus on who were the lawyers and journalists in the middle, and who were the writers, editors, and reporters. In his insightful book, those agents are almost always anonymous and referred to in the text “as one [O Combate] newspaperman explained” (p. 32, n. 5). The author states that “their importance, in a society in which formal learning was the privilege of a minority, cannot be underestimated,” (31) but he chose to present them as informants and not as subjects. Those agents were the ones who either: 1) retreated to a “secure private life,” or 2) hid in “parnasianism” or 3) imported ideals as “state builders or as would-be reformers” (31).

4 The Symbolic Construction of a Paulista Urban Identity

1. Paulo Duarte, lawyer, writer, historian, politician, and Fábio Prado’s right-hand man, narrated this episode twice, first in his eulogy at Prado’s funeral, *Fábio Prado* (São Paulo: Anhambi, 1964), 40–41, and then in his memoirs, *Memórias, Os mortos de Seabrook* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976), 226.
2. Delcídes Carvalho stated that in 1931, the city of São Paulo was surrounded by 9,310 small rural properties dedicated mainly to horticulture and fruit growing. Carvalho used a French pseudonym in his work: Antoine Rénard, *São Paulo é isto!* (São Paulo: Edição do Autor, 1933), 80–81.

3. In 1936, as São Paulo's mayor, Fábio Prado, made 8 *contos* (8:000\$000) monthly (Law 3528, October 1936), the highest official municipal monthly wage. A department director received 3 *contos* and 500 *mil-réis* (3:500\$000), and the lowest remunerated occupation, a servant (*servente*), was paid 300 *mil-réis* (300\$000) (Act 1146, April 1936). Public officials were considered well paid. In fact, of thirty-one occupations in the DOP municipal chart, twenty-five had wages greater than 1 *conto* (1:000\$000) monthly. According to a 1936 municipal study on the costs and living conditions of workers, a family had to make at least 600 *mil-réis* (600\$000) monthly to survive, and an average worker in private service received between 300 *mil-réis* (300\$000) and 399 *mil-réis* (399\$000) monthly; Samuel Lowrie, "Ascendência das crianças registradas no parque D. Pedro II," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 39 (September 1937).
4. Benjamin Botelho Egas (1890) was a POLI civil engineering graduate (1911–16) and student association (*gremio*) president (1916). His father was Eugenio de Andrada Egas. In 1932, Major Benjamin Egas was Caçapava CIDT chief commander. Egas became Public Service Commission director (1934), Public Service Division chief engineer (1935–36), DOP director (Oct 1936–May 1938), and, with the mayor, signed all municipal official acts of the period. In 1934, Egas lived at Caconde Street in Jardim Paulista.
5. Fábio Prado was the nephew of São Paulo's first mayor, Antonio Prado.
6. The study of the *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (RAM) was the subject of Silvana Rubino, "Clubes de Pesquisadores. A Sociedade de Etnologia e Folclore e a Sociedade de Sociologia," *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* 2 (São Paulo: Editora Sumaré, 1995); and Rita de Cássia Oliveira, "A Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Colonizadores do Futuro" (Master's thesis, PUC/SP, 1988). Both emphasize the journal as part of DC activities and goals. Rubino researched the work of RAM contributors linked to intellectual associations and learned societies formed in the 1930s, which found legitimization because of their links to the Culture Department (e.g., the short-lived *Sociedade de Sociologia* and the more autonomous *Sociedade de Etnografia e Folclore*). Oliveira examined RAM collaborators closely linked to the Culture Department. For both, the Culture Department expressed the "modern" posture of contemporary intellectuals under director Mário de Andrade's leadership.
7. The other divisions and respective chiefs were Library (Eurico Góes), Education and Recreation (Nicanor Miranda), and Social and Historical Documentation (Sérgio Milliet), *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 12, 241–244.
8. As opposed to RAM, *Revista do Brasil*, *Mensário de Alta Cultura* was a private initiative. It was launched in 1916 and discontinued in 1927 by the Mesquita Group, the same entrepreneurial organization that ran the *O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper and sponsored the USP creation. Under writer José Bento Monteiro Lobato's editorial responsibility, it became the most prestigious national journal, "a landmark in the history of Paulista cultural hegemony," quoted in Sérgio Miceli, *Intelectuais e classe dirigente no Brasil 1920–1945* (São Paulo: Difel, 1979), 5. Its collaborators ranged from well-known writers such as Joaquim Machado de Assis and José de Alencar to young intellectuals from the modernist vanguard such as Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Gilberto Freyre, Plínio Salgado, and Mário de Andrade. The journal was known for its search for a national identity, a path also followed by RAM.
9. On revisiting São Paulo state's history and the reconstruction of workers' recollections of the city, see Maria Lucia Caira Gitahy, "Desmemória das Metrópoles: apagando os rastros do trabalho de construir," paper presented at the Brazilian Studies Association, Washington, DC, 1997.

10. On this subject and its implications in the 1930s political game, see Elza Nadai, *Ideologia do progresso e ensino superior São Paulo 1891–1934* (São Paulo: Loyola, 1987); Jorge Nagle, *Educação e sociedade na Primeira República* (São Paulo: Editora Pedagógica e Universitária EPU, 1974); and Lúcia Lippi Oliveira et al., *Elite intelectual e debate político nos anos 30. Uma bibliografia comentada da Revolução de 1930* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 1980).
11. It is noteworthy that after the Paraguay War (1865–70), Campinas was known as “the capital of Brazilian democracy”; José F. da Rocha Pombo, *História de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1918), 116. Campinas was home to the province’s political core of republican propaganda; Pombo, *História de São Paulo*, 115. According to chapter V, article 17 of the Republican Constitution, twenty hectares of public lands located in the paulista hinterlands were granted to all *voluntários da pátria*; Gregório Gonçalves de Castro Mascarenhas, *Terras devolutas e particulares no Estado São Paulo* (São Paulo: Duprat & Co, 1912).
12. Quoted in *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 12, 197–8.
13. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 30, 237.
14. Lowrie’s PhD dissertation at Columbia University focused on immigration, genealogy, and local history; *Culture Conflict in Texas, 1821–1835* (1932, 2nd ed. in 1967). Lowrie taught at Soochow University in China (1923–27), Muskingum College (1927–32), the ELSP (1933–38), Bowling Green State University, Ohio (1938 to his retirement), and for two years at San Diego State University. In the 1930s, Lowrie researched and wrote about São Paulo’s population and the living conditions of the paulistana working class. He was a contributor to *RAM* (1935–38), the *New Bulletin of the New York International Institute of Education* (1937), and the *American Journal of Sociology* (1939). The Estado Novo ended Lowrie’s work at the São Paulo municipality; on July 11, 1938, a farewell lunch was offered to professor Samuel H. Lowrie, who was going back to the United States. In the 1950s, Lowrie was surveying public schools in the United States. Works: *Imigração e crescimento da população no estado de São Paulo* (1938).
15. Most of what is known about the ELSP creation and the development of the discipline of sociology in São Paulo comes from two documents: ELSP’s 1933 manifest written by Sérgio Milliet, and the manuscript “Information about the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo,” written and presented to the State Legislative Assembly in 1935 by Samuel Lowrie, “Natureza e definição de uma constituição,” *Anais da Assembléia Constituinte do Estado de São Paulo* (Conference published on May 11, in the *Diário do Congresso* 107, pp. 25–27, Imprensa Oficial de São Paulo, 1935). Engineer Cyro Berlink, the ELSP director in 1958, acknowledged Lowrie’s role in the creation of the school, *A Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, 1933–1958* (São Paulo: Escola de Sociologia e Política, 1958). Rubens Borba de Moraes reminisced that “Lowrie (was) an extraordinary guy! He was an exemplar of a researcher, of a man who worked with documents. A splendid guy, extremely capable... he worked for the prefecture in the Social Documentation Division of the Culture Department. He was the very first official to work on census criticism. His studies on demography were remarkable. Nonetheless, he was very shy, he never wrote a book, he was forgotten, and then he went back to the USA” (quoted in “Anos de Formação,” 1998).
16. ELSP’s first foreign professors were Lowrie and Horace Bancroft Davis.
17. Marina Correa Vaz Silva, “Da Maria Fumaça das fábricas a Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, 1922–1940” (PhD diss., PUC/SP, 1994). According to Marina Silva, the ELSP director in the 1980s, before coming to Brazil, Lowrie had already taught in China and at several colleges in the United States, and he had published

- both in the United States and in China; Silva, “Da Maria Fumaça,” 106. However, I could not find any evidence supporting this information and it seems unlikely that he had done that before finishing his PhD.
18. The sociology course syllabus for the first semester of 1934 contained the following lecture topics: Cultural Area: Local Nature of Culture (A. Kroeber); Cooperation and Social Interaction; Cooperation: A Group Ascendancy; Opposition; Social Stratification (Martin Johnson; Lion; S.L. Gulick, *Social Evolution of the Japanese*; MacIver, *Society: Its Structures and Changes*); Institutions (R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, and A. L. Kroeber); the Family: Methods for Tracing Its Descendancy; Political Order; Religion and Moral Order; Economic Order; Social Change (Kroeber, *The Superorganic*); Diffusion (Wissler and Malinowski); the Rational Orientation of Social Change (Walis & Willey’s *Readings in Sociology*); Social Disruptions: Family Today (Blanchard); Education (Groves, Ward); Health; Crime and Treatment; and the Issue of Immigration in Brazil (W. Thompson, *Population Problems*). The second semester 1934 course was entitled “Contemporary Ideas and Political Currents.” It contained: Political Science, Its Definition and Domain; Political Organization Origins; State Definition and Characteristics; Independence and Sovereignty; Monism and Pluralism; State Theories; State Functions; Conventional Classification of State Theories; Nature of Rights and the Meaning of Freedom; Classification of Rights; Nationality and Its Rights; and Forms of Government.
 19. Sérgio Milliet and J.F. Moreno, *Índice das constituições federal e do estado de São Paulo com o histórico dos incisos e a atividade parlamentar dos constituintes* (São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura, 1936), 588.
 20. As researcher technician, in 1935, Lowrie made 1 *conto* and 200 *milréis* (1:200\$000) monthly. This was equivalent to either a DOP technical assistant or a first bookkeeper salary. It is significant that a diploma in the social sciences paid much less than that of an engineer, since the lowest wage for an engineer was 1 *conto* and 600 *milréis* (1:600\$000).
 21. Sérgio Milliet da Costa e Silva Milliet was a journalist, writer, and librarian. Milliet was the broker, the bridge between “the modernist generation” and the artists of the 1930s and 1940s, whose interactions originated the modern salons and served as the basis for the new art institutions of the coming decades; he was responsible for the idea of taste for the modern. Milliet did his preparatory studies in the Genève School of Commerce, University of Berna (1912–1920). He came back to São Paulo in time to participate in Modern Art Week in 1922 and then returned to Europe (France 1923–25). In 1926, he married Paulo Duarte’s sister, Maria de Lourdes Junqueira. Milliet’s uncle, Gustavo Milliet, was municipal chamber stenographer and an influential officer. During the 1930s, he was law school library director (1931–32), DC Division of Historical and Social Documents chief (1935), RAM secretary (1935), and São Paulo delegate in the 1937 Paris Population Congress. He was ELSP secretary (1933/35), professor (1937/44), and treasury officer (1941/46), *O Estado de São Paulo* editorial sector chief (1939–66), and municipal library director (1943–59), co-organized the Museum of Modern Art (1948–49) and its first Biennial (1951). Works: In the late 1930s, Milliet and others translated into Portuguese the work of foreign visitors to Brazil such as Johann Rugendas and Jean de Lery. Works: Milliet wrote *Desenvolvimento da pequena propriedade em São Paulo* (1939); several sociological essays, including *Terminus Seco* (1932), *Marcha a ré* (1936); *Roteiro do Café* (1941); and *Diário Crítico* (1940s to 1960s; published in the 1980s). In 1940 and 1948, Milliet’s address was Lorena Alameda in Jdim Paulista

22. Ironically, there is not a substantial reference to Lowrie in Milliet's diaries. This person he worked with for more than six years in two different jobs is cited once as the "foreign sociologist who noticed and found strange the slowness of the Brazilian urbanization process, even in industrial São Paulo state." Sérgio Milliet, *Diário Crítico* 7 (São Paulo: Martins, 1949), 318.
23. Quoted in Duarte, *Contra o vandalismo e o extermínio. No jornal e na tribuna*, Coleção Departamento de Cultura, vol. 9 (São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura, 1938), 51.
24. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 39. Those numbers confirm how well paid the municipal officers were, as c. 300\$00 was even less than the monthly wage of an office boy.
25. Manoel Ricardo Alves Dantas, Luis Antonio Francisco de Souza, and Ieda Pimenta Bernades, *Contribuições da Sub-divisão de Documentação Social e Estatísticas municipais à formação da Sociologia e ao processo de urbanização em São Paulo nos anos 30* (São Paulo: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura Departamento de Patrimônio Histórico/ Arquivo Histórico Municipal, 1995), 15–50. The authors explore other DC Social Documentation Division studies by Horace Davis (1933) and Samuel Lowrie (1936–37), developed with working-class families and containing data about food, child mortality, population growth, and mobility, among other topics.
26. It should be noted that Italians in the different parks were not Italians from the same area in the country. Italy itself was a mixture of different peoples, which led Italians from different regions to gather in different places of the city.
27. Samuel Lowrie, "O elemento negro na população de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 48 (1938), 5–56.
28. Samuel Lowrie, "Origem da população da cidade de São Paulo e diferenciação das classes sociais," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 43 (1938), 212.
29. Lowrie, "Origem da população da cidade de São Paulo," 205.
30. Lowrie, "Origem da população da cidade de São Paulo," 210. Lowrie quoted from Alfredo Ellis, *Populações Paulistas* (São Paulo: Nacional, 1934), and J.P. Oliveira Vianna's *Raça e Assimilação* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1934), to support his theoretical conclusions. Revealing an active intellectual network, J.P. Oliveira Vianna had published this subject in French: *Formation Ethnique du Brésil Colonial* *Revue d'Histoire des Colonies* 5 (Paris: La Société, 1932), 433–450.
31. See note 16.
32. This approach came to influence North American historians. Richard Morse, decades later, defined folkloric expressions of "popular culture" as practices related to a vanishing community. Among those practices, Morse recognized a series of street ballads, children's ditties (*trocinhas*), popular riddles (*adivinhas*), and the sambas of the bootblacks. Richard Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958), 270. Morse saw these as cultural forms that shaped the character of a community and its people. On the Division of Folklore at the DC, see Flávia Camargo Toni, "A missão de pesquisas folclóricas do Departamento de Cultura. Pesquisa" (São Paulo: Divisão de Difusão Cultural e Centro Cultural São Paulo, 1984).
33. On the various studies that explore the formation and institutionalization of social scientific disciplines in Brazil, the series promoted by IDESP presents critical information and puts into context the importance of the work developed by foreign intellectuals in Brazil. The series focuses mainly on the development of anthropology and sociology. Sérgio Miceli "Por uma Sociologia das Ciências Sociais," *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* 1 (São Paulo: Editora Revista dos Tribunais, 1989); and

- "Condicionantes do desenvolvimento das Ciências Sociais," *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* 1 (São Paulo: Editora Revista dos Tribunais, 1989).
34. Herbert Baldus (1899–1970) was a German ethnologist and professor with a M.A. and PhD from the University of Berlin (1928–31). Baldus researched the Tapirapé Indians (1933–35). He was ELSP professor (1939–53), *RAM* collaborator, and Paulista Museum director. Naturalized as a Brazilian in 1941, Baldus was hired by the São Paulo state government to organize the Paulista Museum's graphics collections. Baldus was friends with Mário de Andrade and Paulo Duarte, his fencing partner. When he was twenty-two years old (1921), Baldus first visited Brazil with a friend who was a movie producer and he returned to Brazil for good in 1933. This friend was probably Harald Schultz (1909–1966), who also made a film presentation in Brazil in 1959. Baldus lived at Benedito Calixto Plaza in 1948.
 35. Horace Bancroft Davis was ELSP professor of Social Economy (1933–35) under a research grant from the Foreign Policy Association Research Staff. Davis worked on the first study of cost and living standards of the Paulista laboring class (*Padrão de Vida dos Operários da Cidade de São Paulo*). Before coming to Brazil, Davis worked for three years in the Bureau International du Travail, where he researched on the social conditions of the laboring class. This research turned into a book, *Labor and Steel* (1933), the first seven chapters of which were submitted as a thesis to the faculty of political science at Columbia University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Davis's PhD in 1934. Davis stayed less than two years in São Paulo, being replaced by Edgar Otto Gothsch, a London School of Economics and Political Science assistant professor nominated by the England International Relations Ministry and hired by the state government to teach history of economic doctrine at FFCL/USP; Marina Correa Vaz Silva, "Da Maria Fumaça das fábricas a Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, 1922–1940" (PhD diss., PUC/SP, 1994), 106. The eulogy, "Horace B. Davis: 100 Historian Labor Specialist," *Boston Globe*, July 14, 1999, does not mention Davis's days in SP. The eulogy explains that he "interrupted his studies at Harvard University to volunteer with the American Friends Service Committee, when he declined military service as a conscientious objector during World War I. Following the war, he was a steel worker and a labor journalist with the Federated Press before returning to Harvard, where he graduated in 1920. He then taught at Cornell University before earning a doctorate at Columbia University in 1932, taught at Simmons College from 1937 to 1941, the University of Kansas City from 1946 to 1953, and Shaw University from 1958 to 1961. He was also employed by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), for whom he did research and edited manuscripts from 1942 to 1945."
 36. Donald Pierson got his B.A. in Kansas (1927) and his M.A. at the University of Chicago (1933), studying African Americans from the Southern states, published as the *Digest of the First Diaries of the Explorers* (1935). Back from fieldwork in Bahia, Brazil (1935–37), Pierson became research associate at Fisk University in Tennessee (1937–39). In 1939, Pierson defended his PhD, *A Study of Racial and Cultural Adjustment in Bahia, Brazil*. Pierson's advisor was Ellsworth Faris, who belonged to the social science division at the University of Chicago, was editor of the *American Journal of Sociology* (1936–40), and influenced Pierson in studying the nature of social groups. Pierson substituted Samuel Lowrie as ELSP professor of sociology and social anthropology (1939–1948); Milliet was his assistant in his first year. In his memoirs, Pierson refers to Lowrie only once: during his first visit to Brazil in 1935, when Lowrie came to Rio to greet him. Among Pierson's favorite Brazilian students were Florestan Fernandes and Darcy Ribeiro, and both, for his dismay, had socialist leanings (ELSP

- 1998 exhibition). According to Massi (1989) and Limongi (1989), Pierson is the most important North American contributor to the development of sociology and anthropology in Brazil. In 1948, Pierson lived in Angatuba Street in Pacaembu.
37. In its original name, Free School of Sociology and Politics (ELSP), the word "free" stood for the institution's independence from government resources "which would ideologically compromise projects and research"; in Silva, "Da Maria Fumaça," 87. The school had the character of a foundation. According to Lowrie, the school would follow a practical orientation intended to educate young people to perform technical and administrative occupations and to master bureaucratic theory and work methodology, the discipline of social engineering; Samuel Lowrie, "Informações sobre a ELSP de São Paulo (Memorial apresentado aos senhores deputados," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 15 (1935).
 38. Sérgio Milliet described the DC as an extension of the newly created USP, whose main goal was to train groups of researchers to work in all cultural fields. According to Milliet, in 1935, the DC was seen as an almost quixotic provocation because of the extremely difficult economic and sociopolitical moment. Milliet used a contemporary expression that portrayed "USP and DC as...a 'problema de gravidez,' (they) were pregnant with culture"; quoted in *De ontem, hoje, sempre. Amigos, amiga...* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1960), 36.
 39. Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, "Tempo e tradição: interpretando a Antropologia," *Anuário Antropológico* 84 (1985).
 40. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 36.
 41. Paul Vanorden Shaw (b. 1898) received his PhD at Columbia University in 1930 with a thesis on Chilean politics and government in the early nineteenth century. In this very same year he published an article in the *New York Times*, "Forces Behind the Revolution in Brazil" (October 12, 1930). Although his published letter praised the DC as a whole, Shaw was a furious censor of "socialist" ideas. In a 1937 article for the *O Estado de São Paulo*, he denounced the political positions of a North American named Samuel as those of a "deluded Yankee" who commanded the "Samueland (Samuelândia)"; Paul Vanorden Shaw, "O Brasil nos Estados Unidos," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), September 12, 1937). Shaw was also an intense correspondent with Ellen Starr Brinton (1886–1954), a Quaker, feminist, and internationalist activist. Shaw was "for several years professor of American History at the University of São Paulo." See Benjamin H. Hunnicutt, *Brazil World Frontier* (Blackwell, 2007), 337.
 42. Joseph Lee (1862–1937) wrote about philanthropy, child psychology, and the relation between education and playing (the utility of playgrounds in education). Lee contributed to several institutions, such as the National Education Association of the United States, the NRA, the Department of Hygiene (Russell Sage Foundation), and the Department of Public Recreation (American Civic Association). Lee wrote *How to Start a Playground Including a Suggested Form of a Constitution of a Local Playground Association* (1910); *Play as an Antidote to Civilization Education Through Plays and Games* (1911); *The Need to Dream* (1913); *Play in Education* (1917); and *Fourth of July: Special Exercises* (1918). Lee also exchanged correspondence with Eva W. White, an important American social worker and educator and director of the Americanization and Immigration Division of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Lee's writings influenced DC procedures.
 43. Howard Braucher (1881–1949) studied public recreation and its use in wartime. Braucher wrote *Developments and Opportunities in the Field of Public Recreation* (1910), *Recreation in Wartime for All People* (1942), and *The Beautiful* (1944).

44. Lois Williams was Samuel Lowrie's personal friend. Williams defended her master's thesis, *The Application of a Specific Group Principle and Techniques to an Administration Problem in the Public Educational System of the Federal District of Brazil*, at Northwestern University in 1940. Williams wrote *The Bay of Monterey: Learning About Role-Playing for Children and Teachers* (1931).
45. Filling into this gap is the insightful unique work by Mariza Corrêa, *Antropólogos & Antropologia* (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2003).
46. Contemporary studies speculate on the differences between USP and the ELSP (Massi, Limongi, Cardoso 1982). ELSP's role in the 1930s was very similar to that of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV) in the 1990s. According to Limongi, both FFCL/USP and ELSP served as brokers and filled up municipal and state occupation charts with professionals. Apparently, ELSP trained students to work in private industries and USP, a public school, formed a specialized workforce mainly for academia and public administrative careers. It is interesting to note that in the 1930s, the registration fee at ELSP (500\$000) was five times that of USP (100\$000).
47. Fernanda Peixoto Massi claims that French and U.S. perceptions of Brazilians are very well known, but what Brazilians thought of the French is less known. Massi, "Franceses e norte-americanos nas ciências sociais brasileiras (1930–1960)," *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* 1 (São Paulo: Editora Revista dos Tribunais, 1989).
48. This work reaffirms New York as a core city model for the administrative reform movement in the city of São Paulo during the 1930s.
49. Mariza Corrêa, *História da Antropologia no Brasil (1930–1960). Testemunhos: Emílio Willems e Donald Pierson* (São Paulo: Editora da UNICAMP, 1987), 118.
50. Willems was born Emil Willems. He was an anthropologist with a PhD from Freie University, Berlin (1930), who lived eighteen years in Brazil (1931–1949) and became a naturalized Brazilian as Emilio Willems. In the 1930s, Willems was middle school teacher in Santa Catarina (1931–1936) and at Rio Branco School in São Paulo (1936–1941), ELSP post-doctorate (1937), assistant professor (1938–1941), and professor of sociology and anthropology (1941–49). In 1939, Willems and Antenor Romano Barreto created the journal *Sociologia*, which became ELSP's official journal in the 1940s. Willems was a Vanderbilt University professor (1949–75) and a visiting professor in different Latin American universities during the 1960s and 1970s.
51. On Emilio Willems's experiences, see Corrêa, *História da Antropologia*. There are also interesting reports on Willems from current Brazilian president and sociologist Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who attended his classes at USP during the 1950s, in Maria Cecília Loschiavo dos Santos, *Maria Antonia, uma rua na contramão* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1988), and from anthropologist Thomas Gregor, who met Willems at Vanderbilt University during the 1970s, in Gregor, "Emilio Willems Eulogy," Vanderbilt University (November 1997).
52. Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976), 226.
53. Quoted in Sérgio Miceli, *Poder, sexo e letras na República Velha. Estudo clínico dos anatólios* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1977), 15.
54. Miceli, *Intelectuais e classe dirigente*, 87.
55. Miceli, *Intelectuais e classe dirigente*, 92.
56. Miceli, *Intelectuais e classe dirigente*, 96.
57. Miceli, *Intelectuais e classe dirigente*, footnotes 26 and 29.
58. Arthur Morgan (Armando Arruda Pereira), *Os engenheiros de São Paulo em 1932: Pela lei e pela ordem* (São Paulo: s.n., 1934), 60.

59. Ronald Hilton, ed., "Preface to Part VI," *Who's Who in Latin America. A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of Latin America* vol. 2. (Stanford University Press, 1971), 82.
60. Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, 292.
61. Plínio Antonio Branco was born in Sorocaba. Branco studied in Brussels (1909–14) and graduated from POLI as a civil engineer (1915–20). His parents were Colonel Joaquim Branco and Olympia Flaques Branco. In letters to the school (1919, 1920, and 1922) Branco's father requested, using an Engineering Republican League letter, a certificate of his son's surveyor title so his son would be able to vote and be exempted from the school's registration fee (POLI file 456). As highway inspector office for the state secretariat of communications (1921–22), Branco worked for engineer Hypólito Pujol, Jr.'s firm (1922–25), and opened his own construction firm with Adriano Murgel (1925). DOP Public Utility division engineer (1934), subdivision chief engineer (1935), Branco was Department of Municipal Services chief (1943–1951). Among his works, all of them published by the paulistana municipality, is *Contribuição para a reforma das organizações municipais* (1934). In 1934, he lived in Pinto Ferraz Street in Vila Mariana.
62. Plínio Antonio Branco, "O arenito asfáltico paulista," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 28 (1936). Branco assumed this position after engineer Benjamin Egas was nominated DOP director.
63. The municipality paid 100 *contos* (100:000\$000) annually for IPT's service.
64. Part of the DOP Additional Tax division was engineer Álvaro Maurício Varella, who was dedicated to study the São Paulo Estate Registry. Álvaro Maurício Varella, "Em torno da publicação do trabalho Cadastro Imobiliário de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 34 (1937), 230–263.
65. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 28, 1936.
66. See Chapter 5 for an explanation on how the company turned its Pacaembu area and the Pacaembu Stadium construction into a scheme to negotiate with the municipality its exemption from this tax.
67. Plínio Antonio Branco, *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 24 (1936), 143.
68. Plínio Antonio Branco, "Contribuição para a reforma das organizações municipais," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 5 (1934), 34.
69. José Horácio Meirelles Teixeira, "O Conceito de 'serviço público': Desnecessidade de selo, estadual ou federal, nos contratos em que o município for parte—aplicação do artigo 17 número X da constituição federal," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 26 (1936).
70. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 35, 101–116. In 1936, *PAN* magazine's creator, the journalist Menotti del Picchia, helped to spread a growing international trend against tramways (a service offered by Light in São Paulo), considered an outdated urban service: "Bring the buses [to modernize São Paulo]!"
71. A topic developed later in this chapter and in Chapter 5.
72. Though this article did not present a bibliography, its quotations reflected the strong influence of U.S. municipal literature through Freund's *Police Power* and Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*, among others.
73. SEM responsibilities "included both the defense of the sector's interests as well as the creation of opportunities of technical improvement...and to spread to other technicians the new municipal methods and practices"; quoted in Alberto de Zagottis, "Estudo da organização dos serviços do cadastro geral, da estatística e dum órgão coordenador," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 40 (1937), 239.
74. Bruno Rudolfer was an immigrant from Czechoslovakia who lived in São Paulo in the 1930s. He was a statistics expert (Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, Bruno 1954,

- RAM 81, 235), a DC Division of Social Documentation chief engineer (1937), and a member of the Collective Transport Studies Commission. ELSP professor of statistics (1933–42) and Pierson's assistant in the seminar, "Social Sciences; Methods and Techniques" (1939), Rudolfer married Noemy da Silveira (b. 1902), his ELSP statistic student during the 1933–1934 academic year. In 1948, Noemy Rudolfer lived at Alcino Braga Street in Paraíso.
75. In this study, Zagottis bibliography included urbanist Donat Agache, classics on management theory by Henry Fayol and Sir Montagu Cox from the London Council, and national public administration thinker from the Minas Gerais Interior Affairs Secretary Washington Azevedo.
 76. Zagottis, Alberto de, "Em torno da publicação do trabalho 'cadastro dos Bens Imóveis de São Paulo,'" *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 43 (1938), 253.
 77. In bold headlines about "Culture Department Achievements," pictures of the parks program were inserted within different sections. Some of these photographs presented healthy boys working out (*ginástica de equilíbrio*) in D. Pedro II Municipal Park (*Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 31) and children of both sexes sitting at a table and receiving free milk in Lapa Municipal Park (*Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 35).
 78. Armando de Salles Oliveira's interview in "E como julga o sr. dr. Armando de Salles Oliveira," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), August 15, 1937.
 79. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 46, April 1938, was the last one with Mário de Andrade as DC director. With *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 47, Francisco Pati was DC director and Sérgio Milliet continued as the journal secretary. The "Headlines" section announced the inauguration of the new mayor, Prestes Maia, as well as the new DC director, Pati.
 80. Aracy Amaral, "A Polêmica sobre a função social da arquitetura," *Arte Para Quê? A Preocupação Social na Arte Brasileira*. (São Paulo: Nobel, 1984).
 81. Among the many insightful studies on the construction of a "paulista character" following an idealistic image of the *bandeirante* are Ilka Cohen, "Para onde vamos? Alternativas políticas no Brasil, 1930–1937" (PhD diss., history, FFLCH/USP, 1997); Myriam Ellis, *Alfredo Ellis, Junior (1896–1974)* (São Paulo: Bentivegna Editora, 1997); and Monica Pimenta Vellosos, *A brasilidade verde-amarela: nacionalismo e regionalismo paulista* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação GV/CPDOC, 1990). The symbolic idea of the *bandeirante*, who had once united the paulista province against economic and political adversities, spiritually nurtured and united the "paulista people" in the state once again to oppose the dictatorship in 1932, reinstate a constitution in 1934, and guide the construction of its urban symbols.
 82. Milliet and J.F. Moreno, *Índice das constituições*, 1219.
 83. Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, 287.
 84. All of the 1932 engineer-combatant names are streets in the middle-class neighborhoods of Belenzinho, Cambuci, and Santana: engineers Andrade, Jr., Ballen, Dagoberto de Gascow, Joaquim Botremahm, Lauro Pentead, MacLean, Muniz de Aragao, Prudente, Reinaldo Cajado, and Saturnino de Brito.
 85. Both avenues, 9th of July and 23rd of May, are vital corridors linking downtown to the southwestern area of the city. Both crossed Cia City estates.
 86. Galileo Emendabile, the sculptor who designed the revolution monument, was also responsible for the Ramos de Azevedo monument. The latter had been built in Tiradentes Avenue, close to the Lyceu and POLI, during the 1932 revolution by the Escritório. In the sumptuous sculpture, the architect held a plan on his lap. The sculpture today faces POLI at the University of São Paulo campus.
 87. Paulo Duarte, *Memórias, Os mortos de Seabrook* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976), 148.

88. However, this very same idea was at the root of the successful Museu de Rua (Street Museum) initiative developed by the São Paulo state preservation organ (CONDEPHAAT) in the late 1970s.
89. Each month introduced street names under a new alphabetical letter. The reader was invited to help by identifying or adding information to the study. If the letter had already been studied, the contribution was published as an addendum to the next volume.
90. Fábio Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado na prefeitura de São Paulo através de entrevista concedida ao "O Estado de São Paulo"* (São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura/Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1936), 38. The contention behind Anchieta's nationality (Spanish versus Portuguese colonizers) is also an interesting feature of the period's historical quest for its identity. The Portuguese colony could never accept the name of a Spanish Jesuit in its capital city's main square (interview with the author, Viotti, 1998).
91. *Nomenclatura de ruas para entrega de volumes a domicílio pela Cia Paulista de EE. de ferro nas cidades de Araraquara, Bauru, Campinas, Piracicaba, Rio Claro e São Carlos* (Rio de Janeiro, Contadoria Geral de Transportes CGT, 1955).
92. According to Flávio Villaça, the 296.6 square kilometers already occupied in the 1930s was almost eight times the urban area of 1914; quoted in Marco A. Osello, "Planejamento urbano de São Paulo 1899–1961: introdução ao estudo dos planos e realizações" (Master's thesis, EAESP/FGV, 1983), 119.
93. Osello, "Planejamento urbano de São Paulo," 119.
94. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 31.
95. LBMB Acta 212a, 12–15.
96. Donald Pierson, "Habitações de São Paulo: Estudo Comparativo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 81 (1941), 202.
97. Fifty houses were spread among Canadá, Bolívia, Argentina, Guadalupe, Venezuela Streets and Brasil Avenue.
98. Another twenty-five houses were located in Itaguaçaba, Angatuba, Morro Verde, Itápolis, Catanduba Streets and Pacaembu Avenue. Note that Pierson lived in a house on Angatuba Street.
99. The other twenty-five upper-class houses were in Sergipe, Veiga Filho Streets and Angélica Avenue.
100. On this subject, see extensive research on social renting conducted by the Companhia de Desenvolvimento Habitacional e Urbano (CDHU) research team between 1987 and 1990 (in which I participated as a junior architect). For a contemporary approach, see Guiomar Urbina Telles, "O Problema do cortiço," *Serviço Social* 2, no. 24 (December 1940), who researched 291 tenement houses (*cortiços*) and their 1,195 inhabitants during 1937 to 1940. See also the classic studies by Lúcio Kowarick and Clara Ant, "O cortiço: 100 anos de promiscuidade," *Novos Estudos CEBRAP* (São Paulo: CEBRAP, 1982); and Suzana Taschner and Yvone Mautner, *Habitação da pobreza: alternativas de moradia popular em São Paulo* (São Paulo: FAU/USP, 1982).
101. *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 1939.
102. Pierson, "Habitações de São Paulo," 207.
103. Pierson, "Habitações de São Paulo," 209–229.
104. State Department of Labor, Register #20686 (April 23, 1937), consulted at Cia City Archives.
105. On the methodology applied to this research, see Lowrie, *Imigração e crescimento da população do Estado de São Paulo*. Série Estudos Paulistas no. 2 (São Paulo: Escola de Sociologia e Política, 1938), 189. On the PPV research at ELSP performed by

- Davis, Lowrie, and Oscar Araújo, see Manoel Ricardo Alves Dantas, Luis Antonio Francisco de Souza, and Ieda Pimenta Bernades, *Contribuições da Sub-divisão de Documentação Social e Estatísticas municipais à formação da Sociologia e ao processo de urbanização em São Paulo nos anos 30* (São Paulo: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura Departamento de Patrimônio Histórico/Arquivo Histórico Municipal, 1995).
106. Elizabeth Riggs Hansen, "Santana Middle Class Families in São Paulo, Brazil" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1976), 166.
 107. Lucila Herrmann, "Alterações da estrutura demográfica-profissional de São Paulo, da capital e do interior, num período de quatorze anos, 1920–1934," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 89 (1943), 36; and Oscar Egídio Araújo, "Latinos e não latinos no Município de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 75 (1941), 71.
 108. Law 8256.
 109. RAM 14.
 110. *Diário Popular*, September 12, 1936.
 111. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 72.
 112. The next chapter explores the political negotiations behind this deal, which were linked to another important intervention of the period, the Pacaembu Municipal Stadium.
 113. The municipal department responsible for studying the stadium location was the DC Education and Recreation Division. Paulo Duarte, "Departamento de Cultura VI" *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), March 16, 1947.
 114. Paulo Duarte, *Fábio Prado* (São Paulo: Anhambi, 1964), 39.
 115. Nicanor Miranda, "O Estádio Municipal de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 35 (1937).
 116. Miranda (1937), 82. Confirming U.S. influences on the municipality, Miranda quoted the dean of Columbia University's School of Architecture, Harvey Willey Corbet, to define the term stadium.
 117. *O Cruzeiro*, July 9, 1957.
 118. *Mundo Ilustrado*, July 9, 1957.
 119. In 1993, the Pacaembu neighborhood area had 85,956 inhabitants. Since 1991, this now upper-middle-class residential area has been officially considered a historical preservation area (*área tombada*) (*O Estado de São Paulo*, February 24, 1993).
 120. *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 27, 1939.
 121. Miranda (1937), 68.
 122. *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 1939.
 123. LBMB 15, Acta 270.
 124. Oscar Egydio Araújo, "Latinos e não latinos no Município de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 75 (1941), 66–98.
 125. Yvoti Macambira, *Os mestres da fachada* (São Paulo: Centro Cultural São Paulo, 1985).
 126. Teodoro Sampaio (Bahia, 1885–1937) was one of the IHGSP founders, and wrote *O Rio São Francisco e a chapada Diamantina* (1906) based on his participation in North American geologist Orville A. Derby's exploration of the São Francisco River. This history book was adopted as required reading in public schools during the Estado Novo.
 127. The place where the governor lived and worked was located in the traditional Campos Elíseos neighborhood and was referred to as Campos Elíseos Palace (*palácio*). Currently, whereas U.S. presidents live in the White House, Brazilian presidents live in the Plateau Palace (*Palácio do Planalto*) and paulista governors live in the Bandeirantes Palace.

128. Ayrosa (1937), 277.
129. Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, 278.
130. Paulo Duarte, *Fábio Prado* (São Paulo: Anhambi, 1964), 27–28.
131. Décio de Almeida Prado, “O melhor já passou,” *Veja* 30, no. 1499 (1997), 13.
132. Milliet and J.F. Moreno, *Índice das constituições*, 605.
133. Professor Carlos Carlos Lemos commented that Philip Goodwin provided the only contemporary reference on this edifice. However, in his *Brazil Builds*, Goodwin did not make any historical reference and presented it as an “office building in São Paulo by Ramos de Azevedo,” a building that proved that “almost anything could be done with reinforced concrete”; quoted in Philip Lippincott Goodwin and George Everard Kidder Smith, *Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old 1652–1942* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1943), 89.
134. DOP reform resulted from a study shared with the Engineering Institute members and technicians such as Fonseca Telles, Anhaia Mello, Ary Torres, José Amadei, Adriano Marchini, and Plínio de Queiróz, whereas DC’s origin was closely linked to Fernando de Azevedo, André Dreyfus, Plínio Barreto, Júlio de Mesquita Filho, Mário de Andrade, and Sérgio Milliet. Prado, *A administração de Fábio Prado*, 11.

5 Politics and Urban Change: Building the Pacaembu Stadium

1. Quoted in Paul Ricoeur, “Reflections on a New Ethos for Europe,” *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, vol.2, n. 5/6, (1995), 8–9.
2. In the late 1910s, the City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Co. Ltd. (Cia City) developed the Pacaembu neighborhood as an extension of the elegant upper-class neighborhoods of Higienópolis, Consolação, and Santa Cecília (see Chapter 2). The picture in the advertisement was taken at intersection of Bragança and Itaguassu Streets.
3. This advertisement is kept in the Cia City archive in the opening page of its album of selected advertisements.
4. July 4, 1927.
5. *Review of Brazil*, December 1927.
6. In late 1930, prices for houses in Pacaembu started at 35 *contos* (35:000\$000), included a 5 percent down payment and ten-year monthly installments (*Times of Brazil*, December 19, 1930).
7. On the history of the São Paulo Football Club (founded in 1930), see Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *São Paulo e outras cidades. Produção social e degradação dos espaços urbanos* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1994). On the importance of Pacaembu Stadium in the club’s history (as its headquarters from 1940 to 1951), see <http://www.saopaulofc.com.br/>. The site explains the club’s history before its move (sponsored by the municipality) to the Jardim Leonor neighborhood.
8. The municipality had already granted this concession (greyhound racing) to the company. It is noteworthy that it was not granted in Cia City’s name. The committee justified that it was company policy to never publicly use its name in connection with any of its subsidiary businesses.
9. Sir Arthur Philip Du Cros (187–1955) was Cia City director, barrister at law, first baroner, founder of Dunlop Rubber Co. (1912), Pneumatic Tyre and Booth’s Cycle

- Agency general manager to chairman (1892–1930), Cia City London board director (1930s) and president (1940), and colonel (retired) in the Royal Warwickshire regiment. Du Cros wrote about the story of pneumatic tire invention and industry in *Wheels of Fortune, a Salute to Pioneers* (1938).
10. Erasmo Teixeira de Assumpção was Cia City chairman (1926–1941). In 1932, Assumpção was Banco Comercial president and participated in key political meetings such as those related to the political negotiations right after the 1932 paulista revolution. There is an Erasmo Teixeira de Assumpção Street in the upper-class Morumbi neighborhood in the city of São Paulo. Hélio Silva, *A Guerra Paulista*, Coleção Documentos da História Contemporânea. O Ciclo de Vargas vol. 5 (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1967), 219.
 11. John Christie Belfrage (Scotland 1887) was Cia City local manager (1928–1930s). Belfrage was honorable British vice consul in São Paulo (1926–1943), and British Chamber of Commerce chairman and vice president (1948). In 1948, Belfrage lived at Loureiro da Cruz Street in Aclimação.
 12. Since both the São Paulo state governor and the Cia City local committee general manager have the same last name, they are referred to here as Salles Oliveira and Gama de Oliveira, respectively.
 13. Horácio Belfort Sabino was Cia City director and the company's political liaison at the state level thanks to his friendship with governor Armando de Salles Oliveira. Sabino's grandfather had been an influential supreme court judge and his father was a colonel. In 1903, Sabino lived at the intersection of Paulista Avenue and Augusta Street in Cerqueira César. Sabino married América Milliet, who inspired him to name the neighborhood he and Cincinato Braga districted and lived the rest of their lives as "Vila América." This entrepreneurial urban success led Braga and Sabino to acquire contiguous land that gave rise to the Cia City neighborhoods of Jardins Europa and América. One of Sabino's daughters was Maria Sabino Assumpção, the same family surname as Cia City's manager. A partner of Cincinato Braga in several deals, Sabino was a successful lawyer (1889), landowner, and entrepreneur who started his professional life as a municipal chamber stenographer (*taquígrafo*). Sabino owned Cidade Jardim Co. (1921) and was an influential member of the São Paulo Football Club.
 14. LBMB 7 Act 128a.
 15. LBMB 7 Act 140.
 16. LBMB 7 Act 141.
 17. See Chapter 3 and Biographical Appendix.
 18. LBMB 8 Acta 152.
 19. LBMB 8 Acta 153.
 20. LBMB 8 Acta 153.
 21. LBMB 8 Acta 151.
 22. LBMB 8 Acta 151.
 23. LBMB 8 Acta 152.
 24. Elections for the Constituent Assembly were held on May 3, 1933. It was the first election that employed the secret ballot, restricted to literate people. The new constitution was signed by the Assembly's 244 members on July 15, 1934. The assembly voted Getúlio Vargas for president and set a new election for October. On October 14, 1934, the voters elected members for the national Chamber of Deputies, and at the same time chose their state constituent assemblies. These assemblies were then to select the state governors and the representatives of the states in the federal Senate. In Horace Bancroft Davis, "Brazil's Political and Economic Problems," *Foreign Policy Reports* 11, no. 1 (1935), 8.

25. See Chapter 2.
26. Davis, "Brazil's Political," 12.
27. Antonio Smith (Schimith) Bayma (1893) graduated from POLI in civil engineering (1911–16). His parents were Theodoro da Silva Bayma and Antonia Smith (POLI file 424). Antonio Bayma disagreed with the DC creation and clashed with many of the department's tenets. Though he was not attuned to DC policies, Antonio was a "young man with good intentions who believed that all gymnastic instructors nominated to the new elementary schools in the park program should have had been trained by his department"; quoted in Paulo Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976), 280. Antonio lived at Chile Street in Jardim América (1934).
28. Henrique Bayma (1891–1974), Antonio Bayma's brother, was influential lawyer and public man. During the Old Republic, Henrique supported the 1918 Pereira Barreto campaign, which confronted the then all-powerful PRP. He was one of the Nationalist League members who joined the Democratic Party in 1926, and he was PD candidate to the lower house in 1927 (Woodard, *A Place in Politics*, 157). Bayma supported the 1932 revolution politically as well as fighting in it (Queluz). After the conflict, he was a prisoner in Ilha Grande. São Paulo PD deputy to federal (1934) and state (1935–37) constituent assembly, Bayma was state chamber of deputies majority leader and president. When Salles Oliveira ran for the presidency, Bayma became interim constitutional governor (October 1936–January 1937). In 1940, Bayma and others (e.g., Aureliano Leite) were arrested by the Estado Novo police during an event celebrating the PD founder, Mayor Antonio Prado. Israel Beloch and Alzira Alves de Abreu, coord., *Dicionário histórico-biográfico brasileiro, 1930–1983*, CPDOC, Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, (Rio de Janeiro: Forense-Universitária/FINEP, 1984), 352; Wanor R. Godinho and Oswaldo S. Andrade, *Constituintes brasileiros de 1934* (Rio de Janeiro: Gráfica Santo Antonio, 1935), 218; Maria Lígia Coelho Prado, *A democracia ilustrada. O Partido Democrático de São Paulo 1926–1934* (São Paulo: Ática, 1986), 19. In 1948, Henrique lived at Bélgica Street in Jardim Europa.
29. Davis, "Brazil's Political," 9. On Horace Davis, see Bibliographical Appendix.
30. Paulo Duarte acknowledged his old friendship with Lima. In his memoirs, Duarte referred to Nelson Gama de Oliveira and Altino Lima as "two Cia City high administrative officials, who were old friends from Franca" (*Memórias, Selva escura* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976), 276) and "school mates" (*Memórias, Os mortos de Seabrook*. (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976), 304). See Bibliographical Appendix.
31. LBMB 9 Acta 161a.
32. LBMB 9 Acta 163a.
33. LBMB 9 Acta 164a.
34. Note that in other municipalities of the state, the radius was six kilometers. See Candido Cunha Cintra, "Reintegração sem posse e sem domínio!" *Apelação civil #22.575* (São Paulo: Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1944), 88. In relation to public properties and Cia City, see also Chapter 3.
35. LBMB 9 Act 165a.
36. *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 29, 1935.
37. Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, 276.
38. Duarte, *Memórias, Selva escura*, 120.
39. Classifieds in *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 1, 1935.
40. LBMB 9 Acta 167a.
41. In January 1935, the local committee did not meet with the governor because he was sick and involved with the state budgetary report.
42. LBMB 9 Acta 170a.

43. Sérgio Milliet and J.F. Moreno, *Índice das constituições federal e do estado de São Paulo com o histórico dos incisos e a atividade parlamentar dos constituintes* (São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura, 1936), 1208.
44. LBMB 9 Acta 178a.
45. LBMB 10 Acta 188.
46. This same advertisement appeared on a daily basis during the week of August 20–28, 1935, in several newspapers, such as *Folha da Noite*, *A Gazeta*, *Diário Popular*, *Diário da Noite*, *Diário de São Paulo*, and *Correio Paulistano*. It repeated intermittently in the following years until 1941.
47. LBMB 10 Acta 192a.
48. Contract of January 29, 1936.
49. LBMB 10 Acta 191a.
50. LBMB 10 Acta 194a.
51. See Chapter 4.
52. LBMB 10 Acta 196.
53. LBMB 12 Acta 212a.
54. LBMB 10 Acta 195.
55. LBMB 11 Acta 196.
56. LBMB 11 Acta 198.
57. LBMB 11 Acta 199.
58. This same report to the municipal chamber explained controversial issues related to expropriations, the Additional Tax on Profits, and urbanism.
59. “Câmara Municipal,” *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 13, 1936.
60. It is interesting to note the lack of convincing arguments from the other side. For instance, Almeida Prado supported the change by stating that cities always grew to the west. For Prado, such an “urban tendency” was just a natural thing, a universal rule. Cia City’s advertisement from 1934 in the *Times of Brazil* also supported this idea (Chapter 2).
61. LBMB 11 Acta 204.
62. LBMB 11 Acta 205.
63. LBMB 11 Acta 205.
64. See Table 3.
65. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 32 (1937), 108.
66. LBMB 12 Acta 212a.
67. Law 3598, *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 34 (1937).
68. LBMB 12 Acta 216a.
69. See Escritório’s negative 2592 at the FAU/USP archive. The Escritório’s plan included the facade, rows of seats, sports field and gymnasium, swimming pool, tennis courts, reception and ballrooms, distribution, walls, electrical installations, and specifications related to leveling the ground. For more details on the project modifications, see comments on their presentation in *RAM* 35 and a letter that Cia City general manager Gama de Oliveira wrote to the DOP on June 18, 1937 (LBMB 12 Acta 216a, 61).
70. LBMB 12 Acta 218.
71. LBMB 12 Acta 222a.
72. LBMB 12 Acta 224 and LBMB 13 Acta 225.
73. LBMB 13 Acta 226.
74. LBMB 13 Acta 228.
75. LBMB 13 Acta 229. Accordingly, decree 8891 of December 31, 1937, revoked Decree 5096 of July 2, 1931.

76. LBMB 14 Acta 241a.
77. An infraction against Federal Decree 14728 of March 16, 1921.
78. LBMB 13 Acta 230.
79. LBMB 13 Acta 232a.
80. LBMB 13 Acta 235a.
81. LBMB 13 Acta 241a. I checked *O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper and *RAM* (the former under censure) during the month of July and not a line on the subject was reported.
82. LBMB 14 Acta 242.
83. LBMB 14 Acta 244.
84. *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 27, 1939.
85. LBMB 14 Acta 245.
86. LBMB 14 Acta 247.
87. Inauguration Catalogue 1940.
88. LBMB 14 Acta 256.
89. LBMB 14 Acta 255.
90. See Chapter 4.
91. *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 27, 1939.
92. "Project Description," Catalogue 1940.
93. LBMB 15 Acta 271.
94. Among other competitions were fencing, swimming, tennis, volleyball, handball, basketball, and boxing. Invited athletes came from Argentina, Peru, and Chile. Sporting events related to the inauguration continued during the following weeks in April and May, including car races (in the Interlagos neighborhood), horse races (at the Jockey Club in Cidade Jardim, and events in other clubs (Canindé and Pinheiros), polo (Pinheiros), and yachting (Santo Amaro).
95. *O Estado de São Paulo*, April 28, 1940.
96. See Bibliographical Appendix for a biographical synthesis of the main personages in this chapter.
97. Boris Fausto, "Prefácio à edição de 1997," *A Revolução de 1930. Historiografia e História* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997), 24.
98. The popular expression for such patronage is *jeito*, literally "manner," a way to fix or arrange things. This ubiquitous Brazilian word meant the ability people developed to get by, to manage, generally by the successful manipulation of one's personal connections. Under such a scheme, any kind of enforcement was compromised. The term accountability has never had a one-word translation into Portuguese. Finding a *jeito* originally flourished behind the creation of clientelistic networks. Such social compromises involved an expectation of mutual aid. This subject received attention in the late 1990s, including insightful works by many scholars, including anthropologist Roberto Matta.
99. Fausto, *A Revolução de 1930*, 15. Following the logic of a family metaphor—you do not choose your parents, as you do not choose your government—Fausto justified this patronage as the entrepreneurs' desire for government protection regardless of the kind of government (*desejo de proteção dos governantes*), in *A Revolução de 1930*, 13.
100. Joseph Leroy Love, "Of Planters, Politics, and Development," *Latin American Research Review* 24, no. 3 (1989), 127; Font, James P. Woodard, *A Place in Politics: São Paulo, Brazil, from Seigniorial Republicanism to Regionalist Revolt* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

Conclusion

1. Robert A.M. Stern and John Montague Massengale recounted this episode in their edited book about the Anglo-American suburbs, *The Anglo-American Suburb* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981). Massengale considered Wright's plan for Broadacre City (1935) as the origin of all sprawl in the United States.
2. Starting in the northeastern part of the country, they visited Belém, Fortaleza, Recife and Olinda, Bahia, Minas's historical cities, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, and Goiás. Looking for the main historical influences in Brazilian architectonic techniques, Goodwin and Kidder privileged monuments that reflected social patterns of labor (slave work) linked to specific economic cycles (sugar, mines, and coffee). Goodwin stated that "though very little architectonic tradition was imported from the U.S., much of its practice was adopted" (Duarte 1945, 90).
3. Provincial São Paulo of the 1930s equated urbanism to the work of Cia City in Jardim América, that is, something "made by the British"; quoted in Sylvia Ficher, "Ensino e Profissão. O curso de engenheiro-arquiteto da Escola Politécnica de São Paulo" (PhD diss., FFLCH/USP, 1989), 233.
4. A less-explored theme is the role of philanthropic organizations and their association with private and public institutions to foster low-income housing. For instance, in 1939, Flávio Maurano presented a study on Hansen's disease in the state of São Paulo. The history showed how entire cities were created to house and isolate the sick from the healthy. During the 1920s and 1930s, entire sets of low-income housing were built in the paulista hinterlands. Certainly, the DOP engineers were behind these initiatives, as well as private initiatives. Maurano's study illuminates the origin of many middle-class peripheral neighborhoods in cities from different municipalities, born from those colonies of social outcasts (*rejeitados sociais*).
5. After 1932, office holders were supported by two main parties: the "conservative" PRP and the progressive PC. There were three different types of office holders: traditional, supported by native-stock elites; municipal populist, supported by foreign-stock ethnic, middle-class, and part of the working-class groups; and progressive, supported at times by both.
6. The growing role of advertising, sales, and marketing specialists in the 1930s was also a consequence of professionalization.
7. As we saw, situated within a larger context, the variety of actors—managers, advertisers (the first marketing specialists)—sought to create and develop an understanding of markets and consumers.
8. Robert Moses, *Programa de melhoramentos públicos para a cidade de São Paulo. Program of Public Improvements* (New York: International Basic Economic Corporation (IBEC) Technical Services Corporation, 1950), 10.
9. Moses, *Programa de melhoramentos públicos*, 10.
10. The public support came from the average paulista citizen. Moses portrayed the paulista population as eager for the city's advancement, jealous of its reputation, but against any radical, drastic urban changes. However proud of his or her city, the paulista was "a middle-of-the-road citizen, at heart no revolutionary in his philosophy of municipal administration"; quoted in Moses, *Programa de melhoramentos públicos*, 12.
11. Rather than the influence of an unmediated foreign model taken simply as when it left its point of departure, local interpretation filtered those models into a new set of governmental measures, trends, or movements expressing a language of its own.

12. Richard McGee Morse (1922–2001) graduated at Princeton and Columbia University. At Columbia, he wrote his master's thesis, *São Paulo, the Early Years* (1947), and PhD dissertation, *São Paulo City Under the Empire, 1822–1889* (1952). Among his main informants during fieldwork in Brazil were Paulo Duarte, Antonio Cândido, Luis Saia, Affonso Schmidt, Lucila Herrmann, and Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay (1876–1958), whose view of the history of São Paulo had a remarkable influence on him. Morse taught at Columbia University (1949–1958) and expanded his studies as visiting professor in Puerto Rico (1956–57). Committed to Latin America urban history, Morse taught history at Harvard (1960), New York University (1961–62), Yale University (1962–78), and Stanford (1979–84). Between 1965 and 1971, Morse made five short visits to São Paulo. In the 1970s, Morse was a Ford Foundation advisor in Rio de Janeiro and participated in the CPDOC foundation (1973). Morse was also the Latin American Program's general secretary at the Woodrow Wilson International Center.
13. Morse's research was made possible by a travel and maintenance grant from the U.S. Department of State (from September 1947 to December 1948).
14. Morse, "O pesquisador social e o historiador moderno," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 113 (1949), 36–52.
15. Morse, "O pesquisador social," 43.
16. Morse, "O pesquisador social," 52.
17. In 1992, paying homage to Morse's seventieth birthday, Brazilian intellectuals dedicated the book *Um americano intranquilo* to him. It was financed by José Mindlin, and contained an introduction by Helena Borneny and essays by a parade of influential people, including Antonio Cândido, Carlos Guilherme Mota, Francisco José Calazans Falcon, Haroldo de Campos, José Murilo de Carvalho, and Roberto DaMatta.
18. Morse, "O pesquisador social," 40–1.
19. In the 1950s, among other U.S. and British professionals who dedicated their work to the history of São Paulo, were Thomas Waverly Palmer, Jr. (1950), Robert Moses (1950), T. Lynn Smith (1951), David Leroy Silk (1952), Clark Shumway Knowlton (1955), Michael Scully (1955), Carleton Sprague Smith (1956), John J. Johnson (1958), Bertram A. Hutchinson (1958), and Anthony Leeds (1958).
20. Morse, "O pesquisador social."

Bibliography

Books and Journals

- Adamo, Sam. "Recent Works on Modern Brazilian History," *Latin American Research Review* 27, no.1 (1992):192–204.
- Albuquerque, Alexandre. *As novas avenidas de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Vanorden, 1910).
- Alessandro, Alexandre d'. *A escola Politécnica de São Paulo. Histórias da sua história*. vol 3 (São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais, 1943).
- Almeida Junior, A. "A Faculdade de Direito e a cidade," *Ensaio Paulistas. Contribuição de O Estado de São Paulo às comemorações do IV centenário da cidade* (São Paulo: Ed. Anhambi, 1958).
- Alves Sobrinho, Rufino. *São Paulo triunfante. Depoimento e subsídio para a história das revoluções de 22, 24, 30, e 32, no Brasil* (São Paulo: Author's Edition, 1932).
- Alvim, Zuleika Maria Forlioni. *Brava gente. Os italianos em São Paulo: 1870–1920* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986).
- Alvim, Zuleika Maria Forlioni and Solange Peirão. *Mappin: setenta anos* (São Paulo: Ex-Libris, 1985).
- Amaral, Antonio Barreto do. *Dicionário da história de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Governo do Estado, 1980).
- Amaral, Aracy Abreu. "Stages in the Formation of Brazil's Cultural Profile," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 21 (1995).
- . "A Polêmica sobre a função social da arquitetura," *Arte Para Quê? A Preocupação Social na Arte Brasileira* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1984).
- . *A Hispanidade em São Paulo: da casa rural à capela de Santo Antonio* (São Paulo: Nobel/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo EDUSP, 1981).
- . *Artes plásticas na semana de 22* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1970).
- Amaral, L. *Iniciação social e política* (Rio de Janeiro: Calvino Filho, 1934).
- Amaral, Luiz. *Nosso Brasil, para o 4º grau primário* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940).
- Amaral, Plínio Botelho do. *Concursos, projetos, construções: 1928–1940* (São Paulo: Serviço dos Países, 1941).
- Amarante, Alberto Pires. *Contribuição à história do Rotary no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Cooperativa Editora Brasil Rotario, 1973).
- Americano, Jorge. *São Paulo atual 1935–1962* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1963).
- . *São Paulo nesse tempo 1915–1935* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1962).
- "Américo Bove e Horácio Marassa" Interview. *Engenharia e Arquitetura Municipal* 32, no. 81 (1997):5–7.
- Andrade, Almeida. *História administrativa do Brasil na República, até o ano de 1945* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1950).

- Andrade, Almeida. *A Força Pública de São Paulo: esboço histórico 1831–1931* (São Paulo: Sociedade Impressora Paulista, 1982).
- Economic Statistics by the Associação Nacional das Instituições do Mercado Aberto, (Rio de Janeiro: ANDIMA, 1994)
- Andrade, Carlos Roberto Monteiro de. “Barry Parker em São Paulo: ressonâncias da idéia de cidade-jardim,” 1997 Revised Paper, first presented at IV SHCU (November 1996).
- Andrade, Horácio de. *Tudo por São Paulo!* (São Paulo: Author’s Edition, 1932)
- Andrade, Mario. “Museus populares,” *Problemas* 5 (January, 1938).
- . *O Banquete* (São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1977).
- Andrade, Oswald. *Marco zero. A revolução melancólica* (São Paulo: Editora Globo, 1991).
- Andrews, George Reid. *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1988–1998* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).
- Angeleri, Paolo et al. *História da imigração no Brasil: as famílias* (São Paulo: Editora Cultura Brasileira, 1978).
- Arantes, Antonio Augusto. “The war of Places. Symbolic Boundaries and Liminalities in Urban Space,” *Theory, Culture, and Society* 13, no. 4 (1996): 81–92.
- Arantes, Otília Beatriz Fiori. O lugar da arquitetura depois dos modernos (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1995).
- Armus, Diego, ed. *Huelgas, habitat y salud en el Rosario de Novecientos* (Rosario: Universidad Federal de Rosario, 1995).
- . *Mundo urbano y cultura popular. Estudios de história social Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1990).
- Armus, Diego and John Lear. “The Trajectory of Latin American Urban History,” *Journal of Urban History* 24, no. 3 (1998): 291–301.
- Arrom, Silvia Marina. *The Women of Mexico City 1790–1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).
- Arrom, Silvia Marina and Servando Ortoll, eds. *Riots in the Cities: Popular Politics and the Urban Poor in Latin America, 1765–1910* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1996).
- Aspectos da civilização paulista* (São Paulo: Diário de São Paulo, 1959)
- Atique, Fernando. Em busca da profissão nos Estados Unidos: a presença de brasileiros na University of Pennsylvania e a divulgação de paradigmas americanos no Brasil (1876–1945). LASA September 2007.
- Ayres Netto, Gabriel, comp. *Código de obras “Arthur Saboya”* (São Paulo: LEP/Manuais Técnicos LEO, 1950, 3rd edition).
- Azevedo Filho, Álvaro Gomes. *Um pioneiro em São Paulo: Joaquim Eugênio de Lima: o urbanista, o jornalista, o filantropo* (São Paulo: Ed. Revista dos Tribunais, 1954).
- Azevedo, Aroldo Edgard de. *Cidade de São Paulo: os subúrbios paulistanos* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1958).
- Azevedo, Fernando de. “A evolução das elites políticas no Brasil contemporâneo, particularmente em São Paulo,” *A cidade e o campo na civilização industrial* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1962).
- . “A vida intelectual. As profissões liberais,” *A Cultura Brasileira* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1958).
- Azevedo, Francisco de Paula Ramos de. *Álbum de Construções* (São Paulo s.c.p., s/d).
- Bacelli, Roney. *Jardim América* (São Paulo: Departamento de Patrimônio Histórico DPH/PMSP Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1988).
- Banck, Geert and Kees Koonongs. *Social Change in Contemporary Brazil* (Netherlands: CEDLA, 1988).
- Barbuy, Heloísa. A cidade-exposição: comércio e cosmolitismo em São Paulo, 1860–1914 (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2006).

- Bardi, Pietro Maria. *Mestres, artífices e aprendizes no Brasil* (São Paulo: Banco Sudameris do Brasil, 1981).
- Barreto, Plínio. *Uma temerária aventura forense (a questão entre D. Amália de Moreira Keating Fontaine de Laveleye e a City of San Paulo Improvement and Freehold Land Company, Limited)*. 2 vol (São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais, 1933).
- Barriguéli, José Cláudio, org. *O pensamento político da classe dominante paulista: 1873–1928* (São Carlos: Universidade Federal de São Carlos, 1986).
- Barros, Alexandre de S.C. “A formação das elites e a continuação da construção do estado nacional brasileiro,” *Dados* 25 (1977):101–121.
- Barros, Liliane e Maria Regina Davidoff. *Prefeitura. O poder em São Paulo: história da administração da cidade 1554–1992* (São Paulo: Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo and Cortez, 1992).
- Barros, Myriam Lins de. *Autoridade e afeto* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1987).
- Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, Architects. 1980. Catalogue. London: Architectural Association.
- Baily, Samuel. “The Adjustments of Italian Immigration in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870–1914,” *American Historical Review* 88 (1983):281–305.
- Bastos, Abguar. *História da política revolucionária do Brasil vol I. 1930–1932 vol. I* (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1969).
- Beiguelman, Paula. *A crise do escravismo e a grande emigração* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1981).
- Beloch, Israel and Alzira Alves de Abreu, coord. *Dicionário histórico-biográfico brasileiro, 1930–1983*, CPDOC, Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro: Forense-Universitária/FINEP, 1984).
- Bergquist, Charles W. *Labor and the Course of American Democracy: US History in Latin American Perspective* (London, New York: Verso, 1996).
- Berlinck, Cyro and Alfonso Ferrari. *A Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, 1933–1958* (São Paulo: Escola de Sociologia e Política, 1958).
- Bernstein, Paul. *American Work Values: Their Origin and Development* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997).
- Bethell, Leslie and Ian Roxborough. *Latin American Between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944–1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Beyer, Glenn, ed. *The Urban explosion in Latin America: A Continent in Process of Modernization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967).
- Bezerra, Holien Gonçalves. *O jogo do poder. Revolução paulista de 32* (São Paulo: Moderna, 1988).
- Bittencourt, Circe Maria Fernandes. *Pátria, Civilização e Trabalho. O ensino de história nas escolas paulistas 1917–39* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1990).
- Blay, Eva Alterman. *Eu não tenho onde morar: vilas operárias na cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1985).
- . *Trabalho, família e classes sociais em São Paulo*. Separata da Revista IEB 13 (São Paulo: Departamento de Ciências Sociais/USP, 1972).
- Bobbio, Norberto. *Direita e Esquerda: Razões e significados de uma distinção política* (São Paulo: UNESP, 1995).
- Boltshauser, João. “São Paulo,” *Noção de evolução urbana nas Américas* (Belo Horizonte: Escola de Arquitetura, 1960).
- Bonduki, Nabil. *Origens da habitação social no Brasil. Arquitetura moderna, lei do inquilinato e difusão da casa própria* (São Paulo: Estação Liberdade, 1998).
- Borges, Dain. “Healing and Mischief: Witchcraft in Brazilian Law and Literature, 1890–1922,” in Carlos Aguirre, Gilbert Joseph, and Ricardo Salvatore, eds., *Crime and Punishment in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

- Borges, Dain. "Puffy, Ugly, Slothful, and Inert: Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880–1940," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25 (1993).
- Borges, Durval Rosa. *Estudos sobre sífilis com especial referência à classe média paulistana* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Ateneu, 1941).
- Borges, Vavy Pacheco. *Memória Paulista*. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1997).
- . *Tenentismo e revolução brasileira* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1992).
- Botelho, Manoel Henrique Campos. *A história da construção civil em São José dos Campos* (São Paulo: SINDUSCON Sindicato das Indústrias da Construção Civil de Grandes Estruturas no Estado de São Paulo, 1989).
- Bourde, Guy. *Buenos Aires: Urbanizacion y Inmigracion* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huemul, 1977).
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Preface," *La domination masculine* (Paris: Seuil, 1988).
- . "What Makes a Social Class? On the Theoretical and Practical Existence of Groups," *Berkeley Social Journal of Sociology* 32 (1987), 1–17.
- Boyer, Christine. *Dreaming the Rational City. The Myth of American City Planning* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997).
- Brasil, Álvaro Vital. *Cinquenta anos de arquitetura* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1986).
- Bresciani, Maria Stella Martins, org. "Le brouhaha des petites mémoires à la rencontre des langages savants: esthétique moderne et citoyenneté à São Paulo de 1890–1940," *Communication au Séminaire "Les mots de la ville,"* mimeo, 1997.
- . org. *Imagens da cidade. Séculos XIX e XX* (São Paulo: Marco Zero ANPUH/FAPESP, 1993).
- Brito, Saturnino. *Obras completas de Saturnino Brito* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943).
- Brown, Jonathan C. "Foreign and Native-Born workers in Porfirian Mexico, 1876–1911," *American Historical Review* 98 (1993) no.3:786–819.
- . *Oil and Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
- Bruno, Ernani da Silva. *História e tradições da cidade de São Paulo v 3* (São Paulo: Livraria José Olympio, 1954).
- . *Almanaque de memórias: reminiscências, depoimentos, reflexões* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1986).
- Bueno, Eduardo, ed. *História do Brasil* (São Paulo: Publifolha, Divisão de publicações do Grupo Folha, 1997).
- Bushnell, David. "South America" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65(1985) no. 4:767–787.
- Campos Filho, Cândido Malta. *A Grande São Paulo: trabalhos e entrevistas de 1965 a 1973* (São Paulo: FAU/USP, 1973).
- Cano, Wilson. "Alguns aspectos da concentração industrial" *Formação econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1978).
- Capelato, Maria Helena. *Os arautos do liberalismo: imprensa paulista 1920–1945* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1989).
- . *O Movimento de 32: a Causa Paulista* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1981).
- Capital Paulista comemorando o centenário da independência* (São Paulo: Soc. Ed. Independência, 1922).
- Capri, Roberto. *O estudo de São Paulo e o centenário da independência: comércio e a indústria* (São Paulo: Poçaí, s.d.)
- Cardim Filho, Carlos Alberto Gomes. *Problemas urbanos da capital* (São Paulo: Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1951).
- Cardoso, Irene. *A universidade da comunhão paulista* (São Paulo: Cortez, 1982).

- Cardoso de Oliveira, Roberto. "Tempo e tradição: interpretando a Antropologia," *Anuário Antropológico* 84 (1985):191–203.
- Carelli, Mário. *Carcamano e comendadores: os italianos de São Paulo. Da realidade à ficção: 1919–1930* (São Paulo: Ática, 1985).
- Carneiro, Glauco M. *O poder da misericórdia. A irmandade da Santa Casa na história social e política da cidade de São Paulo: 1560–1985, 2v* (São Paulo: Ed. e Gráfica 1986).
- Carvalho, José Murillo. *A formação das almas. O imaginário da República no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990).
- . *A Escola de Minas de Ouro Preto. O peso da glória* (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo: Cia Editora Nacional/FINEP, 1978).
- Carvalho, Manoel Marques de. *Oportunidades educacionais que se apresentam, no Estado de São Paulo, àqueles que completam o curso ginasial em 1936* (São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais, 1936).
- Carvalho, Maria Cristina Wolf. "A arquitetura de Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo. O itinerário profissional do engenheiro-arquiteto, protagonista da introdução dos modelos europeus em São Paulo, na virada do século," *Cidade. Revista do Departamento do Patrimônio Histórico* 5, no. 5 (1998):4–19. São Paulo: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura.
- Casa di Salute "Ermelino Matarazzo"* São Paulo, 1925.
- Castellani, José. *São Paulo na década de 30* (São Paulo: Policor, 1984).
- Castro, Sertório de. *A República que a revolução destruiu*. Coleção Temas Brasileiros (Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 1982).
- . *Diário de um combatente desarmado: a revolução vista e apreciada do Rio de Janeiro* (São Paulo: José Olympio, 1934).
- . *Política, es mulher!* (Rio de Janeiro: Fred. H. Sauer, 1933).
- Caulfield, Sueann, Sarah C. Chambers, and Lara Putnam, ed. *Honor, Status, and Law in Modern Latin America* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005).
- Cavalcanti, Lauro. *When Brazil was Modern. Guide to Architecture 1928–1960* (NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 2003).
- Cavalheiro, Edgard. *Monteiro Lobato. Vida e obra* 2 vol (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1962).
- Cenni, Franco. *Italianos no Brasil: "andiamo in'mérica" 1875–1975 Centenário da imigração italiana* (São Paulo: Martins/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo EDUSP, s.d.).
- Chalhoub, Sidney. *Trabalho, lar e botequim* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986).
- Chaves Neto, Elias. *Minha vida e as lutas de meu tempo: memórias* (São Paulo: Alfa Omega, 1977).
- Cintra, Candido Cunha (relater). "Reintegração sem posse e sem domínio!" *Apelação civil # 22.575* (São Paulo: Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1944).
- Clifton, Gloria. *Professionalism, Patronage, and Public Service in Victorian London. The Staff of the Metropolitan Board of Works 1856–1889* (London: The Athlone Press, 1997).
- Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America* (Princeton University Press, 1991).
- Collier, Ruth Berins. "Combining Alternative Perspectives: Internal Trajectories versus External Influences as Explanations of Latin American Politics in the 1940s" *Comparative Politics* 26, no. 1 (1993):1–29.
- Comemoração do IV centenário da fundação de São Paulo* (Coimbra: Instituto de Coimbra, 1955).
- Companhia de Gás de São Paulo. Gás, sua história começa aqui* (São Paulo, 1985).
- Conde Matarazzo aos 80 anos* (São Paulo: Typographia Pannon, 1934).
- Correa, Ana Maria Martinez. *A rebelião de 1924 em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976).

- Corrêa, Mariza. *Antropólogos & Antropologia* (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2003).
- . “Traficantes do excêntrico—os antropólogos no Brasil dos anos 30 aos anos 60,” *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 6(3) (São Paulo: Editora Vértice, 1988).
- . *História da Antropologia no Brasil (1930–1960). Testemunhos: Emílio Willems e Donald Pierson* (São Paulo: Editora da UNICAMP, 1987).
- Correia, Antonio Augusto Esteves Mendes. *Cariocas e paulistas: impressões do Brasil* (Porto: Fernando Machado, 1935).
- Costa, João Cruz. *Contribuição à história das idéias no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1956).
- Costa, Lauro. *O alvorecer do automóvel em Piratininga: breves notas sobre veículos e transportes de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Biblos, 1956).
- Cotti, Lahayr de Castro. *As inundações de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Sociedade Amigos da Cidade, 1970).
- Cros, Arthur Du. *Wheels of Fortune. A Salute to Pioneers* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1938).
- Cruz, Heloisa Faria, org. *São Paulo em Revista. Catálogo de Publicação da Imprensa Cultural e de Variedades Paulistanas, 1870–1930* (São Paulo: Arquivo do Estado, 1997).
- Cueto, Marcos. *El regreso de las epidemias: salud y sociedad en el Peru del siglo XX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1997).
- Danon, Diana and Benedito Lima de Toledo. *São Paulo: “Belle Epoque”* (São Paulo: Cia Editora Nacional/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo EDUSP, 1974).
- Dantas, Jorge Rezende. *A nucleação central e a centralidade como estruturas de relações na organização do espaço intraurbano* (São Paulo: FAU/USP, 1981).
- Dantas, Manoel Ricardo Alves, Luis Antonio Francisco de Souza, and Ieda Pimenta Bernades. *Contribuições da Sub-divisão de Documentação Social e Estatísticas municipais à formação da Sociologia e ao processo de urbanização em São Paulo nos anos 30* (São Paulo: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura Departamento de Patrimônio Histórico/Arquivo Histórico Municipal, 1995).
- Dávila, Jerry. “Myth and Memory: Getúlio Vargas’s Long Shadow Over Brazilian History,” *Vargas and Brazil. New Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
- . *‘Diploma of Whiteness’: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
- Davis, Horace Bancroft. “Brazil’s Political and Economic Problems,” *Foreign Policy Reports* 11, no. 1 (1935):1–12, March 13.
- Dean, Warren. *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969).
- Debes, Célio Salomão. *Júlio Prestes e a primeira república* (São Paulo: IMESP/DAESP, 1982).
- Decca, Edgard de. *1930: O Silêncio dos Vencidos* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982).
- Decca, Maria Auxiliadora de. *A vida fora das fábricas: cotidiano operário em São Paulo 1920–1934* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1987).
- Deckker, Zilah Quezado. *Brazil Built. The Architecture of the Modern Movement in Brazil* (Taylor & Francis, 2001).
- DelPicchia, Paulo Menotti. *A longa viagem* (São Paulo: Martins, 1972).
- . *O despertar de São Paulo: episódios do século xiv e do século xx na terra bandeirante* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1933).
- DeLuca, Tania Regina de. “A grande imprensa no Brasil da primeira metade do século XX,” paper presented at the Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA), Atlanta, Georgia, 27–29 Mar. 2008.
- Dent, David. “Past and Present Trends in Research on Latin American Politics, 1950–1980,” *Latin American Research Review* 21, no.1 (1986):139–151.

- DeShazo, Peter. *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile: 1902–1927* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).
- Diêgoli, Leila Regina. “Estado Novo—Nova Arquitetura em São Paulo.” *Projeto História* 13 (São Paulo: Editora da PUC-SP, 1996).
- Diegues, Manuel. *Imigração, urbanização e industrialização* (Rio de Janeiro: CBPE/MEC, 1964).
- Diniz, Eli. *Empresário, Estado e capitalismo no Brasil: 1930–1945* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1978).
- Di Tella, Guido and David Platt, ed. *The Political Economy of Argentina: 1880–1946* (London: Macmillan, 1986).
- Divisão judiciária e administrativa do estado de São Paulo em 1932* (São Paulo, IMESP, 1933).
- Donato, Hernani. *Breve história da Revolução Constitucionalista de 1932. Comemorando os 65 anos do evento* (São Paulo: Lerlisa, 1997).
- Donghi-Halperin, Túlio. “Dependency Theory and Latin American Historiography” *Latin American Research Review* 17, no.1 (1982):115–130.
- Draibe, Sonia. *Rumos e metamorfoses: um estudo sobre a constituição do Estado e as alternativas de industrialização no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1985).
- Duarte, Paulo. *Memórias, Selva escura* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976).
- . *Memórias, Os mortos de Seabrook* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976).
- . *Fábio Prado* (São Paulo: Anhambi, 1964).
- . *Contra o vandalismo e o extermínio. No jornal e na tribuna*. Coleção Departamento de Cultura vol.9 (São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura, 1938).
- Dulles, John W. F. *Vargas of Brazil: A Political Biography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967).
- Dupré, Roberto. *Cento e onze anos de Liceu: Liceu de Artes e Ofícios de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Liceu de Artes e Ofícios, 1985).
- Durand, José Carlos. Arte, privilégio e distinção: artes plásticas, arquitetura e classe dirigente no Brasil, 1855–1985 (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1989).
- Eakin, Marshall C. *Tropical Capitalism. The Industrialization of Belo Horizonte, Brazil* (Macmillan, 2002).
- . *British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d’El Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830–1960* (Durnham: Duke University Press, 1989).
- Egas, Eugênio de Andrade. *Galeria dos presidentes de São Paulo entre 1822–1889 e Washington Luís 1920–1924* (São Paulo: Secção de Obras de O Estado de São Paulo, 1926).
- Eleutério, Maria de Lourdes. “Posse ou propriedade, eis a questão,” *Marco Zero I. A Revolução Melancólica* (São Paulo: Editora Globo, 1991).
- Elliot, Lilian Elwyn. *Brazil Today and Tomorrow* (New York: Macmillan, 1922).
- Ellis, Myriam. *Alfredo Ellis Júnior (1896–1974)* (São Paulo: Bentivegna Editora, 1997).
- Ellis Júnior, Alfredo. *Capítulos sociais da história social de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Nacional, 1944).
- . *Populações Paulistas* (São Paulo: Nacional, 1934).
- . *A nossa guerra* (São Paulo: Piratininga, 1933).
- Emendabile, Galileo. *Monumento a Ramos de Azevedo* (São Paulo, Liceu de Artes e Ofícios, s.d.).
- Estudos dos melhoramentos em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Duprat, 1924).
- Farah, Marta. Estado e habitação no Brasil: o caso dos Institutos de Previdência. *Espaço e Debates* no 16. (São Paulo: NERU, 1985).
- Faria, Vilmar. “Mudanças na composição do emprego e na estrutura das ocupações,” in Edmar Bacha and Klein (eds.) *A transição incompleta* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1986).

- Fausto, Boris. "Prefácio à edição de 1997," *A Revolução de 1930. Historiografia e História* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997).
- . "Estado e burguesia agro-exportadora na Primeira República," *Novos Estudos Cebrap* 27 (1990).
- . "Estado, classe trabalhadora e burguesia industrial," *Novos Estudos Cebrap* 20 (1988).
- . *Trabalho urbano e conflito* (São Paulo: Difel, 1975).
- Federici, Hilton. *Símbolos Paulistas: estudo histórico-heráldico* (São Paulo: Secretaria da Cultura, Ciência e Tecnologia, 1980).
- Fernandes, Florestan. *The Negro in Brazilian Society* (New York: Atheneum, 1969).
- . *A integração do negro na sociedade de classes* (São Paulo: Dominus Editora, 1965).
- Ferraz, Vera Maria de Barros. *Vila Economizadora: projeto de conservação e revitalização* (São Paulo, scp, 1978).
- Ferraz, Geraldo. *Warchavchik e a introdução da nova arquitetura no Brasil: 1925–1940* (São Paulo: Museu de Arte de São Paulo, MASP, 1965).
- Ferreira, Miguel Angelo de Barros. *Meio Século de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1954).
- Ferretti, Roberto. "Fonctionnaires ou 'professionals', les ingénieurs des administrations locales en Italie au debut du 20e siècle" *Fourth International Conference on Urban History*, Venice (Sept. 1998).
- Ficher, Sylvia. *Os arquitetos da POLI: ensino e profissão em São Paulo* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2005).
- Ficher, Sylvia e Marlena Acayaba. *Arquitetura Moderna Brasileira* (São Paulo: Projeto, 1982).
- Fillinger, William. *Ibirapuera, imenso "grilo"!* (São Paulo: Departamento Jurídico da Prefeitura, 1941).
- Fiola, Jan. "Race Relations in Brazil: a Reassessment of the 'Racial Democracy' Thesis," *Program in Latin American Studies Papers Series* 24 (University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 1990).
- Foerster, Robert F. *The Italian Immigration of Our Times* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1919).
- Forjaz, Djalma. *Divisão Judiciária e administrativa do estado* (São Paulo, 1940).
- Franceschini, Maria Angelina Vicente de Azevedo. *Conde José Vicente de Azevedo: sua vida e obra* (São Paulo: Fundação Nossa Senhora Auxiliadora do Ipiranga, 1996).
- Franco, Afonso Arinos de Melo. *Rodriguez Alves, apogeu e declínio do presidencialismo* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio/ Editora da Universidade de São Paulo EDUSP, 1973).
- Fraser, Valerie. "Cannibalizing Le Corbusier: The MES Gardens of Roberto Burle Marx," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (Jun., 2000), 180–193.
- . *Building the New World. Studies in the Modern Architecture of Latin America 1930–1960* (London, New York: Verso 2000b).
- Freire, Victor da Silva. *Introdução ao relatório da Directoria de Obras e Viação referente ao ano de 1924: apresentado ao prefeito dr. Firmiano de Moraes Pinto pelo diretor engenheiro Victor da Silva Freire* (São Paulo: Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1925).
- Affonso Antonio de. *Tradições e reminiscências paulistanas* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1955).
- Freitas, Leopoldo de. *A sra. dona Veridiana Prado: esboço biográfico e histórico* (São Paulo: Vanorden, 1917).
- French, John D. *Drowning in Laws: Labor Law and Brazilian Political Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
- . "The Populist Gamble of Getulio Vargas in 1945: Political and Ideological Transitions in Brazil," in David Rock, ed., *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Post War Adjustments* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

- . *The Brazilian Workers' ABC: Class Conflict and Alliances in Modern São Paulo* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
- French, William E. *A Peaceful and Working People. Manners, Morals, and Class Formation on Northern Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).
- Fuss, Peter. *Brasil* (Berlin: Atlantis-Verlag, 1937).
- Gama, Lucia Helena. *Nos bares da vida: produção cultural e sociabilidade em São Paulo, 1940–1950* (São Paulo: Editora SENAC, 1998).
- Gauld, Charles A. *The Last Titan. Percival Farquhar American Entrepreneur in America Latina* (California Institute of International Studies Greenwood Publishers, 1972).
- Giddens, Anthony. “Há uma alternativa,” interview to *Veja* 1566 (September 30, 1998).
- Gimenez, Luis Espallargas. “Parque D. Pedro II” *A paisagem recriada* (São Paulo: Instituto Roberto Simonsen. s.c.p, 1980).
- Giordano, Ernestina. “Profissões que os adolescentes conhecem e profissões mais do seu agrado,” *Publicações Avulsas* (São Paulo: Instituto de Administração USP, 1957a).
- . “Profissões do agrado dos pais e profissões preferidas por pais e filhos,” *Publicações Avulsas* (São Paulo: Instituto de Administração da Universidade de São Paulo, 1957).
- . “Importancia das profissões no julgamento dos adolescentes,” *Publicações Avulsas* 160 (São Paulo: Instituto de Administração USP, 1956).
- . “Conhecimentos que os adolescentes possuem a respeito dos cursos necessários à sua formação profissional,” *Publicações Avulsas* 144 (São Paulo: Instituto de Administração USP, 1954).
- Gitahy, Maria Lucia Caira. “Desmemória das Metrôpoles: apagando os rastros do trabalho de construir,” Paper presented at the Brazilian Studies Association, Washington D.C., 1997.
- . “O papel do gabinete de resistencia dos materiais da Escola Politécnica na transferência da tecnologia do concreto para São Paulo, 1899–1925: um relato preliminar de pesquisa,” *Cadernos IG/UNICAMP* 4, no. 2 (1994):29–70.
- . “Qualificação e Urbanização em São Paulo: A experiencia do Liceu de Artes e Ofícios (1873–1934)” in Maria Alice Rosa Ribeiro, editor, *Trabalhadores urbanos e ensino profissional* (Campinas: Editora UNICAMP, 1986).
- Godinho, Wanor R. and Oswaldo S. Andrade. *Constituintes brasileiros de 1934* (Rio de Janeiro: Gráfica Santo Antonio, 1935).
- Gohn, Maria da Glória. “O Movimento das Sociedades Amigos de Bairro em São Paulo: Histórico,” *Reinvidicações populares urbanas: um estudo sobre as associações de moradores em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Cortez, 1982).
- Gomes, Angela Maria de Castro. *Burguesia e trabalho. Política e legislação social no Brasil 1917–1937* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Campus, 1979).
- Gonçalves, Clóvis. *Carne para canhão! O Front em 1932* (Rio de Janeiro: Renascença Editora, 1933).
- Gonçalves, Lisbeth Rebollo. *Sérgio Milliet, Crítico de Arte* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1992).
- Gontier, Bernard. *60 anos, Construtora Passarelli* (São Paulo: Mundo Impresso, 1993).
- Gonzaga, Antonio Gavião. *Problemas nacionais de emigração e colonização* (Rio de Janeiro: Est. de artes graphicas C. Mendes Jr., 1940).
- Gonzalez, Luis. *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974).
- Goodwin, Philip Lippincott and George Everard Kidder Smith. *Brazil Builds. Architecture New and Old 1652–1942* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1943).
- Graham, Douglas H. and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. *Migration, Regional and Urban Growth and Development in Brazil: a Selective Analysis of the Historical Record, 1872–1970* (São Paulo: Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas/Universidade de São Paulo, 1984).

- Graham, Richard. *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).
- . *Grã Bretanha e o início da modernização do Brasil, 1850–1914* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1973).
- Green, James N. *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
- Greenfield, Gerald Michael. "New Perspectives on Latin American Cities," *Journal of Urban History* 15, no.2 (1989):205–214.
- Gregor, Thomas A. "Emilio Willems Eulogy," Vanderbilt University (November, 1997).
- Grostein, Marta Dora. *A cidade clandestina: os ritos e os mitos. O papel da irregularidade na estruturação do espaço urbano no município de São Paulo 1900–1987* (São Paulo, s.c.p., 1987).
- Grostein, Marta Dora; Rebeca Sherer and Cybele Rumel. *Ordenação por período de governo da atuação de intendentes e prefeitos* (São Paulo: MINTER/FUPAM/FAUUSP INTRAURBE, 1983).
- Guedalla, Philip. "A verdade e a história," *Boletim da Associação dos Antigos Alunos do Mackenzie. A Escola de Engenharia Mackenzie na sua nova fase de evolução* 1, no. 5 (1934): 78–79.
- Guia Residencial São Paulo*. Edição Especial 50 Anos (São Paulo: EBID Editora/Páginas Amarelas, 1998).
- Guimarães, Dulce Maria Pamplona. "Festa de Fundação: Memória da Colonização nas comemorações do IV Centenário da Cidade de São Paulo," *História* 13 (1994): 131–9.
- Gutierrez, Leandro. *Condiciones de la vida material de los sectores populares de Buenos Aires, 1880–1914* (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Benzal, 1981).
- Gutierrez, Leandro and Luis Alberto Romero. *Sectores Populares, Cultura y Política, Buenos Aires en la entreguerra* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1995).
- Guy, Donna. *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).
- Hahner, June. *Poverty and Politics. The Urban Poor in Brazil* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986).
- Hall, Michael M. *Emigrazione italiana a San Paolo tra 1880 e 1920* (Ancona: Istituto di Storici e Sociologia, 1974).
- Hamburguer, Amélia Império. *A ciência nas relações Brasil-França 1859–1950* (São Paulo: EDUSP/ FAPES, 1996).
- Hanley, Anne. "Is It Who You Know? Entrepreneurs and Bankers in Sao Paulo, Brazil, at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Enterprise & Society* 5, no.2 (2004): 187–225.
- Hardman, Francisco Foot. *Nem pátria nem patrão. Vida operária e cultura anarquista no Brasil* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983).
- Hardman, Francisco Foot e Victor Leonardi. *História da Indústria e do trabalho no Brasil* (São Paulo: Global Editora, 1982).
- Hardoy, Jorge E., ed. *Urbanization in Latin America: Approaches and Issues* (New York: Anchor Books, 1975).
- . *Las ciudades de America Latina: Seis ensaios sobre la urbanización contemporanea* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1972).
- Henrique, Pedro. *Cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1996).
- Henry, Etienne and Céline Sachs. *Evahir, conseiller et gouverner: vingt ans de recherche urbaine Latino-Americaine* (Paris: Ministère del'Equipement a la Recherche et à l'Innovation, 1991).
- Hentshke, Jens R., editor. "The Vargas Era Institutional Development Model Revisited: Themes, Debates, and Lacunas. An Introduction," *Vargas and Brazil. New Perspectives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

- Hilton, Ronald, ed. "Preface to Part VI," *Who's Who in Latin America. A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of Latin America* v.2 (Stanford University Press, 1971).
- . *Science and Science Information in Latin America* v.2 (Stanford University Press, 1967).
- Holloway, Thomas H. *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a 19th Century City* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).
- . *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).
- Holston, James. *Insurgent Citizenship. Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* (Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Hons, André de Seguin des. *Le Brésil Presse et Histoire, 1930–1985* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1985).
- Hutchinson, Bertram A. et al. *Mobilidade e Trabalho. Um Estudo na Cidade de São Paulo* (Rio de Janeiro: INEP—Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1960).
- . "Structural and Exchange Mobility in the Assimilation of Immigrants to Brazil," *Population Studies* 13, no.2 (1958): 111–120.
- Ianni, Constantino. *Homem sem paz: os conflitos e os bastidores da emigração italiana* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização brasileira, 1972).
- Ianni, Octávio. *Raças e classes sociais no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1966).
- . *Industrialização e desenvolvimento social no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1963).
- In Memoriam de Eurípedes Simão de Paula: artigos, depoimentos de colegas, alunos, funcionários e ex-companheiros da FEB; vida e obra* (São Paulo: Gráfica da FFLCH/USP, 1983).
- Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo. Jubileu social 1894–1944* (São Paulo: IMESP, 1984).
- IPT: Nine Decades of Technological Development* (São Paulo: Instituto de Pesquisas Tecnológicas, 1990).
- Isto é São Paulo! 96 flagrantes da capital bandeirante*, Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo. (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1951).
- Jackson, Kenneth T. "Robert Moses and the Planned Environment: a Re-Evaluation," *Robert Moses: Single-Minded Genius* (New York: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1989).
- James, Preston Everett. *Studying Latin America: Essays in Honor of Preston E. James*. Ann Harbor: Published for Dept. of Geography, Syracuse University, by University Microfilms International, 1980.
- . "The Distribution of People in South America," *Geographic Aspects of International Relations*, Charles Colby ed (New York: Books for Library Press, 1938).
- Jockey Club de São Paulo, Inauguração do hipódromo do Jockey club de São Paulo em Cidade Jardim* Catalogue, 1941.
- Johnson, John. "One Hundred Years of Historical Writing on Modern Latin America by U.S. Historians" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65, no. 4 (1985): 745–766.
- . *Political Change in Latin America: Emergence of the Middle Sectors* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958).
- Johnson, Lyman and Susan Socolow. "Urbanization in Colonial Latin America," *Journal of Urban History* 8 (1981).
- Joseph, Gilbert and Mark Szuchman, eds. *I Saw a City Invincible: Urban Portraits of Latin America* (Wilmington: SR Books, 1996).
- Korn, Francis. *Buenos Aires 1895: una ciudad moderna* (Buenos Aires: Editorial del Instituto, 1981).

- Kowarick, Lúcio and Clara Ant. "O cortiço: 100 anos de promiscuidade," *Novos Estudos CEBRAP* (São Paulo: CEBRAP, 1982).
- Lamounier, Bolivar, org. "A democracia brasileira no final da 'década perdida'" *Ouvindo o Brasil. Uma análise da opinião pública* (São Paulo: IDESP, 1992).
- Langenbuch, Juergen Richard. *A Estruturação da Grande São Paulo. Estudo de Geografia Urbana* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação IBGE, 1971).
- . *O sistema viário da cidade de São Paulo em suas relações com o sítio urbano* (São Paulo: IG/USP, 1969).
- Last, Gilbert Alfred. *Facts About the State of São Paulo, Brazil* (São Paulo: Typ. Siqueira, 1926).
- Leão, Carneiro. *São Paulo em 1920* (Rio de Janeiro: Anuário Americano, 1920).
- Leão, Mário Lopes. *O metropolitano em São Paulo* (São Paulo, s.c.p., 1945a)
- Lear, John. "Mexico City: Space and Class in the Porfirian Capital (1844–1910)," *Journal of Urban History* 22, no. 4 (1996):454–492.
- "Le Brésil. L'état de Sao Paulo," *Le Temps*. Edité à l'occasion de l'exposition internationale de 1937. *Le Temps* Número spécial. Jeudi 9 septembre 1937.
- Leeds, Anthony. *Cities, Classes, and the Social Order* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).
- Leite, Aureliano. *História da civilização paulista, enriquecida de vasta bibliografia sobre cousas e pessoas de São Paulo, desde 1502 a 1945* (São Paulo: Martins, 1946).
- Leme, Luiz Gonzaga da Silva. *Genealogia paulistana* (São Paulo. Duprat & Comp, 1903).
- Leme, Maria Cristina da Silva. *Urbanismo no Brasil, 1895–1965* (São Paulo: Studio Nobel, FAUUSP, FUPAM, 1999).
- Leme, Marisa Saenz. *A ideologia dos industriais brasileiros 1919–1945* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1978).
- Lemos, Carlos Alberto Cerqueira. "O mito Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo. Um personagem controvertido na visão do pesquisador," *Cidade. Revista do Departamento do Patrimônio Histórico* 5, no. 5 (1998): 58–63. São Paulo: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura.
- . "São Paulo de Vicenzo Pastore." *Fotografias* (São Paulo: Instituto Moreira Salles, 1997).
- . *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório* (São Paulo: Pini, 1993).
- . *Alvenaria burguesa. Breve história da arquitetura residencial de tijolos em São Paulo a partir do ciclo econômico liderado pelo café* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1985).
- . "Arquitetura contemporânea," *História Geral da Arte no Brasil* vol.2 (São Paulo: Instituto Walther Moreira Salles, 1983).
- . *Arquitetura brasileira* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1979)
- . *Cozinhas, etc* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1976).
- Lemos, Carlos Alberto Cerqueira and Eduardo Corona. *Roteiro: arquitetura contemporânea em São Paulo*. Separata da *Revista Acrópole* 295/296 (São Paulo, 1963)
- Lesser, Jeffrey. *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle* (Duke University Press, 1999).
- Levi, Darrel. *A família Prado* (São Paulo: Cultura 70, 1977).
- Levine, Robert M. *Father of the Poor?: Vargas and His Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- . *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years, 1934–1938* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).
- Lima, Evelyn Furkin Werneck. *A Avenida Presidente Vargas: uma dramática cirurgia* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Carioca, 1990).
- Lima, Heitor Ferreira. *Três industriais brasileiros: Mauá, Rui Barbosa, Roberto Simonsen* (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1976).

- Limongi Neto, Fernando Papaterra. "Mentores e clientelas da Universidade de São Paulo," *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* 1 (São Paulo: Editora Revista dos Tribunais, 1989a).
- . "A Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política em São Paulo," *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* 1 (São Paulo: Editora Revista dos Tribunais, 1989b).
- Lins, Manoel Joaquim de Albuquerque. *Administração do Estado de São Paulo: 1908–1912*—Sinopse (São Paulo: Typ. Casa Garraux, 1912).
- Lobo, Eulália. *História do Rio de Janeiro: da capital comercial ao capital industrial e financeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: IBMEC, 1978).
- Lofego, Silvio Luiz. *Memória de uma metrópole: São Paulo na obra de Ernani Silva Bruno* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2001).
- Lorenzo, Helena de Carvalho de. *O setor de energia elétrica no estado de São Paulo, 1900–1980* (Campinas: Economia UNICAMP, 1987).
- Loureiro, Maria Amélia Salgado. *A evolução da casa paulistana e a arquitetura de Ramos de Azevedo* (São Paulo: Voz do Oeste/SEC, 1981).
- . *Como nasceu o serviço funerário* (São Paulo: SSO/Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1977a).
- . *Origem histórica dos cemitérios* (São Paulo: SSO/Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1977b).
- Love, Joseph Leroy. "Of Planters, Politics, and Development," *Latin American Research Review* 24, no. 3 (1989):127.
- . *A Locomotiva: São Paulo na federação brasileira, 1889–1937* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1982).
- . *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation 1889–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).
- Lowenstein, Karl. *Brazil Under Vargas* (New York: Macmillan, 1942).
- Lowrie, Samuel Harman. *Preliminary Report of Survey of Dating Behavior, Waco High School*. Waco High School (November, 1954).
- . "Racial and National Inter-marriage in a Brazilian City," *American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 5 (1939a):684–707 (March).
- . *Imigração e crescimento da população do Estado de São Paulo*. Série Estudos Paulistas no. 2 (São Paulo: Escola de Sociologia e Política, 1938).
- . "Natureza e definição de uma constituição," *Anais da Assembléia Constituinte do Estado de São Paulo*, Conference published on May 11, in the *Diário do Congresso* no. 107 (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial de São Paulo, 1935): 25–27.
- Luz, Nícia Villela. *A luta pela industrialização no Brasil: 1808–1930* (São Paulo: Difel, 1961).
- Macambira, Yvoti. *Os mestres da fachada* (São Paulo: Centro Cultural São Paulo, 1985).
- Machado, Antônio de Alcântara. *Brás, Bexiga, e Barra Funda. Notícias de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 1994).
- Magalhães, Fábio. *Galeria dos Governadores* (São Paulo: Acervo Artístico do Palácio dos Bandeirantes, s/d).
- Maia, Francisco Prestes. *Os melhoramentos de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1945).
- . *O zoneamento urbano* (São Paulo: Edições da Sociedade Amigos da Cidade, 1936).
- . *Plano de Avenidas* (São Paulo: Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1930).
- Malan, Pedro et al. *Política econômica externa e industrialização no Brasil (1939–1952)* Coleção Relatórios de Pesquisa 36 (Rio de Janeiro: IPEA, 1977).
- Maluf, Nagiba M. R. *Revolução de 32*. O que foi, porque foi (São Paulo: Edicon, 1986).
- Mangabeira, Wilma. "Memories of 'Little Moscow' 1943–64: Study of a Public Housing Experiment for Industrial Workers in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil," *Social History* 17, no. 2 (1992): 271–287 (May).

- Marçílio, Maria Luíza. *A cidade de São Paulo: povoamento e população, 1750–1850. Com base nos registros paroquiais e nos rescenseamentos antigos* (São Paulo: Pioneira/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1974).
- Marcondes, J.V. Freitas and Osmar Pimentel, org. *São Paulo: espírito, povo e instituições* (São Paulo: Pioneira, 1968).
- Marques, Abílio Aurélio da Silva. *Indicador de São Paulo: administrativo, judicial, industrial, profissional e comercial para o ano de 1878 acompanhado de mapa topográfico da cidade, município e comarca de São Paulo e da carta das estradas de ferro da província* (São Paulo: Convenio IMESP/DAESP, 1983).
- Marques, Gabriel. *Ruas e tradições de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1966).
- Marques, Manuel Eufrázio de Azevedo. *Apontamentos históricos, geográficos, biográficos e noticiosos da província de São Paulo, seguido da cronologia dos acontecimentos mais notáveis desde a fundação da capitania de São Vicente até o ano de 1876* (São Paulo: Editora Itatiaia/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1980).
- Martin, Percy Alvin, ed. *Who's Who in Latin America. A Biographical Dictionary of the Outstanding Living Men and Women of Spanish America and Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1940).
- . *Who's Who in Latin America. A Biographical Dictionary of the Outstanding Living Men and Women of Spanish America and Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935).
- Martins, José de Barros. *Álbum de família 1932* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1954).
- Martins, José de Souza. *Conde Matarazzo, o empresário e a empresa* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1976).
- Mascarenhas, Gregório Gonçalves de Castro. *Terras devolutas e particulares no Estado São Paulo* (São Paulo: Duprat & Co, 1912).
- Masek, Reinhard. "The Germans of South Brasil," *Quarterly Journal of InterAmerican Studies* (July, 1939).
- Massi, Fernanda Peixoto. "Franceses e norte-americanos nas ciências sociais brasileiras (1930–1960)," *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* 1 (São Paulo: Editora Revista dos Tribunais, 1989).
- Matos, Odilon Nogueira de. *Café e ferrovias: a evolução ferroviária de São Paulo e o desenvolvimento da cultura cafeeira* 4th edition (São Paulo: Pontes, 1990).
- Maurano, Flávio. *História da Lepra em S. Paulo (3º monografia dos arquivos do Sanatório Padre Bento) vol 2* (São Paulo: Empresa Gráfica dos Tribunais, 1939).
- McDowall, Duncan. *The Light: Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company Limited 1899–1945* (University of Toronto Press, 1988).
- Meade, Teresa. *Civilizing Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889–1930* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).
- . "Living Worse and Costing More" 1890–1917 *Journal of Latin American History* 21 (1989).
- Mehrtens, Cristina. "The 'Gold for São Paulo' Building, 1932," Robert Levine, ed. *Brazil's Reader* (Duke University Press, 1999).
- . "Elite Families in the Construction of the Brazilian Middle Class: Notes on the Escritório Técnico Ramos de Azevedo, São Paulo, Brazil, 1930s–1940s," *South Eastern Council on Latin American Studies SECOLAS Annals* no. 28, 1997.
- Meio século de progresso paulista* (São Paulo: Sociedade Paulista Editora, 1938).
- Mello, João de. *Centenário de nascimento de Renata Crespi da Silva Prado* (São Paulo: Gráfica Tribuna do Povo, 1996).

- Mello, Luiz Inácio Romeiro de Anhaia. *O urbanismo, esse desconhecido. Sociedade Amigos da Cidade* no. 11 (São Paulo: Sociedade Amigos da Cidade, 1952).
- . *Problemas de urbanismo: bases para a resolução do problema técnico* (São Paulo: Salesianas, 1929).
- Mello, Zélia Cardoso de. *Metamorfoses da riqueza* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1985).
- . *Economia urbana em São Paulo: 1850–1890*. Trabalho para discussão interna 9 (São Paulo: IPE/USP, 1984).
- . *A economia paulistana: mudança na composição da riqueza pessoal 1845–1895* (São Paulo: IPE/USP, 1982).
- Memória paulistana*. Museu da Imagem e do Som. Catalogue (São Paulo: SCET, 1975).
- Mendes, Dirce; I. Poleti, and L. Soares. “A formação do Grupo Light. Apontamentos para a sua história administrativa,” *Memória Eletropaulo* 24 (1997):35–65.
- Mendonça, Mary Eunice Ramalho de. *Violencia social na cidade de São Paulo: 1917–1930* (São Paulo, s.c.p., 1981).
- Mennucci, Sud. *História do Diário Oficial 1891–1938* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 1939).
- Mesquita, Alfredo. *Notas para a história do teatro em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Empresa Gráfica da Revista dos Tribunais, 1951).
- . *Noite de São Paulo: espetáculo de gala no teatro municipal* (São Paulo: Pocaí, 1936).
- Mezzalira, Isabel Maria Alves and Luis Antonio Francisco de Souza. *Relação dos Oficiais da Câmara de São Paulo, dos Conselhos de Intendentes Municipais e Prefeitos da Cidade de São Paulo (1555–1997)*. Pesquisa nas Atas da Câmara do Estado de São Paulo de Circulação interna do Arquivo Histórico Municipal Washington Luís, 1998.
- Miceli, Sérgio. *Um olhar sobre a cidade: o centro de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Premio Editorial, 1996a).
- . *Imagens negociadas: Retratos da Elite Brasileira 1920–40* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996b).
- . “Por uma Sociologia das Ciências Sociais,” *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* 1 (São Paulo: Editora Revista dos Tribunais, 1989a).
- . “Condicionantes do desenvolvimento das Ciências Sociais,” *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* 1 (São Paulo: Editora Revista dos Tribunais, 1989b).
- . *Intelectuais e classe dirigente no Brasil 1920–1945* (São Paulo: Difel, 1979).
- . *Poder, sexo e letras na República Velha. Estudo clínico dos anatólicos* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1977).
- Milano, Miguel. *Os fantasmas da São Paulo antiga* (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1949).
- Milheiro, Ana Vaz. *A construção do Brasil. Relações com a cultura arquitetônica portuguesa* (Faculdade de Arquitetura da Universidade do Porto, 2005).
- Milliet, Sérgio. *De ontem, hoje, sempre. Amigos, amiga..* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1960).
- . *Diário Crítico* 7 (São Paulo: Martins, 1949).
- . *Diário Crítico* 2 (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1945).
- Milliet, Sérgio and J.F. Moreno. *Índice das constituições federal e do estado de São Paulo com o histórico dos incisos e a atividade parlamentar dos constituintes* (São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura, 1936).
- Miranda, Alcibiades. *A rebelião de São Paulo. Com documentos inéditos* (Curitiba: s/n, 1934).
- Miranda, Luis Bueno. *Melhoramentos no centro da cidade propostos em 1906 e em 1926* (São Paulo: Sociedade Amigos da Cidade, 1945).
- Miranda, Nicanor. *Origem e propagação dos parques infantis e parques de jogos* (São Paulo: DC/PMSP Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1941).

- Moisés, José Álvaro. *Cidade, Povo e Poder* (Rio de Janeiro: Coleção CEDEC/Paz e Terra, 1982).
- Monbeig, Pierre. *Pierre Monbeig: un géographe pionnier* (Paris: Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine, 1991) p.11–14
- . *Pioneiros e fazendeiros de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1984).
- . *Villes et régions en Amérique Latine* (Paris: Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique Latine, 1973).
- . *La croissance de la ville de São Paulo* (Grenoble: Institut et Revue de Géographie Alpine, 1953).
- . *Ensaios de Geografia Humana Brasileira* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1940).
- Monteiro, Adolfo Casais. *Os Italianos no Brasil: Ensaio histórico bibliográfico e jurídico sobre os bens, tradições e colaboração de elementos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Nova Jurisprudência, 1945).
- Monteiro, Zenon Fleury. *Reconstituição do caminho do carro para Santo Amaro* (São Paulo: Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1943).
- Moraes Filho, Evaristo, org. *Idéias sociais de Jorge Street* (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1980).
- Morato, Francisco. *Defesa do Dr. Firmiano Pinto. O Processo realtivo à revolta de 5 de julho* (São Paulo: Secção de Obras de O Estado de São Paulo, 1925).
- Morgan, Arthur (Armando Arruda Pereira). *Os engenheiros de São Paulo em 1932: Pela lei e pela ordem* (São Paulo: s.n., 1934).
- Morse, Richard McGee. "Cities as People," *Rethinking the Latin American City*, Richard Morse and Jorge Hardoy ed (Washington D.C: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1992).
- . "Los intelectuales latinoamericanos y la ciudad 1860–1940," *Ensayos histórico sociales sobre la urbanizaciones in America Latina*, Jorge E. Hardoy and Richard Morse ed (Buenos Aires: Ediciones SIAP, 1978a) pp. 91–112.
- . "Manchester Economics and Paulista Sociology," *Manchester and São Paulo. Problems of Rapid Urban Growth*, John D. Wirth and Robert L. Jones ed (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978b).
- . *From Community to Metropolis. A Biography of São Paulo. Brazil* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1974).
- . *Las ciudades latinoamericanas* (Mexico: Secretaria de Educación, 1973).
- . *Formação histórica de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1970).
- . *From Community to Metropolis. A Biography of São Paulo. Brazil* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958).
- . *De comunidade a metrópole: biografia de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Comissão do iv Centenário da Cidade de São Paulo, 1954).
- Moses, Robert. *Programa de melhoramentos públicos para a cidade de São Paulo. Program of Public Improvements* (New York: International Basic Economic Corporation (IBEC) Technical Services Corporation, 1950).
- Mota, Carlos Guilherme e Maria Helena Capelato. *História da Folha de São Paulo: 1921–1981* (São Paulo: Impres, 1980).
- Mota, Carlos Guilherme. *Ideologia da Cultura Brasileira 1933–1974* (São Paulo: Atica, 1985).
- Mota Filho, Nelson Candido. *A vida de Eduardo Prado* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1967).
- Mothe, Mercedes. *O imigrante alemão na província de São Paulo 1880–1889: opiniões dos jornais da época* (São Paulo: PUC/SP, 1987).
- Motta, Arthur. *Estudos preliminares para o reforço do abastecimento d'água da cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo s.c.p, 1911).
- Motta, Candido. *São Paulo e a República* (São Paulo: Editora Revista dos Tribunais, 1935).

- Motta, Cássio. *Cezário Motta e seu tempo* (São Paulo: Indústria Gráfica J. Bentivegna, 1947).
- Moura, Paulo Cursino de. *São Paulo de outr'ora: evocações da metrópole; psicologia das ruas* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1932).
- Muzi, Luiz. *Arquitetura e Construções: auxiliar dos engenheiros, arquitetos, construtores, desenhistas, estudantes e todos que se interessam pela arquitetura* (São Paulo: Edição do autor, 1946).
- Myers, David J. "Latin American Cities: Internationally Embedded but Nationally Influential," *Latin American Research Review* 32, no. 1 (1997):109.
- Nadai, Elza. *Ideologia do progresso e ensino superior São Paulo 1891–1934* (São Paulo: Loyola, 1987).
- Nagle, Jorge. *Educação e sociedade na Primeira República* (São Paulo: Editora Pedagógica e Universitária EPU, 1974).
- Nava, Carmen and Ludwig Lauerhass. *Brazil in the Making: Facets of National Identity* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).
- Needell, Jeffrey. *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Rio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- Nevers, Jean-Yves. "Bureaucratie, corporatisme et politique, les transformations du gouvernement municipal à Toulouse 1900–1960," paper presented at the *Fourth International Conference on Urban History*, Venice (September, 1998).
- Neves, Cristiano Stocker das. *Considerações sobre a arquitetura tradicional do Brasil* (São Paulo: autor, 1927).
- Nóbrega, Humberto Galiano. *História do rio Tietê*. Coleção Paulística no. 8 (São Paulo: Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 1978).
- Nogueira, José Lins de Almeida. *A academia de São Paulo, Tradições e Reminiscências: estudantes, estudantões, estudantadas* (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1977).
- Nogueira, Oracy. *O desenvolvimento de São Paulo: imigração estrangeira e nacional e índices demográficos, sanitários e educacionais* (São Paulo: CIBPU, 1964).
- Nomenclatura de ruas para entrega de volumes a domicílio pela Cia Paulista de EE, de ferro nas cidades de Araraquara, Bauru, Campinas, Piracicaba, Rio Claro e São Carlos* (Rio de Janeiro, Contadoria Geral de Transportes CGT, 1955).
- Nozoe, Nelson H. *São Paulo: economia cafeeira e urbanização. Estudo da estrutura tributária e das atividades econômicas da capital paulista: 1899–1933* (São Paulo: FIPE/USP, 1984).
- Nunes, Aristides. s/d. *História do Banco do Estado de São Paulo, S.A.* mimeo.
- Oats, David. "The Man Who Changed the Map of Queens," *Robert Moses: Single-Minded Genius* (New York: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1989).
- Oberacker Junior, Carlos Henrique. *A contribuição teuta na formação da nação brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Presença, 1985).
- Oddone, Juan. *La formación del Uruguay Moderno. La inmigración y el desarrollo economico-social* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires EUDEBA, 1966).
- Oliveira, Francisco. "O estado e o urbano no Brasil" *A economia brasileira: crítica à razão dualista* (São Paulo: CEBRAP, 1972).
- Oliveira, Francisco Baptista de. *Notas urbanísticas* (Rio de Janeiro: Freitas Bastos & Cia, 1939).
- Oliveira, Clóvis de. *A indústria e o movimento constitucionalista de 1932* (São Paulo: FIESP, 1956).
- Oliveira, Lúcia Lippi et al. *Elite intelectual e debate político nos anos 30. Uma bibliografia comentada da Revolução de 1930* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 1980).
- Oliven, Rubens G. *Urbanização e mudança social no Brasil* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1980).
- Olivieri, Luis. *O architecto moderno no Brasil: edifícios públicos e particulares* (Torino, STEN. s.d.)

- Owensby, Brian Philip. *Intimate Ironies: Modernity and the Making of Middle-Class Lives in Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- . "Domesticating Modernity: Markets, Home, and Morality in the Middle Class in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 1930s and 1940s," *Journal of Urban History* 24 no. 3 (1998): 337–363.
- Paci, Giuseppina. *Sotto la croce del sud: lo stato di S. Paolo. Brasile* (São Paulo: Antonio Tisi, 1929).
- Pamplona, Rubens. *Evolução da legislação urbanística da cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Coordenadoria Geral de Planejamento COGEP, 1978).
- Parker, Barry. "Two Years In Brazil," *Garden Cities and Town Planning Magazine* 9(8):143–151 (London: Garden City Association, 1919).
- Parker, David S. "White-Collar Lima, 1910–1929: Commercial Employees and the Rise of the Peruvian Middle Class," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (1992):47–72.
- Pastore, José. *Inequality and Social Mobility in Brazil* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).
- Paula, Eurípedes Simão de. *In Memoriam, Eurípedes Simão de Paula: professor da USP, ex-combatente da 2a. guerra mundial* (São Paulo: Seção Gráfica da FFLCH/USP, 1983).
- . "A segunda fundação de São Paulo. Da pequena à grande cidade de há meio século à grande metrópole de hoje," *Revista de História* no. 17 (São Paulo: Univerdidade de São Paulo, 1954).
- . *Contribuição monográfica para o estudo da segunda fundação de São Paulo: de pequena cidade de há meio século à grande metrópole de hoje* (São Paulo s.c.p., 1936).
- Pedreira, Livia Alvares. "Arquitetura, política e paixão, a obra de um humanista," *Arquitetura e Urbanismo* 1(1):23–29 (São Paulo: Editora Pini, 1985).
- Peixoto, Cristina and Miriam Steinbaum. *A experiência francesa de aluguel social. Relatório de estágio* (São Paulo: Companhia de Desenvolvimento Habitacional e Urbano do Estado de São Paulo CDHU, 1990).
- Peláez, Carlos Manuel and Wilson Suzigan. *História monetária do Brasil: análise da política, comportamento e instituições monetárias* (Brasília: Editora da Universidade de Brasília, 1981).
- Pereira, Luiz Carlos Bresser. "Social Development and the Emergence of New Classes," *Development and Crisis in Brazil 1930–1983* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984).
- Pereira, Paulo C. *Espaço, técnica e construção: apropriação e produção do espaço. As implicações no desenvolvimento técnico da indústria da construção. O caso da produção de moradias na cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1988).
- Piccato, Pablo. "La experiencia penal de la ciudad de Mexico," Carlos Illades ed. *Ciudad de Mexico: instituciones, actores sociales y conflicto politico, 1774–1931* (Zamorra: El Colegio de Michoacan, 1996).
- Pineda, Yovanna. "Sources of Finance and Reputation. Merchant Finance Groups in Argentine Industrialization, 1890–1930," *Latin American Research Review* 41, no. 2 (2006):3–30.
- Pineo, Ronn F. and James A. Baer. *Cities of Hope and Despair, Urbanization in Latin America, 1870–1930: Daily Life and the Patterns of Working Class Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998).
- Pinheiro, Paulo S. *Estratégias da ilusão: a revolução mundial e o Brasil, 1922–1935* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1991).
- Pinheiro, Paulo S. and Michael M. Hall. *A classe operária no Brasil: documentos 1889–1930* (São Paulo: Alfa Omega, 1979).

- Pinto, Adolpho Augusto. *Minha vida. Memórias de um engenheiro paulista* (São Paulo: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1970).
- Pinto, Paulo A. *Aspectos da penetração imperialista no Brasil* "The Brazilian Traction Light and Power" Separata da Revista Brasiliense 5 (1956): 141–232 (May/June).
- Plaim, R. *As plantas de nossa casa: coleção de plantas de residências tipicamente brasileiras* (São Paulo: O Estado de São Paulo, 1928).
- Pombo, José F. da Rocha. *História de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1918).
- Pontes, Heloisa. *Destinos mistos: os críticos do Grupo Clima em São Paulo, 1940–1968* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998).
- . "Brasil com Z. A produção estrangeira sobre o país, editada aqui, sob a forma de livro, entre 1930 e 1988," *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil 2* (São Paulo: Editora Sumaré, 1995).
- Pontes, Heloisa and Fernanda Massi Peixoto. *Guia bibliográfico dos brasilianistas: obras e autores editados no Brasil entre 1930 e 1988* (São Paulo: Editora Sumaré, 1992).
- Portes, Alejandro and John Walton. *Urban Latin America: The Political Condition From Above and Below* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976).
- Porto, Antonio Rodrigues. *História da Cidade de São Paulo através de suas ruas* (São Paulo: Carthago Editorial, 1997).
- Porto, Rubens A. *O problema das casas operárias e os intitutos de caixa de pensões* (Rio de Janeiro c.s.p, 1938).
- Prado Jr. Caio da Silva. *A cidade de São Paulo: geografia e história* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983).
- . *Evolução política do Brasil e outros estudos* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1980).
- Prado, Décio de Almeida. "O melhor já passou," *Veja* 30, no. 1499 (June 11, 1997).
- Prado, Fábio. *A administração de Fábio Prado na prefeitura de São Paulo através de entrevista concedida ao "O Estado de São Paulo"* (São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura/Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1936a).
- . *Mensagem do Prefeito Fábio Prado à Câmara Municipal de São Paulo* (Coleção Departamento de Cultura 8. São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura, 1936b).
- Prado, Maria Cecília. *O prédio Martinelli: ascensão do imigrante e verticalização de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Projeto, 1984).
- Prado, Maria Lígia Coelho. *A democracia ilustrada. O Partido Democrático de São Paulo 1926–1934* (São Paulo: Ática, 1986).
- Progress in South America: The Remarkable Growth of the City and State of São Paulo* (London: The Sphere, 1910).
- Quartim, Yone. *O Mackenzie na revolução de 32* (São Paulo: Edicon, 1995).
- Queirós, Luís Augusto e Roberto Simonsen. *O calçamento de asfalto em São Paulo: aspectos técnicos. Memória apresentada ao Instituto de Engenharia de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Rotschild, 1923).
- Rabinow, Paul. "Representations are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology," *Writing Culture*, James Clifford and G. Marcus, ed (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
- Rago, Margareth. *Os prazeres da noite: prostituição e códigos da sexualidade feminina em São Paulo, 1890–1930* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1991).
- Rama, Angel. *The Lettered City* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).
- Reconstituição da memória estatística da Grande São Paulo*. 2 v. (São Paulo: Empresa Metropolitana de Planejamento da Grande São Paulo/ EEMPLASA, 1980).
- Reis Filho, Nestor Goulart. *São Paulo e outras cidades. Produção social e degradação dos espaços urbanos* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1994).

- Reis Filho, Nestor Goulart. *Aspectos da história da Engenharia civil em São Paulo, 1860–1960*. Cia brasileira de Projetos e Obras (São Paulo: Livraria Kosmos Editora, 1989).
- . *Campos Elíseos: a casa e o bairro. A tecnologia da construção civil em 1900* (São Paulo: Secretaria da Ciência, Tecnologia e Desenvolvimento Econômico, Governo do Estado de São Paulo, s/d).
- Relatório da Comissão designada para o exame das condições em que se constituiu na cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia Municipal de Transporte Coletivo, 1947).
- Rénard, Antoine or Delcide Carvalho. *São Paulo é isto!* (São Paulo: Edição do Autor, 1933).
- Residências interiores* (São Paulo: Acrópole, 1956).
- Revista Ante-Projeto. *Arquitetura contemporânea no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Carneiro, 1947).
- Revolução de 32. A fotografia e a política*. Catalog FGV/CPDOC (Rio de Janeiro: Edição FUNARTE, 1982).
- Rhodia 1919–1969: Cinquenta anos crescendo com o Brasil* (São Paulo, 1969).
- Ribeiro, Luis Cesar de Queiróz and Robert Pechman. *Cidade, povo e nação. Gênese do urbanismo moderno* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1996).
- Ridenti, Marcelo. *Professores e ativistas da esfera pública* (São Paulo: Cortez, 1995).
- . *Classes sociais e representação* (São Paulo: Cortez, 1994).
- Rino Levi- Arquiteto Obras 1928–1940* (São Paulo: Serviço dos Países, 1940).
- Rino Levi* (Milano: Ed. di Comunità, 1974).
- Roberts, Bryan. *Cities of Peasants: The Political Economy of Urbanization in the Third World* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1979).
- Rocha, Paulo. “Arquiteto Condena mudanças feitas sem amplo debate,” *Jornal da Tarde* December 6, 1981.
- Rodrigues, José Wasth. *Documentário arquitetônico* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1944).
- Rolnik, Raquel. *A Cidade e a lei. Legislação, política urbana e territórios na cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Studio Nobel, 1997).
- Romero, José Luis. *Latin America: Its Cities and Ideas* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- Rose, R. S. One of the Forgotten Things. Getúlio Vargas and Brazilian Social Control, 1930–1954 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000).
- Roxborough, Ian. “Unity and Diversity in Latin America History.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 16 (1984):1–26.
- Rubino, Silvana. “Clubes de Pesquisadores. A Sociedade de Etnologia e Folclore e a Sociedade de Sociologia,” *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* 2 (São Paulo: Editora Sumaré, 1995).
- Sabbag, Haifa. “A beleza de um trabalho precursor, síntese da tradição e da modernidade,” *Arquitetura e Urbanismo* 1, no. 1 (1985):15–19. São Paulo: Editora Pini.
- Sachs, Céline. *São Paulo. Politiques publiques et habitat populaire* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1990).
- Saes, Décio Azevedo Marques de. *O civilismo das camadas médias urbanas na primeira república brasileira, 1889–1930* (Campinas: UNICAMP, 1973).
- Saes, Flávio. *A grande empresa de serviços públicos na economia cafeeira: um estudo sobre o desenvolvimento do grande capital em São Paulo 1850–1930* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1986a).
- . *Crédito e Bancos no desenvolvimento da economia paulista: 1850–1930* (São Paulo: Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas, 1986b).
- Saia, Luis. *Morada paulista* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1972).
- Saliba, Elias Thomé, org. *Idéias econômicas de Cincinato Braga* (Brasília: Senado Federal/ Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1983).

- Salmoni, Anita and Emma Debenedetti. "Os colaboradores de Ramos de Azevedo," *Arquitetura italiana em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1981).
- Samara, Eni de Mesquita. *A família brasileira* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983).
- Samara, Eni de Mesquita. *Diretores das Escolas Politécnicas da USP* (São Paulo: Escola Politécnica de São Paulo, 2003).
- Santiago, Francisco C. *A Cia Mogiana de estradas de ferro e seu colapso financeiro. O relatório da companhia ano de 1931* (1933).
- Santos, Maria Cecília Loschiavo dos. *Maria Antonia, uma rua na contramão* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1988).
- . *Escola Politécnica, 1894–1984* (São Paulo: Reitoria da Universidade de São Paulo, 1985).
- Santos, Wanderley Guilherme dos. *Cidadania e justiça* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Campus, 1979).
- Sargent, Charles. *The Spatial Evolution of Greater Buenos Aires, Argentina 1870–1930* (Tempe, Arizona: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1974).
- Saunier, Pierre-Yves. "Changing the City: Urban International Information and the Lyon Municipality, 1900–1940," *Planning Perspectives* 14 (1999):19–48.
- Saunier, Pierre-Yves and Shane Ewen. *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Movement, 1850–2000* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- Saunier, Pierre-Yves and Michelle Dagenais. *Municipal Services in the Modern City* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003).
- Scarlato, Francisco C. *A indústria automobilística no capitalismo brasileiro e suas articulações com o crescimento espacial na metrópole paulistana* (São Paulo s.c.p, 1981).
- Scavone, Miriam. "O homem que deu a São Paulo a cara do século XX," *Veja São Paulo* 29, no. 9 (1996):12–19.
- Schvarzer, Jorge. "Los industriales," *Profesiones, poder y prestigio* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de America Latina, 1982).
- Schwartz, Roberto. "As idéias fora do lugar" (1977)
- Schwartzman, Simon. *A Space for Science. The Development of the Scientific Community in Brazil* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).
- Schwartzman, Simon et alli. *Tempos de Capanema* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1984).
- Scobie, James. *Buenos Aires: from Plaza to Suburb, 1870–1910* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).
- . *Secondary Cities of Argentina: the Social History of Corrientes, Salta, and Mendoza, 1850–1910* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).
- Scully, Michael. São Paulo's Mackenzie University. *Américas* (Feb, 1955) 18–23.
- Segawa, Hugo. *Arquiteturas no Brasil 1900–1990* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1998).
- Sevcenko, Nicolau. *Literatura como missão: tensões sociais e criação cultural na primeira república* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983).
- . *Orfeu extático na Metrópole* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992).
- Severo, Ricardo (da Fonseca Costa). *Discursos* (Rio de Janeiro: Real Gabinete Portugues Leitura, 1937).
- . *O Liceu de Artes e Ofícios* (São Paulo s.c.p, 1934).
- . *A arte tradicional no Brasil: a casa e o tempo*. São Paulo: Levi. 46 p. Separata das conferências 1914–15 da Sociedade de Cultura Artística de São Paulo, 1916.
- Shidlo, Gil. *Social Policy in a Non-Democratic Regime The Case of Public Housing in Brazil* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990).
- "Signos de um novo tempo. A São Paulo de Ramos de Azevedo," *Cidade. Revista do Departamento de Patrimônio Histórico* 5(5). DPH/Secretaria Municipal de Cultura São Paulo (January, 1998)

- Silva, Antonio Carlos Pacheco e. *Armando de Salles Oliveira* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1980).
- Silva, Hélio. *A Guerra Paulista*. Coleção Documentos da História Contemporânea. O Ciclo de Vargas vol. 5 (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1967).
- Silva, Jacinto C. *Cidade de São Paulo: Guia ilustrado do viajante* (São Paulo: Monteiro Lobato, 1924).
- Silva, Janice T. *São Paulo 1554–1880: discursos ideológicos e organização espacial* (São Paulo: Moderna, 1984).
- Silva, Lysandro. *Defesa da municipalidade contra o arruamento clandestino para a especulação de terrenos* (São Paulo s.c.p., 1931).
- Silva, Raul Andrada, Odilon Matos, and Pasquale Petrone. *A evolução urbana de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Separata da Revista de História 5 (1955).
- Silva, Sérgio Salomé. *Expansão cafeeira e origens da indústria no Brasil* (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1976).
- Silveira, J.F. Barbosa da. *Ramos de Azevedo e suas atividades* (São Paulo: Richuelo, 1941).
- Simões Jr. José Geraldo. *Anhangabaú: história e urbanismo* (São Paulo: Editora Senac, 2004).
- Simone, Sergio Antonio de. “A Ponte das Bandeiras. Os projetos de retificação e canalização para o rio Tietê promovem uma reviravolta na cidade” (Arquitextos 2008). www.vitruvius.com.br/arquitextos/arq098/arq09801.asp
- Simonsen, Mario Henrique. “Oswaldo Aranha e o Ministério da Fazenda,” *Oswaldo Aranha, a estrela da revolução* (São Paulo: Editora Mandarin, 1996).
- Simonsen, Roberto Cochrane. *A evolução industrial do Brasil e outros estudos*. Coleção Brasiliana 349 (São Paulo: Nacional/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1973).
- . *A evolução industrial no Brasil* (Missão Universitária Norte-Americana, mimeo, 1939).
- . *Rumo à verdade* (São Paulo: Editora Limitada, 1933).
- Singer, Paul Israel. *Economia política da urbanização* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1973).
- . *Desenvolvimento econômico e evolução urbana: análise da evolução de São Paulo, Blumenau, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, e Recife* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1968).
- Skidmore, Thomas. “Studying the History of Latin America: A Case of Hemispheric Convergence,” *Latin American Research Review* 1998.
- . “U.S. Scholarly Writing on Latin American History 1960–1995” Draft prepared for the San Marino Conference on US History Writing (June, 1995).
- . “The Historiography of Brazil, 1889–1964, Part I.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 55 (1975a): 716–748.
- . “The Historiography of Brazil, 1889–1964, Part II.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 56, no.1 (1975b): 81–109.
- Smith, Thomas Lynn. *Brazil: People and Institutions* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946).
- Smith, Robert C. 1954. Reviewed work(s): *Historia e tradições da cidade de São Paulo*. Vol. I. Arraial de Sertanistas 1554–1828; *Historia e Tradições da Cidade de São Paulo*. Vol. II. Burgo de Estudantes 1828–1827; *Historia e Tradições da Cidade de São Paulo*. Vol. III. Metrópole de Café 1872–1918 by Ernani Silva Bruno; Gilberto Freyre (1954) *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 34, no. 4 (1954): 533–534.
- Soares, José Carlos. *Autonomia municipal* (São Paulo: Instituto Ana Rosa, 1934).
- Sociedade Construtora e de Imóveis* (São Paulo s.c.p., 1928).
- Sodré, Nelson Werneck. *O que se deve ler para conhecer o Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1973).

- Softer, Eugene and Mark Szuchman. "City and Society: Their Connections In Latin American Historical Research" *Latin American Research Review* 14, 1979.
- Somekh, Nadia. *A cidade vertical e o urbanismo modernizador, São Paulo 1920–1939* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo (EDUSP)/ Studio Nobel, 1997).
- Souza, Cláudio. *Os paulistas: seu passado, seu presente* (São Paulo: Nacional and Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1941).
- Souza, Tomás. *O Estado de São Paulo: physico, político, econômico e administrativo* (São Paulo s.c.p., 1915).
- Sowell, David. "The 1893 Bogotazo," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 21 (1989).
- Suriano, Juan. *La Huelga de Inquilinos de 1907* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de America Latina, 1983).
- Stein, Stanley J. *Origens e evolução da indústria no Brasil 1850–1950* (Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1979).
- . "The Historiography of Brazil: 1808–1889." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no.2 (1960):234–78.
- Stepan, Nancy. "Tropical Modernism: Designing the Tropical Landscape" *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 21, no.1 (2002):79–91.
- Stern, Robert A. M. and John Montague Massengale, ed. *The Anglo-American Suburb* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981).
- Stiel, Waldemar Correa. *História dos transportes coletivos em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Editora McGraw-Hill do Brasil, 1978).
- Stolcke, Verena. *Cafecultura: homens, mulheres e capital 1850–1980* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986).
- Taipa, Tijolo e Concreto* (Construtora Moraes Dantas S/A. São Paulo, s.c.p, s.d.).
- Taquarassu (pseud.) *Memorial descritivo do monumento ao Duque de Caxias apresentado no concurso internacional instituído por edital público na capital de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Pocaí, 1941).
- Taschner, Suzana and Yvone Mautner. *Habitação da pobreza: alternativas de moradia popular em São Paulo* (São Paulo: FAU-USP, 1982).
- Taunay, Affonso d'Escagnole. *Ensaio de história paulistana* (São Paulo: IMESP, 1941).
- . *História do café no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional do Café, 1939).
- . *Antigos aspectos paulistas* (São Paulo: Typ. Diário Oficial, 1927).
- Telles, Geofredo T. *São Paulo, cidade sem parques e sem áreas livres* (São Paulo: Sociedade Amigos da Cidade, 1950).
- Telles. Guiomar Urbina. "O Problema do cortiço," *Serviço Social* 2, no. 24 (Dec. 1940).
- Tendler, Judith. *Electric Power In Brazil: Entrepreneurship In the Public Sector* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).
- Tenorio-Trillo, Mauricio. *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation*. The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics Series 35 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
- The City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company, Jardim América São Paulo*. 1923.
- Thomas, Jack Ray. *Biographical Dictionary of Latin American Historians and Historiography* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1984).
- Thorp, Rosemary. *Latin America in the 1930s: The Role of the Periphery in World Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984).
- Tilly, Charles. "What Good is Urban History," *Journal of Urban History* 22 (Sep. 1996).
- Toledo, Benedito Lima de. "A segunda fundação da cidade," *São Paulo, Metrópole em trânsito: percursos urbanos e culturais* (São Paulo: Editora Senac, 2004).

- Toledo, Benedito Lima de. *Prestes Maia e as origens do urbanismo moderno em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Empresa das Artes, 1996).
- . *São Paulo, três cidades em um século* (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1981).
- . *Álbum comparativo da cidade de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1981a).
- Toledo, Marcelo A. *A Santa Casa de Misericórdia de São Paulo* (São Paulo: IMESP, 1975).
- Toni, Flávia Camargo, "A missão de pesquisas folclóricas do Departamento de Cultura. Pesquisa" (São Paulo: Divisão de Difusão Cultural e Centro Cultural São Paulo, 1984).
- Topik, Steven and Michelle Craig McDonald. "Why do Americans Drink Coffee: The Boston Tea Party or Brazilian Slavery?" Boston Area Latin American History Workshop and the Harvard Brazil Studies Workshop, 6 Feb. 2008.
- Topik, Steven. "Where is the Coffee? Coffee and Brazilian Identity," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 36 (1999)
- Torres, João Camillo de Oliveira. *Estratificação social no Brasil* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1965).
- Toscano, Alejandra. *Ciudad de Mexico, ensayo de construcción de una história* (Mexico: SEP/ Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História, 1978).
- Trias, Ferran Sagarra i. *Barcelona, ciutat de transicion (1848–1868): el projecte urba a traves dels treballs de l'arquitecte Miquel Garriga i Roca* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1996).
- Tulchin, Joseph. "Emerging Patterns of Research in the Study of Latin America" *Latin American Research Review* 18, no. 1 (1983):85–94.
- Um grande vulto da história de São Paulo: Centenário do nascimento do Dr. José Alves de Cerqueira Cesar* (São Paulo: O Estado de São Paulo, 1935).
- Underwood, David K. "Alfred Agache, French Sociology and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil," *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 50, no. 2 (1991): 130–166.
- Universidade de São Paulo, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo; Reflexões sobre a formação urbana de São Paulo* (São Paulo: FAU/USP, 1980).
- Urwick, Lyndall Fownes. *The Golden Book of Management: an Historical Record of the Life and Work of Seventy Pioneers*. Edited for the International Committee of Scientific Management (London: Newman Neame limited, 1956).
- Valladares, Lícia do Prado, org. *Repensando a habitação no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1982).
- Vampré, Spencer. *Memória para a história da academia de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1924).
- Vangelista, Chiara. *Le braccia per la fazenda: immigrati e "caipiras" nella formazione del mercato del lavoro paulista: 1850–1930* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1982).
- Vargas, Getúlio. *Diário 1930–1936* (São Paulo: Siciliano/ Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1995).
- Vasques, Pedro. "A fotografia como instrumento de propaganda política," *Revolução de 32. A fotografia e a política* (Rio de Janeiro: Edição FUNARTE, 1982).
- Velloso, Monica Pimenta. *A brasilidade verde-amarela: nacionalismo e regionalismo paulista* (Rio de Janeiro:Fundação GV/CPDOC, 1990).
- Venâncio Filho, Alberto. *Das arcadas ao bacharelismo, 150 anos de ensino jurídico no Brasil* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1977).
- Vianna, Francisco José Oliveira. *Raça e Assimilação* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional 1934).
- Villaça, Flavio. *O que todo cidadão precisa saber sobre habitação* (São Paulo: Global Editora, 1986).
- Villares, Arnaldo Dumont. "As origens da família Santos-Dumont/Villares no Brasil" (mimeo, 1964)

- Villares, Laura. *Vertigem* (São Paulo: Casa Editora Antonio Tisi, 1926).
- Villela, Annibal Villanova and Wilson Suzigan. *Política do governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Planejamento Econômico e Social/Instituto de Pesquisas, 1977).
- Viotti, Hélio Abranches. *Nóbrega e Anchieta: antologia* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1978).
- Viotti, Manuel. *Dicionário da gíria brasileira* (São Paulo: Editora Universitária Ltda, 1945).
- . *Divisão judiciária e administrativa* (s.c.p., 1911).
- Wagner, Luiz Amaral. *Nosso Brasil para o 4º grau primário* (Rio de Janeiro: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1943).
- Warchavchik, Pilon, Rino Levi. *três momentos da arquitetura paulista*. Catalog Museu Lasar Segall (São Paulo: FUNARTE, 1983).
- Weinstein, Barbara. "The Case of the Incredible Shrinking Historians?" *Perspectives* 45, no. 6 (2007), 3–5.
- . "Brazilian Historiography Beyond the Cultural Turn: Rethinking Elite and Subaltern in a Postcolonial Society" in Jose C. Moya, ed., *Latin American History and Historiography* (Oxford University Press, 2006).
- . "Inventing the Mulher Paulista: Politics, Rebellion, and the Gendering of Brazilian Regional Identities," *Journal of Women's History* 18, n1 (2006): 22–49.
- . "Racializing Regional Differences: São Paulo Versus Brazil, 1932." In *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, ed. Nancy Appelbaum, Anne Macpherson and Karin Roseblatt (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
- . *Region over Nation: Race and Regional Identity in the 1932 São Paulo Revolution*. Paper presented at the American Historical Association meeting (Washington D.C., Jan., 1999).
- . *Historical Memory and Paulista Identity: Commemorations of the 1932 Constitutionalist Revolution in 1954*. Paper presented at the Brazilian Studies Association (Washington D.C., Nov. 1997).
- . *For Social Peace in Brazil. Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920–1964* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
- . "The Industrialists, the State, and the Issues of Worker Training and Social Services In Brazil, 1930–1950." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (1990).
- Weinstein, Barbara and Daryle Williams. "Vargas Morto: The Death and Life of a Brazilian Statesman," in *Death, Dismemberment, and Memory: Politics of the Body in Latin America*, ed. Lyman Johnson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).
- Williams, Daryle. "Civicscape and Memoryscape: The First Vargas Regime and Rio de Janeiro," *Vargas and Brazil. New Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
- . *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930–1945* (Duke University Press, 2001).
- Wilkins, Mira and Harm G. Shröker. *The Free-Standing Company in the World Economy, 1830–1996* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Wilkins, Mira. *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States, 1914–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).
- Willems, Emilio. "Brazil," *The Positive Contribution by Immigrants*. International Sociological Association (Paris: UNESCO, 1955).
- . "Immigrants and Their Assimilation in Brazil" T. Lynn Smith and Alexander Marchant, eds. *Brazil. Portrait of Half a Continent* (New York: Dryden Press, 1951).
- Wolfe, Joel. "'Father of the Poor' or 'Mother of the Rich'?: Getúlio Vargas, Industrial Workers, and Construction of Class, Gender, and Populism in São Paulo, 1930–1954," *Radical History Review* 58 (1994): 80–111.

- Wolfe, Joel. *Working Women, Working Men: São Paulo and the Rise of Brazil's Industrial Working Class, 1900–1955* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).
- Woodard, James P. *A Place in Politics. São Paulo, Brazil, From Seigniorial Republicanism to Regionalist Revolt* (Duke University Press, 2009).
- . “‘All for São Paulo, All for Brazil’: Vargas, the Paulistas, and the Historiography of Twentieth-Century Brazil,” *Vargas and Brazil. New Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
- Worstenholm, Luther. *Joseph Rowntree (1836–1925): A Typescript Memoir and Related Papers* (Great Britain: Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, 1986).
- Zanini, Walter. “Arte contemporânea,” *História Geral da Arte no Brasil* vol.2 (São Paulo: Instituto Walthor Moreira Salles, 1983).
- Zephyr, Frank. “Property and Power in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro: Exploring Social Networks and Urban Property Ownership,” *Political and Economy of Modern Capitalism Workshop*, Harvard University, April 14, 2008.

Unpublished Dissertations and Conference Papers

- Abrúcio, Fernando Luiz. “Barões da federação” (Master Thesis, FFLCH/USP, 1997).
- Ab’Saber, Aziz Nacib. “Geomorfologia do sítio urbano de São Paulo” (Ph.D. diss., FFLCH/USP, 1957).
- Adelman, Jeffrey. “Urban Planning and Reality in Republican Brazil: Belo Horizonte, 1890–1930” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1974).
- Albuquerque, Maria Beatriz Portugal. “Luz, arte, e sol na São Paulo Moderna. Alexandre Albuquerque e a Insolação em São Paulo 1916–1934” (Master Thesis, FAUUSP, 2006).
- Aldrighi, Dante Mendes. “Estruturação industrial e diferenciação na força de trabalho em São Paulo: 1888–1920” (Master Thesis, FEA/USP, 1985).
- Alvim, Zuleika Maria Forlioni. “Emigração, família e luta. Os italianos em São Paulo: 1870–1920” (Master Thesis, History/USP, 1983).
- Andrade, Francisco de Paula Dias de. “Subsídios para o estudo da influência da legislação na ordenação e na arquitetura das cidades brasileiras” (Ph.D. diss., POLI/USP, 1966).
- Atique, Fernando. “Arquitetando a boa vizinhança: a sociedade urbana do Brasil e a recepção do mundo norte-americano, 1976–1945” (PhD Diss., FAUUSP, 2007).
- Bacelli, Roney. “A presença da Companhia City em São Paulo e a implantação do primeiro bairro-jardim: 1915–1940” (Master Thesis, History FFLCH/USP, 1982).
- Barbosa, Maria do Carmo Bicudo. “Tudo como dantes no quartel de Abranches. Políticas de Produção do espaço da cidade de São Paulo: 1890–1930” (Ph.D. Diss., FAU/USP, 1987).
- Belluzo, Ana Maria. “Artesanato, arte e indústria” (Ph.D. diss., FAU/USP, 1988).
- Benclowicz, Carla Milano. “Prelúdio modernista: construindo a habitação operária em São Paulo” (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1989).
- Bertolli Filho, Claudío. “Epidemia e sociedade: a gripe espanhola no município de São Paulo” (Master Thesis, History FFLCH/USP, 1986).
- Bonduki, Nabil. “1930. Origens da habitação social no Brasil” (Ph.D. Diss., FAU/USP, 1994).
- Bovo, José Murari. “Desenvolvimento Econômico e urbanização. Influência do capital inglês na estrutura urbana de São Paulo: 1850–1930” (Master Thesis, History FFLCH/USP, 1974).

- Branco, Ilda Helena Diniz Castello. "Arquitetura no centro da cidade. Edifícios de uso coletivo São Paulo 1930–1950" 2 vols (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1988).
- Brito, Monica Silveira. "A participação da iniciativa privada na produção do espaço urbano: São Paulo, 1890–1911" (Master Thesis FFLCH/USP, 2000).
- Caldeira, Teresa Pires do Rio. "City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1992).
- Campos Neto, Candido Malta. "Os rumos da cidade: Urbanismo e modernização em São Paulo" (PhD diss. FAUUSP, 1999).
- Carvalho, José Murillo de. "Elite and State Building in Brazil" (Ph.D. Diss., Stanford University, 1974).
- Carvalho, Maria Cristina Wolff. "A arquitetura de Ramos de Azevedo" (Ph.D. diss., FAU/USP, 1996).
- Cavalcanti, Claudio A. de Vasconcelos. "As lutas e os sonhos: um estudo sobre os trabalhadores de São Paulo nos anos 30" (Ph.D. diss., FFLCH/USP, 1996).
- Cohen, Ilka. "Para onde vamos? Alternativas políticas no Brasil, 1930–1937" (Ph.D. diss., History FFLCH/USP, 1997).
- Costa, Luis Augusto Maia. "O urbanismo do engenheiro Victor da Silva Freire em São Paulo: entre a teoria e a prática (1895–1934)" *Latin American Studies Association Conference*, 2007.
- Costa, Luis Augusto Maia. "O moderno planejamento territorial e urbano em São Paulo: A presença norte americana no debate da formação do pensamento urbanístico paulista 1886–1919" (PhD diss., FAUUSP, 2005).
- Daher, Luis Carlos. "Arquitetura e expressionismo. Notas sobre a estética do projeto expressionista, o modernismo, e Flávio de Carvalho" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1979).
- DeLuca, Tania R. "A Revista do Brasil: um diagnóstico para a (n)ação" (Ph.D. diss., FFLCH/SP, 1996).
- Dente, Edgar Gonçalves. "Prefeitos... Indagações acerca da participação recente do poder público na configuração do espaço urbano de São Paulo" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1981).
- Elazari, Judith Mader. "Lazer e vida urbana: São Paulo 1850–1910" (Master Thesis, History FFLCH/USP, 1979).
- Elkin, Noah C. "Promoting a New Brazil: National Expositions and Images of Modernity, 1861–1922" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1999).
- Farah, Marta Ferreira dos Santos. "Estado, previdência social e habitação" (Master Thesis: FFLCH/USP, 1983).
- Feldman, Sarah. "A territorialização da prostituição feminina em São Paulo" (Master Thesis: FAU/USP, 1989).
- Ficher, Sylvia. "Ensino e Profissão. O curso de engenheiro-arquiteto da Escola Politécnica de São Paulo" (Ph.D. diss., FFLCH/USP, 1989).
- Gifun, Frederick Vincent. "Ribeirão Preto 1880–1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1972).
- Gonçalves, Ana Maria do Carmo Rossi. "A obra de Ricardo Severo" (TGI, FAU/USP, 1977).
- Guedes, Sandra. "Atitudes perante a morte em São Paulo nos séculos XVII, XVIII, e XIX" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1986).
- Hall, Michael McDonald. "The Origins of Mass Immigration in Brazil: 1871–1914" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1969).
- Hansen, Elizabeth Riggs. "Santana Middle Class Families in São Paulo, Brazil" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1976).
- Hori, Ieda. "Samba na cidade de São Paulo—1900–1930, contribuição para o estudo da resistência e repressão cultural" (Master Thesis, FFLCH/USP, 1981).

- Jiménez, Michael Francis. "The Limits of Export Capitalism Economic Structure, Class, and Politics in a Colombian Coffee Municipality 1900–1930" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1981).
- Keinert, Ruben Cesar. "As crises e o regime político no Brasil, 1945–1964" (Ph.D. Diss., FGV/SP, 1986).
- Knowlton, Clark S. "Spatial and Social Mobility of the Syrians and Lebanese in the City of São Paulo, Brazil" (Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1955).
- Kugelmas, Eduardo. "Difícil hegemonia. Um estudo sobre São Paulo na primeira república" (Ph.D. diss., FFLCH/USP, 1988).
- Leeds, Anthony. "Economic Cycles in Brazil: the Persistence of a Total Culture-Pattern" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1958).
- Leme, Maria Cristina. "Planejamento em São Paulo 1930–1969" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1982).
- Leme, Marisa Saenz. "Aspectos da evolução urbana em São Paulo na primeira república" (Ph.D. diss., History FFLCH/USP, 1984).
- Lewkowicz, Ida. "Aspectos do pensamento dos industriais textéis paulistas: 1919–1930" (Master Thesis, History FFLCH/USP, 1978).
- Lima, Álvaro Pereira de Sousa. "Estudos sobre a remodelação da Tramway da Cantareira: concorrência oficial" (Master Thesis, History FFLCH/USP, 1978).
- Lima, José Luiz. "Estado e desenvolvimento do setor elétrico no Brasil" (Master Thesis, FEA/USP, 1983).
- Marcus, Howard Allen. "Provincial Government in São Paulo. The Administration of João Teodoro Xavier, 1872–1875" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1973).
- Marcondes, Maria José de Azevedo. "Formação do preço do solo urbano no município de São Paulo" (Master Thesis, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, 1986).
- Martins, Maria Lucia R. "São Paulo metrópole e isso tudo: 1920–1980" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1982).
- Martins Filho, Amílcar. "The White Collar Republic: Patronage and Interest Representation in Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1889–1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1986).
- Mazaro, Vera Lúcia. "Os grupos sociais e as mudanças eleitorais na transição império-república" (Master Thesis, History FFLCH/USP, 1974).
- Mesgravis, Laima. "A Santa Casa de Misericórdia de São Paulo 1599–1884: contribuição ao estudo da assistência social no Brasil" (Ph.D. Diss., History FFLCH/USP, 1972).
- Morandini, Alba Maria Figueiredo. "O trabalhador migrante nacional em São Paulo: 1920–1923" (Master Thesis, PUC/SP, 1987).
- Moreira <http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/files/fsPu12/Moreira%20Fernando%20Diniz.pdf/>.
- Moura, Emeraldal Blanco. "O acidente de trabalho em São Paulo: 1890–1919" (Ph.D. diss., History FFLCH/USP, 1984).
- Munoz-Ledo, Luiza Fontes. "Middle Class and Democracy in Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1987).
- Nachman, Robert Gabriel. "Brazilian Positivism as a Source of Middle Class Ideology" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1972).
- Neuhaus, Paulo. "A Monetary History of Brazil, 1900–1945" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1974).
- Newfarmer, Richard E. "Multinacional Conglomerates and the Economics of Dependent Development. A Case Study of the International Electrical Oligopoly and Brazil's Electric Industry" (Ph.D. diss., Wisconsin University, 1977).
- Oliveira, Rita de Cássia. "A Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Colonizadores do Futuro" (Master Thesis, PUC/SP, 1988).

- Ornstein, Sheila W. "Deficiências habitacionais na área urbana paulistana: causas, consequências e análise" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1984).
- Osello, Marco A. "Planejamento urbano de São Paulo 1899–1961: introdução ao estudo dos planos e realizações" (Master Thesis, EAESP/FGV, 1983).
- Otoni, Dácio A. "São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, séculos XIX–XX. Da formação de seus espaços urbanos" (Ph.D. diss., FAU/USP, 1972).
- Owensby, Brian. "Stuck in the Middle: Middle Class and Class Society in Modern Brazil, 1850 to 1950" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1994).
- Palmer Jr., Thomas Waverly. "S. Paulo in the Brazilian Federation. A State Out of Balance" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1950).
- Passaglia, Luis Alberto do Prado. "O italianizante. A arquitetura no período de 1880 a 1914 na cidade de São Paulo" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1984).
- Passos, Lélia P. "O estado e o urbano; o problema do loteamento clandestino. São Paulo do final do século passado a 1982" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1983).
- Peirano, Mariza. "The Anthropology of Anthropology: The Brazilian Case" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1981).
- Pereira, Gustavo. "Christiano Stockler das Neves e a formação do curso de arquitetura no Mackenzie College: um estudo sobre as Ecole des Beaux-Arts e as Fine Arts Schools norte-americanas" (Master Thesis, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, 2005).
- Petratti, Palmira. "A instituição da The São Paulo Railway Limited" (Master Thesis, History FFLCH/USP, 1977).
- Pinto, Maria Inez. "Cotidiano e sobrevivência: a vida do trabalhador pobre na cidade de São Paulo: 1840–1914" (Ph.D. diss., History FFLCH/USP, 1984).
- Pontes, Beatriz S. "Brasil: o estado planejador e as políticas nacionais de urbanização 1937–1979" (Ph.D. diss., Geography/USP, 1983).
- Rady, Donald Edmund. "Brazil's Volta Redonda Steel Center: A Quarter Century of Progress, 1941–1966" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1967).
- Righi, Roberto. "O processo de industrialização do estado de São Paulo e seus interrelacionamentos com a urbanização de 1940 a 1970" (Master Thesis, School of Engineering UFRJ, 1981).
- Rolnik, Raquel. "Cada um no seu lugar. São Paulo, início da industrialização: geografia do poder" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1981).
- Sachs, Celine. "Pauvreté et segregation spatiale a São Paulo" (Master Thesis, Université de Paris, 1980).
- Santos, Deborah Silva. "Memória e realidade. Mulheres negras no Bixiga, 1930–1950" (Master Thesis, History FFLCH/USP, 1993).
- Santos, Lena Coelho. "Arquitetura paulista em torno de 1930–1940" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1985).
- Segawa, Hugo. "Construção de ordens. Um aspecto da arquitetura no Brasil: 1808–1930" (Master Thesis, FAU/USP, 1988).
- Segawa, Hugo. "Ao amor do público. Jardins no Brasil 1779–1911" (Ph.D. Diss., FAU/USP, 1994).
- Scherer, Rebeca. "Decentralização e planejamento urbano no município de São Paulo" (Ph.D. Diss., FAU/USP, 1987).
- Silva, Josué P. "Três discursos, uma sentença. A duração do trabalho em São Paulo: 1906–1932" (Master Thesis, History UNICAMP, 1988).
- Silva, Marina Correa Vaz. "Da Maria Fumaça das fábricas a Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, 1922–1940" (Ph.D. diss., PUC/SP, 1994).
- Silva, Zélia L. "A face oculta da reprodução. Um estudo sobre os trabalhadores industriais de São Paulo: 1930–1934" (Master Thesis, History UNICAMP, 1983).

- Simões Jr., José Geraldo. "O setor de obras públicas e as origens do urbanismo na cidade de São Paulo" (Master Thesis, FGV/SP, 1990).
- . "Anhangabaú: história e urbanismo" (Ph.D. diss. FAUUSP, 1995).
- Souza, Maria Cláudia Pereira de. "O capital imobiliário e a produção do espaço urbano. O caso da Companhia City" (Master Thesis, FGV/SP, 1988).
- Terallori, Rodolpho. "A orientação municipal e o poder local no estado de São Paulo, na primeira república" (Ph.D. diss., History FFLCH/USP, 1981).
- Weffort, Francisco. "Classes populares e política. Contribuição ao estudo do populismo" (Ph.D. diss., FFLCH/USP, 1968).
- Zmitrowicz, Witold S. "As obras públicas de engenharia e sua função na estruturação da cidade de São Paulo" (Master Thesis, POLI/USP, 1986).

Brazilian Technical Publications (*Revistas Especializadas*)

1. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal (RAM)*

- Amadei, José, "A depreciação dos edifícios nos grandes centros urbanos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 46 (1938): 355–89.
- "A primeira etapa," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 12 (1935).
- Araújo, Oscar Egydio, "Pesquisa entre motoristas, operários, contínuos e serventes da Prefeitura de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (1947).
- . "Latinos e não latinos no Município de São Paulo" *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 75 (1941): 66–98.
- . "A alimentação da classe obreira em São Paulo" *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 69 (1940): 91–113.
- Ayrosa, Plínio. "Nomenclatura das ruas de São Paulo" *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 34 (1937).
- . "Nomenclatura das ruas de São Paulo" *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 43 (1938).
- Branco, Plínio Antonio. "Contribuição para a reforma das organizações municipais," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 5 (1934a):33–42.
- . "Contribuição para a reforma das organizações municipais," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 6 (1934b):69.
- . *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 24 (1936a):143.
- . "O arenito asfáltico paulista," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 28 (1936b):67–80.
- . "Dos problemas da circulação urbana," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 30 (1936c):71–89.
- "Campanha contra o vandalismo e o extermínio," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 37 (1937a): 234–54.
- . *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 38 (1937b): 317–45.
- . *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 40 (1937c): 354–68.
- . *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 46 (1937d): 265–80.
- "Código do Funcionário Municipal, Ato 597 de 3 de abril de 1934," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 3 (1934):104–22.
- Couto, Plínio de. "Resenha," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 2 (1934).
- "Entre nós será tudo diferente?" *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 30 (1936):237.
- "Estádio Municipal, lançamento da pedra fundamental," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 29 (1936): 205–9.

- Godoy Filho, Gustavo. "A mobilidade da população paulista através de seu crescimento," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 16 (1935):77–80.
- Guimarães, Maria Estela and Cecília de Castro e Silva. "Pesquisa sobre a mancha pigmentária congênita na cidade de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 36 (1937).
- Herrmann Jr, Frederico. "Regulamento para os bens patrimoniais da prefeitura," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 28 (1936):155–64.
- Herrmann, Lucila. "Alterações da estrutura demográfica-profissional de São Paulo, da capital e do interior, num período de quatorze anos, 1920–1934," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 89 (1943): 9–104.
- Hoehne, Eduardo. "Cronologia dos presidentes, governadores e interventores de São Paulo: 1822–1939," Separata *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (1934).
- "Homenagem ao Prefeito. 24 de dezembro 1937," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 43 (1938):177.
- Lowrie, Samuel Harman. "Fontes bibliográficas das estatísticas de população no Estado de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 54 (1939):43–56.
- . "O elemento negro na população de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 48 (1938c):5–56.
- . "Pesquisa do padrão de vida dos operários da limpeza pública da cidade de São Paulo" *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 48 (1938d):336–44.
- . "Origem da população da cidade de São Paulo e diferenciação das classes sociais" *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 43 (1938b):196–212.
- . "Ascendencia das crianças registradas nos parques infantis de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 41 (1937b):267–78.
- . "Ascendência das crianças registradas no parque D. Pedro II," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 39(1937a):261–74.
- . "Previsão da População," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 15(1935b):81–98.
- . "Informações sobre a ELSP de São Paulo (Memorial apresentado aos senhores deputados," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 15 (1935c):99–117.
- . "Pesquisa Padrão de Vida dos Operários da Cidade de São Paulo" *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 12 (1935d).
- Mesquita Filho, Júlio. "Discurso do paraninfo a primeira turma de alunos formados na Faculdade de Filosofia Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 32 (1937): 109–18.
- Milliet, Sérgio. "A representação dos fenomenos demográficos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 43 (1938):213–18.
- Miranda, Nicanor. "O Estádio Municipal de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 35 (1937):67–82.
- Morse, Richard McGee. "O pesquisador social e o historiador moderno," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 113 (1949):36–52.
- Nash, Jay. "Letter to the Editors," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 35(1937):272–73.
- "O Departamento de Cultura no estrangeiro," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 36 (1937):340.
- "Orçamento para o exercício de 1936," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 18 (1935):310–29.
- "Origem do Viaduto do Chá," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 25 (1936).
- Pierson, Donald. "Um estudo comparativo da habitação em São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 82 (1941): 241–54.
- . "Habitações de São Paulo: Estudo Comparativo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 81 (1941): 199–234.
- Prado, Fábio. "Avenida 9 de Julho," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 14 (1935).
- Queiróz, Amadeu de. "Provérbios e ditos populares," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 38 (1937).

- Ribeiro, Olympio Carr. "O problema das compras na organização municipal," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 32 (1937):41–48.
- Rodrigues, Alexandre Martins. "Valor do metro quadrado de um lote de terreno urbano," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 28 (1936):121–128.
- Rudolfer, Bruno. "Conceito estatístico na formação das áreas administrativas, seus limites e superfícies no município de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 31 (1937).
- "Salário Mínimo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 32 (1937):118.
- Saia, Luis. "Um detalhe da arquitetura popular," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 40 (1937).
- Silva, Lysandro Pereira da. "A Taxa de Melhoria em São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 28 (1936):129–54.
- Teixeira, José Horácio Meirelles. "Concessões de serviços públicos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 35 (1937):101–16.
- . "O Conceito de 'serviço público'. Desnecessidade de selo, estadual ou federal, nos contratos em que o município for parte—aplicação do artigo 17 número X da constituição federal," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 26 (1936):145–60.
- Varella, Álvaro Maurício. "A depreciação dos edifícios nos grandes centros urbanos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 46 (1938):355–89.
- . "Em torno da publicação do trabalho Cadastro Imobiliário de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 34 (1937):230–63.
- Willems, Emilio. "Opinião pública e imprensa," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 35 (1937):83–100.
- Zagottis, Alberto de. "Em torno da publicação do trabalho 'cadastro dos Bens Imóveis de São Paulo'" *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 43 (1938):229–53.
- . "Estudo da organização dos serviços do cadastro geral, da estatística e dum órgão coordenador," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 40 (1937):239–67.
- Zalecki, Gustavo. "O Problema da carístia do pão em São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* 44 (1938):5–113.

2. *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* (1900–)

- "Administração da Escola," *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* 5 (1936):9–10.
- "Administração da Escola," *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* 4 (1935):09–10.
- "Administração da Escola," *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* 3 (1934):31–32.
- "Instituto de Pesquisas Tecnológicas," *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* 5 (1936):19–28.
- "Instituto de Pesquisas Tecnológicas," *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* 4 (1935):11.
- "Instituto de Pesquisas Tecnológicas," *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* 3 (1934):33–37.
- "Membros do Corpo Docente," *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* 3 (1934):38–45.
- "Professores que se exoneraram de seus cargos," *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* 3 (1934):46–49.
- "Relação Geral dos diplomados desde a fundação da Escola," *Anuário da Escola Politécnica* 3 (1934):3–130.

3. *Arquitetura e Urbanismo* (IAB—Rio de Janeiro)

- Anhaia Melo. "As Comissões dos planos das cidades," *Arquitetura e Urbanismo* 2 (1937).
- Pinheiro, Gerson Pompeu. "O Estado e a arquitetura," *Arquitetura e Urbanismo* 3 (1938).

4. *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* (1917–1942)

- “A nova sede do Instituto de Engenharia,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* 110 (1935).
- Dalrymple, James. “Relatório sobre São Paulo,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* 6 (1927):39–48.
- Freire, Victor da Silva. “Um capítulo de urbanismo e de economia nacional,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* (1918).
- . “A reforma do contrato de viação do município de São Paulo” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* 8, no.34 (1927):3–38.
- Maia, Francisco Prestes and Joao Florence Ulhôa Cintra. “Os grandes melhoramentos de São Paulo,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* 6, no. 26 (1924):56–60.
- Mello, Luiz Ignácio Romeiro de Anhaia. “A Sociedade Amigos da Cidade e sua função no quadro social urbano,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* 21, no. 115 (1935).
- . “Urbanismo e suas normas para organização de planos,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* (1933).
- . “O governo das cidades,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* 44 (1929a).
- . “A verdadeira finalidade do urbanismo,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* 51 (1929b).
- . “Urbanismo,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* 40 (1928a).
- . “A cidade, problema de governo,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* 43 (1928b).
- Saboya, Arthur. “Os Melhoramentos de São Paulo. A ‘Divisão de Urbanismo’ do Instituto de Engenharia de São Paulo. As obras públicas do município. A contribuição para calçamentos. Considerações,” *Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia* 56 (1930).

5. DSP (1943–1946) São Paulo State Public Service Department

- Fonseca, Tito Prates da. “O DSP e o estatuto,” *Administração Pública, Departamento do Serviço Público do Estado de SP-DSP* 1, no. 3 (1943).
- Macedo, Jovino Guedes de. “O Concurso de Auxiliar de Escrita,” *Administração Pública, Departamento do Serviço Público do Estado de SP-DSP* 1, no. 2 (1943):57.
- “Novos Rumos administrativos. O problema da competencia profissional para o serviço público do estado nacional brasileiro,” *Administração Pública, Departamento do Serviço Público do Estado de SP-DSP* 1, no. 3 (1943).
- Ribeiro, Olympio Carr. “Abastecimento central dos serviços públicos,” *Administração Pública, Departamento do Serviço Público do Estado de SP- DSP* 1, no. 1 (1943).

6. *Revista de Engenharia* (1942–1981)

- “Alberto de Oliveira Coutinho,” *Revista de Engenharia* 3, no. 30 (1945).
- Cardim Filho, Carlos Alberto Gomes. “Engenheiro Arthur Saboya,” *Revista de Engenharia* 11, no. 130 (1953):346.
- “Décimo quinto aniversário da Revolução Constitucionalista,” *Revista de Engenharia* 5, no. 60 (1947):553 (August)
- “Histórico,” *Revista de Engenharia* 19, no. 219 (1961).
- “Homenagem do Instituto de Engenharia ao Movimento Constitucionalista de 1932.” *Revista de Engenharia* 15, no. 176 (1957).

Leão, Mário Lopes. "O crescimento da população da cidade de São Paulo." *Separata da Revista de Engenharia* 3, no. 33 (1945b).

Prado, Amador Cintra do. "Os engenheiros em 32." *Revista de Engenharia* 15, no. 176 (1957).

7. *Revista da Escola Polytechnica* (1904)

Albuquerque, Alexandre. "Congresso de Habitação," *Revista da Escola Polytechnica* 17, no. 101 (1931):297–300.

Freire, Victor da Silva. "Melhoramentos de São Paulo," *Revista da Escola Polytechnica* 6, no. 33 (1911):91–145.

Mello, Luis de Anhaia. "A economia da terra urbana," *Revista da Escola Polytechnica* 106 (1932).

8. MACKENZIE Publications

Anuário da escola de Engenharia Mackenzie (1935).

Anuário da escola de Engenharia Mackenzie (1936).

"A Reforma do Viaduto do Chá," *Boletim da Associação dos Antigos Alunos do Mackenzie. A Escola de Engenharia Mackenzie na sua nova fase de evolução* 1, no. 6 (1934): 93.

Engenheiros formados pela Escola de Engenharia Mackenzie, Turmas de 1900–1931 (São Paulo: Mackenzie College, 1933).

Revista de Engenharia Mackenzie 18, no. 10 (1933): 61.

9. Other Journals and Magazines:

Ayrosa, Plínio. "Teodoro Sampaio," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* 33 (1937).

"Comemorações do 25º aniversário da Revolução de 1932 (no Estádio do Pacaembu)." *O Cruzeiro, Revista Semanal Ilustrada* (Rio de Janeiro) 20 July 1957.

"Comemorações do 25º aniversário da Revolução de 1932." *Mundo Ilustrado* 29 (Rio de Janeiro) 17 July 1957).

"Comemorações do 25º aniversário da Revolução de 1932." *Mundo Ilustrado* 28 (Rio de Janeiro) 10 July 1957).

"Como foi criado o preto," Section "Cri-Cri, o jornal das crianças." 1918. Suplemento d'*O Echo* 5/6 (Nov./Dec. 1918).

"Editorial." *Revista do Serviço Público* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938).

"Ocupações femininas na América (baseado no livro de Luiza Hubbard; os 117 modos diferentes como as mulheres podem ganhar a vida)," *O Echo* 5/6 (Nov./Dec. 1918).

Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo 34 (1938).

"Revolução Nacional: documentos para a história," *O Cruzeiro* (Rio de Janeiro), 4 June 1932.

Special Edition, *Fon-Fon* 43 (Oct. 1932).

Special Edition, *A Cigarra* 420 (May 1932).

Special Edition, *A Cigarra* 425 (Aug. 1932).

"Taça Jules Rimet," *Mundo Ilustrado* 29 (Rio de Janeiro), 16 July 1958.

Newspapers

- "A contrução do prédio Martinelli e a legislação municipal," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 27 May 1928.
- "A personalidade, a vida e a obra de Ricardo Severo," *A Folha da Noite* (São Paulo), 28 May 1940.
- "As construções na capital de São Paulo," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 18 Sep. 1934.
- "A sociedade," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 7 July 1938.
- "Autonomia municipal," *Jornal do Comércio* (Rio de Janeiro), 19 Sep. 1935.
- "Camara Municipal. A agitada reunião de ontem. Os melhoramentos urbanos subordinados ao 'Plano de conjunto'," 1936. *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 13 Sep. 1936.
- "Comemorando um decenio de trabalho. As atividades desenvolvidas pela Secretaria da Viação e Obras Públicas," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 5 Sep. 1937.
- "Contrastes de São Paulo," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 19 Oct. 1939.
- "Crianças sem escola," *O Diário da Noite* (São Paulo), July 1934.
- Duarte, Paulo. "Departamento de Cultura VI" *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 16 Mar. 1947.
- "Edifício 'Campanha do Ouro para o Bem de S. Paulo'," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo) 22 Sep. 1935.
- "Estádio da cidade," *Diário Popular* (São Paulo), 12 Sep. 1936.
- Guastini, Mario. "Pelo funcionalismo," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 28 Oct. 1943.
- "Horace B. Davis. '100 Historian Labor Specialist,'" *The Boston Globe* (Boston), 14 July 1999.
- "Horácio Belfort Sabino," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 9 Mar. 1969.
- Lowrie, Samuel Harman. *Diário da Noite* (São Paulo), 20 Feb. 1934.
- Moraes, Leo Ribeiro de. "Os bairros," *Diário da Noite* (São Paulo), 5 Mar. 1945.
- Moreno, Júlio. "Histórias da História da Cidade de São Paulo: seus 51 prefeitos," *Jornal da Tarde* (São Paulo), 15 Jan. 1979.
- "Na aurora da História Universal," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 10 Oct. 1937.
- "Nomes de ruas paulistas," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 13 Apr. 1938.
- "Notícias Diversas. A Fundação de São Paulo," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 25 Jan. 1938.
- "O Estádio do Pacaembu," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 27 Sep. 1939.
- Oliveira, Armando de Salles. "E como julga o sr. dr. Armando de Salles Oliveira," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 15 Aug. 1937.
- "O Marco Zero na Praça da Sé. Foi inaugurado ontem o monumento que constitui o centro oficial da cidade e do Estado de São Paulo," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 18 Sep. 1934.
- "O metro de Prestes Maia," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 8 Apr. 1956.
- Duarte, Benedito Junqueira. "Bruno Rudolfer eulogy," *Folha da Manhã* (São Paulo) 7 Apr. 1941.
- Milliet, Sérgio. "Crise de Mulheres," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 14 Jan. 1938.
- "Millions for Lena," *Times* 15 Sep. 1930. [<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,788474,00.html> accessed on July 5, 2008]
- "At Boradstone," *Times* 21 Oct. 1929.
- "O novo plano de corridas de São Paulo," *Diário Popular* (São Paulo), 12 Sep. 1936.
- "Os nomes das cidades," *Folha da Manhã* (São Paulo), 10 June, 1934.

- "Palavras do professor Samuel Lowrie, da Universidade do Texas e publicadas no New Bulletin do Instituto Internacional de Educação de Nova York," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 4 Sept. 1937.
- "Palavras do professor Vanorden Shaw," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 22 Aug. 1937.
- "Parques infantis," *Jornal do Comércio* (Rio de Janeiro), 3 Apr. 1936.
- "Por quê e como devemos regulamentar a imigração," *Jornal do Comércio* (Rio de Janeiro), 13 Feb. 1938.
- Shaw, Paul Vanorden. "O Brasil nos Estados Unidos," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 12 Sep. 1937.
- "Um recenseamento colonial," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 14 Nov. 1937.
- "Veteranos da guerra do Paraguai," *O Diário da Noite* (São Paulo), Apr. 1935.
- "Visita às obras do rio Pinheiros e à Cia Imobiliária Jaguaré," *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 5 Sep. 1937.

Companhia City's Archives

- "Subject Index: Board Meetings Acta" (January 1927 to December 1942)
- "Workers Register Book" for 1937
- "Local Board Meetings": Book 1 (November 25, 1926 to October 26, 1927), Book 7 (March 6, 1933 to January, 25 1934), Book 8 (January 26, 1934 to September 20, 1934), Book 9 (September 28, 1934 to July 4, 1935), Book 10 (July 19, 1935 to May 28, 1936), Book 11 (June 5, 1936 to March 8, 1937), Book 12 (April 6 to October 26 1937), Book 13 (October 26, 1937 to July 22, 1938), Book 14 (July 22, 1938 to September 6, 1939), Book 15 (September 6, 1939 to July 23, 1940).

Interviews

- Roberto Pereira de Almeida—January 31, 1997 (M. Villares).
- Elisa Severo—September 20, 1997 (M. Villares).
- Angelo Giangrande—May 02, 1998 (M. Villares).
- Ary Silva—September 1998 (C. Mehrtens).
- Hélio Viotti—September 1998 (C. Mehrtens).
- Américo Bove—January 1999 (M. Villares and C. Mehrtens).
- Horácio Marassa—January 1999 (M. Villares and C. Mehrtens).

Index

- Aalto, Alvar (1898–1976), 163
- ABL (Brazilian Academy of Arts, *Academia Brasileira de Letras*), 114
- ADV, *see* Villares, Arnaldo Dumont
- AEP (*Anuário da Escola Politécnica*), 98–99, 101
- Agache, Donat (1875–1974), 48, 218, 252
- Albuquerque, Alexandre (1880–1940), 48, 95, 151, 207, 254
- Almeida, Luis Gonzaga Pereira de (1898–1937) DOP chief engineer, 96
- Almeida, Oscar Machado de, 47
- Almeida, Roberto Baptista Pereira de (1916–?), 62
- Amadei, José (1894–?), 88, 95, 155, 202, 221
- Amaral, Tarsila do, 124
- Americano, Jorge (1891–1969), 192, 229
- Ancona, Vicente, 152
- Andrade, Jorge, 24
- Andrade, Mário (Raul de Morais) (1893–1945), 6, 24, 43, 55, 58, 113, 137, 168, 191, 210, 214, 218, 221
- Andrade, Oswald de, 48, 137, 193, 230
- Anglo-Brazilian Culture Society (*Sociedade Cultura Anglo-Brasileira*), 65
- Anjos, Cyro dos, 120
- Anthropology, 117, 167, 213, 214, 215, 216, 247, 257
- Aragão, Regino de Paula (1876–?), 88, 94, 202, 203, 204
- Aranha, João Baptista (1885–?), 88, 202
- Aranha, José Pereira da Graça (1868–1931), 24
- Araújo, Oscar Egydio, 7, 135, 220, 258
- architecture, 1, 4, 14, 18, 19, 32, 36, 41, 97, 107, 112, 183, 185, 193, 196, 200
- Artigas, Villanova, 96–97, 206
- Assumpção, Antonio Carlos de, 52, 54, 70, 85, 142, 144
- Assumpção, Erasmo Teixeira de (1926–1941), 67, 68, 141, 143, 160, 222
- Assumpção, Maria Sabino de, 222
- Ayrosa, Mário Júlio (1880–?), 89, 204
- Ayrosa, Nestor Marques da Silva (1890–?), 88, 90, 93
- Ayrosa, Plínio Marquez da Silva (1895–1945), 116, 125, 136, 186, 202, 204, 221, 258, 262
- Azevedo, Fernando de, 58, 221
- Azevedo, Francisco de Paula Ramos de (1851–1928), 18, 19–21, 26, 60, 62, 99, 104, 184, 185, 196, 201, 206, 221, 233, 235, 240, 241, 242, 249, 250, 255
- Azevedo, José (Armando Vicente de) (1903–?), 90
- Azevedo, Militão Augusto de, 187
- Azevedo Villares Building, 62
- bacharel*, 109, 209, 252
- Baldus, Herbert (1899–1970), 118, 214
- Banco do Brasil*, 34, 35, 76
- BANESPA (São Paulo State Bank), 54, 91, 108, 144, 176
- Baptista Filho, Alberto Moreira (1909–?), 94
- Barreto, Plínio (1882–1958), 52, 58, 67, 68, 192, 196–197, 221, 231
- Barros, Adhemar de, 53, 130, 156, 159, 206, 209
- Bastide, Roger Marius Cesar (1898–1974), 97, 118
- Bastos, Joaquim, 44
- Bayma, Antonio Smith (Schimith) (1893–?), 144–145, 147, 223
- Bayma, Henrique (1891–1974), 53, 152, 192, 223
- Belfrage, John Christie (1887–?), 67, 141, 142, 144, 152, 222
- Benevolo, Leonardo, 36
- Benningsten, Emanuel de, 204
- Bernades, Norman (1890–?), 88, 96
- Bezzi, Tommazo, 18, 184
- Bolliger, Raul (1900–?), 94
- Borges, Durval Rosa Sarmento, 5, 91, 167, 178, 205, 232
- Boulton Brothers, 33
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 3, 9, 10, 24, 178, 181, 187, 232
- Bouvard, Joseph Antoine (1840–1920), 32
- Bove, Américo (1906–2000), 90, 93, 107, 229, 264
- Braga, Cincinato César da Silva (1864–1953), 32, 33, 34–35, 68, 74–76, 125, 142, 166, 188, 189, 198, 222, 248
- Branco, Plínio Antonio (1896–?), 6, 88, 121–122, 167, 168, 217, 258
- Braucher, Howard S., 118, 215
- Braudel, Fernand, 204
- British Chamber of Commerce, 79, 222

- Bruno, Ernani da Silva (1912–1986), 7, 17, 104, 129, 182, 232, 241, 250
- Buchard, Martinho, 23–24, 34
- Burnham, Daniel, 32, 189
- Butantan Institute, 77
- Cagé, Jean, 204
- Campos, Bernadino José de, 25, 30
- Campos, Carlos de, 25
- Campos, Francisco Machado de (1879–1957), CIDT mayor, 47, 52, 192–193
- Candido, Antonio, 137, 227
- Capanema, Gustavo, 159, 249
- Cardim, Pedro Augusto Gomes, 29, 30, 31
- Cardim Filho, Carlos Alberto Gomes (1899–?), 94, 107, 205, 208, 232, 261
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, 9, 216
- Cardoso, Lúcio, 120
- Carneiro, Cecílio, 120
- Carter, Bob, orthodox marxist, 9
- Carteron, Pierre, Cia City director, 33
- Carvalho, Edgard Thomaz de (1899–?), DOP municipal chief engineer, 102
- Casa Ernesto de Castro, 27
- Certeau, Michel de, 3
- Chaves Neto, Elias (1898–1981), Fábio Prado's cabinet lawyer assistant, 95, 223
- Cia City (City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited), 11, 13–14, 29, 37, 42, 57, 59, 63, 66, 140, 148–151
- and ADV, 64–67, 70–71, 80, 122, 139
- and Armando de Salles Oliveira, 71, 127, 143, 146
- and auto race, 66
- Cia City neighborhoods, 13, 27, 33, 36, 38, 66–67, 70–72, 77, 78, 88, 96, 99, 116, 117, 120–122, 125, 127–128, 129, 132–136, 139, 140, 145, 146, 153, 157, 158, 188, 193, 196, 198, 200, 206, 207, 210, 215, 220–222, 223, 226, 230, 251
- and Cincinato Braga, 74–76
- donation, 58, 140, 146
- financing, 78, 79, 128, 142, 146
- and housing, 71, 80
- LBMB (Local Board Meeting Books), 140
- local board, 67, 69–70, 72–73, 76–87, 80, 116, 140–150, 153–155, 157–158, 188, 196, 198, 221, 223
- London board, 33, 67, 72–73, 76–77, 141–143, 145–146, 148–150, 153, 161, 196, 222
- management practices, 77
- organization, 33–35
- origins, 32–33
- Pacambu scheme, 70, 133, 140–162, 169, 170, 187
- Register Book of Workers, 129, 135
- remittance of funds (*gray market*), 76
- sales and advertising policies, 70, 77–79, 105, 121, 128, 130–131, 140
- subsidiary companies
- network, 67, 77, 131, 136, 143, 146
- technical department, 145, 147
- and the municipality, 70, 72, 121, 125, 127, 141, 149
- workers, 102, 135–136
- CIDT (*Comissão Inspetora das Delegacias Técnicas*—Commission of Technical Delegation), 47–48, 88, 89, 95–96, 120, 192, 206, 210
- Cintra, João Florence Ulhôa (1887–1944), 37, 53, 56, 88, 94, 95, 102, 103, 106, 107, 189, 201, 205, 261
- City Beautiful Movement, 32
- Civil Service Municipal Commission, 201
- clientelism, 102, 166
- Clubs, 46, 128, 132, 159, 202, 225
- Automóvel Clube, 65, 78, 123
- Club Commercial, 65
- Golf Club, 65
- Harmonia Club, 73, 78
- Jockey Club, 65, 77, 78, 127, 131, 132, 185, 225, 239
- Paulistano Athletic Club, 78
- São Paulo Football Club, 141, 142, 143, 146, 221, 222
- Syrio Football Club, 143
- Coaracy, Vivaldo, 44
- Companhia Melhoramentos do Brasil, 59
- Constitutionalist Party, 127, 144, 152, 162
- consultants, 13, 88, 101, 167
- Corbisier, Jorge (1894–?), 88, 202
- Cordes, Emílio (1884–?), DOP engineer, 95
- Coutinho Filho, Alberto de Oliveira (1907–1945), DOP engineer, 192, 261
- Cradock, Harry-Ernest, Cia City founder, 33
- Craig, Carlos Guilherme (1896–?), DOP engineer, 95
- CREA (Engineering and Architecture Regional Council, *Conselho Regional de Engenharia e Arquitetura*), 84, 98
- Crespi (Prado), Renata (1896–1981), Fábio Prado's wife, 55, 242
- Dante Alighieri Institute, 89, 203
- Davis, Horace Bancroft (1898–1999), 6, 35, 43, 118, 144, 189, 191, 211, 213, 214, 222, 223, 234, 263
- DC (Culture Department, *Departamento de Cultura*), 55, 98, 113, 116, 123, 213
- children's park program, 58, 94
- Deffontaines, Pierre (1894–1978), FFCL professor (1934), 190
- Derby, Orville A., 2, 220
- diploma, 26, 58, 84, 85, 87, 90, 98, 99, 109, 116, 190, 200, 202, 203, 212, 260
- Dodd, George Seville, Cia City chief engineer (1913–1940s), 65, 135, 147, 152, 157–158
- Dodsworth Filho, Henrique de Toledo (1895–1975), 159

- DOP (Municipal Works Department, *Departamento de Obras Públicas*), 2, 14, 28–29, 32, 36–38, 42, 47–48, 51, 55–56, 70, 80, 83–90, 93–96, 98–100, 102–109, 111–112, 114, 120–122, 124–125, 131–132, 138–140, 146–147, 149–150, 152, 154–155, 164, 167–168, 173, 188–190, 193, 201–202, 204, 206–208, 210, 212, 217, 220–221, 224, 226
- Additional Tax on Profits Division, 106
- Public Works Improvement Program, 56, 58
- Draibe, Sonia, 160, 235
- Dreyfus, André, 58, 221
- Duarte, Paulo (Alpheu Junqueira de Monteiro) (1899–1984), 6, 7, 44, 55, 86, 95, 113, 119, 132, 137, 144–146, 159, 179, 190, 194, 201, 206, 208–209, 212–214, 216–218, 220–221, 223, 226–227, 235, 263
- Dubugras, Victor, 22, 186
- du Cros, (Sir) Arthur Philip (1871–1955), Cia City director, 67, 141, 158, 196, 221–222, 234
- Dumont, Alberto Santos, 60, 66
- Dumont Coffee Company, 25
- Dumont, Henrique, 59, 60, 66, 195
- Duprat, Raymundo da Silva (1863–1926), 31–32
- Dupré, Maria José Fleury Monteiro, 120
- EBA *usinas* (Hydroelectric water-cisterns), 67
- educational reform, 84, 85
- Egas, Benjamin Botelho (1890–?), 88, 95, 112, 210, 217
- Egas, Eugênio de Andrada, 95, 205, 210, 235
- Ellis Jr., Alfredo (1896–1974), 125, 192, 204, 213, 218, 235
- ELSP (Free School of Sociology and Political Science, *Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política*), 83, 85, 114–119, 123, 127–128, 144, 167, 211–212, 214–216, 218–219, 259
- Emendabile, Galileo, 137, 218, 235
- Escola Normal, 58, 89, 91, 97, 120, 203
- Escritório* (F. P. Ramos de Azevedo Technical Firm), 2, 11, 14, 19, 21, 26–27, 42, 48, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 104, 122, 133, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153–160, 164, 165, 166, 173, 179, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 193, 194, 196, 197, 201, 205, 206, 210, 218, 224, 240, 242
- Estado Novo (1937–1945), 12, 44, 54, 55, 67, 103, 106, 107, 123, 124, 130, 133, 138, 155, 158, 159, 162, 168, 169, 208, 209, 211, 220, 223, 235
- Ethnography and Folklore Society, 55
- Fausto, Boris (1930), 8, 160, 179, 225, 236
- FAU-USP (School of Architecture and Urbanism), 107, 133, 140, 195, 224
- Fernandes, Florestan (1920–1995), 24, 214–215, 236
- Ferraz, A. J. Pinto, 25, 217
- Ferreira, Hermílio, 159
- FFCL/USP (College of Philosophy, Sciences, and Arts, *Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras*), 58, 83, 85, 91, 114, 118, 136–137, 167, 193, 204, 209, 216
- First Republic (1889–1930), 8, 11, 28, 38, 84, 205
- Fonte, Carneiro da, 159
- Fontoura, João, 44
- Força Pública do Estado de São Paulo, 44, 47, 51, 99, 191, 230
- Foucault, Michel, 3
- Fóz, João, 95
- Freire, Victor da Silva (1869–1951), 29–30, 32, 38, 70, 99, 104–106, 188, 190, 207–208, 236, 255, 261–262
- Galliano, Luiz, Protocol and Archives municipal director (1926–1934), 201, 203
- Gama, João Monteiro (1902–?) da, DOP engineer, 96
- Garcez, Lucas Nogueira, 103
- garden-city neighborhoods (*Jardins*), *see* neighborhoods
- Germano, João Osório de Oliveira, 62
- Giordano, Ernestina, 5, 97–98, 167, 178, 206–207, 237
- Glette, Frederico, 22, 187
- Godoy Netto, Miguel (1896–?), DOP engineer, 96
- Góes, Eurico Dória de Araújo (1878–1938), DC Division Chief, 210
- Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo* Building, 12, 42, 46, 48–51, 62–63, 80, 96, 124–125, 138, 165, 242
- Gonçalves, Clóvis, 51, 237
- Goodwin, Philip Lippincott (1885–1958), 5, 163, 178, 221, 226, 237
- Gualco, Francisco Antonio, 25
- Guedalla, Herbert (1875–1940), Cia City first director and founder, 33, 72–73, 142, 158, 160
- Guimarães, Eurico Bastos (1894–?), 62, 196
- Hanke, Lewis Ulysses (1905–1993), 204
- Hardoy, Jorge (1914–1993), 2, 174, 238, 244
- Herrmann, Lucila, 7, 97–98, 167, 206, 220, 227, 259
- Herrmann Jr., Frederico (1896–1946), RAM contributor, 121, 168, 259
- Hoffman, Anna Maria F., 99–101
- Ianni, Octávio (1926–2004), 24–25, 126, 187, 239

- IAPÍ (Institute of Old Age and Industrial Pensions, *Instituto de Aposentadorias e Pensões dos Industriários*), 67, 71, 166
- IBEC (International Basic Economic Corporation), 167, 178, 226, 244
- IDORT (Rational Organization of Labor Institute), 63, 113
- IEG/USP (Institute of Genealogical Studies, *Instituto dos Estudos Genealógicos da Universidade de São Paulo*), 114
- Iervolino, Affonso (1910–?)
Escritório engineer, 62
- IHGSP (São Paulo Historical and Geographical Institute, *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo*), 2, 114, 220
- IPT (Institute of Technological Research, *Instituto de Pesquisas Tecnológicas do Estado de São Paulo*), 83, 85, 98, 99–103, 108–109, 121, 124, 167, 192, 196, 206–207, 211, 217, 239
- Isoldi, Francisco, 91
- Izzopi, Emílio, 136
- Jaguará Estate Company (*Companhia Imobiliária Jaguaré*), 65, 77
- James, Preston Everett (1899–1986), 183–184, 239
- Joyner, Henry B., 22
- Klinger, Bertoldo (1884–1969), 46
- Kroeber, A. L. (1876–1960), 117, 212
- Kubitschek, Jucelino (1902–1976), 133
- Lacreta, Júlio César (1906–?), DOP engineer, 94
- Lafer, Horácio (1900–1965), 207
- Last, Gilbert Alfred (1894–?) São Paulo British Chamber of Commerce director (1919–1948), 240
- Laveleye, Edouard Fontaine de (?–1934), Cia City founder, 32–33, 197, 231
- Law School, 15, 22, 25, 83, 91, 114, 196, 209, 212
- LBMB (Local Board Meeting Book), *see* Cia City
- Lee, Joseph (1862–1937), 118, 215
- Lefèvre, Henrique Neves, DOP engineer, 88, 96
- Leite, Aureliano, 44, 223, 240
- Leite, Barbosa, 159
- LEM (Materials Testing Laboratory, *Laboratório de Ensaio de Materiais*), 47, 95, 98
- Lemos, Carlos Alberto
Cerqueira, 182–187, 196, 200, 221, 240
- Letchworth, 33, 181
- Levine, Robert M., 240, 242
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1908–2009), FFCL professor and RAM contributor, 6, 118
- Lévi-Strauss, Dina, 116, 118
- Liceu Coração de Jesus school, 83
- Liga Republicana de Engenheiros*, 89
- Light (São Paulo Tramway, Light, and Power Company), 25, 34, 38, 70, 77, 88, 94, 122, 155, 187, 217, 242–243, 247
- Lima, Albino de Castro, Cia City first joint manager (1918), 34, 67
- Lima, Altino de Castro, Cia City sub-manager and Sales Department director (1933), 144–145, 147, 152, 158, 223
- Lima, Joaquim Eugênio de, 22–23, 28, 34, 145, 186, 230
- Lima, Waldomiro Castilho de (1873–1938), 45, 52, 115, 141
- Lobato, José Bento Monteiro (1882–1948), 119, 210, 233
- local firms, 67, 88, 94, 195, 222
- Lodi, Carlos Brasil (1907–?), DOP engineer, 93–94, 107, 205
- Loefgren Albert (1854–1918), 2
- London Crystal Palace Engineering School, 59, 61
- Lopes, Juarez, Cia City consulting lawyer, 67, 148, 155, 157
- Lopes, Maneco (Manuel Lopes de Oliveira Filho), municipal employee, 41–42, 190
- Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 33
- Lourenço, Oscar Bergström, 100
- Lourenço Filho, Manoel Bergström (1897–1970), 90
- Lowie, Robert H. (1883–1957), 117, 212
- Lowrie, Samuel Harman (1894–1975), 6, 43, 115–118, 123, 130–131, 137, 167–168, 191, 210–216, 219–220, 241, 259, 263–264
- Luz Jr., Christiano Carneiro Ribeiro (1896–1978), DOP chief engineer (1935), 95
- Macedo, Manoel Buarque de, 24
- Machado, Agenor, 202
- Machado, Antônio de Alcântara (1901–1935), 24, 32, 128, 147, 178, 193–194, 241
- Machado, Lourival Gomes (1917–1967), 91
- Mackenzie (Presbyterian American School of Engineering), 25, 84, 88–89, 196, 200–203, 207, 238, 247, 249, 262
- Magazines and Journals
Anglo-Brazilian Chronicle, 79, 199–200
Associação dos Proprietários de São Paulo, 79, 200
Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia, 79, 261
British Chamber of Commerce, 79
A Cigarra, 7, 45, 179
Fon-Fon, 7, 45, 262
National Municipal Review, 122
O Cruzeiro, 7, 45, 133, 192, 220, 262

- O Mundo Ilustrado*, 7, 133
Revista do Arquivo Municipal
see RAM
Revista do Brasil, 113, 179,
210, 255
Times of Brazil, 79, 198–200,
221, 224
- Maia, Francisco Prestes
(1896–1965), 7, 53–54,
56, 83, 103–107, 123,
156–159, 168, 178,
182–186, 188–190,
208–209, 218, 241, 252,
261, 263
- Malheiro, José Luis de Mello
(1900–?), DOP
engineer, 94
- Maluf, Paulo (1931), 207
- Marassa, Horácio (1907–1999),
DOP engineer, 90, 107,
229, 264
- Marchini, Adriano José
(1897–?), DOP and
IPT engineer, 88, 90,
95, 99–100, 102–103,
204, 221
- Martin, Jules (1894–1993), 28
- Martins, Fran, 120
- Maurano, Flávio Américo, 167,
204, 226, 242
- McAuliffe, Turquand, and
Youngs, 77
- Meirelles (Reis), Mário, cabinet
officer (1934) and
engineer, 41
- Mello, Luiz Ignácio Romeiro
de Anhaia (1891–1974),
6–7, 21, 27, 48, 51–52,
103–105, 107, 121–122,
159, 168, 193–194,
207–209, 221, 243,
260–262
- Mendes, Erasmo Garcia, 91
- Mesquita Filho, Júlio César
Ferreira de (1892–1969),
58, 179, 210, 221, 259
- migration, 3, 14, 16, 21–25, 25,
35, 43, 74, 97, 117, 126,
161, 174, 211, 212, 215,
231, 236, 237, 255
- Milliet, América, 222
- Milliet (da Costa e Silva), Sérgio
(1898–1966), 6–7, 55,
58, 116, 178, 210–215,
218, 221–222, 224, 237,
243, 259, 263
- Mills, C. Wright (1916–1962),
9, 180
- Miranda, Alfredo Aranha,
Escritório's partner, 27
- Miranda, Nicanor (1907–?),
DC Educational and
Recreation chief (1935),
122, 132–133, 153, 168,
210, 220, 243, 259
- Miranda, Rodolfo, 24
- MMDC movement, 47, 125
- Monbeig, Pierre (1908–1987),
18, 118, 182–184,
204, 244
- Moraes, José Ermírio de
(1900–1973), 207
- Moraes, Leo Ribeiro de,
208, 263
- Moraes, Rita G.T., 99
- Moraes, Rubens Borba, de
(1899–1986), 211
- Morse, Richard McGee
(1922–2001), 2, 7, 15, 17,
35–36, 106, 170–171,
173–174, 178, 182–186,
188–189, 191, 213, 227,
244, 259
- mortgage, *see* financing *under*
Cia City
- Moses, Herbert (1884–1972), 45
- Moses, Robert (1888–1981),
5–6, 106, 167, 178,
208, 226–227, 239,
244–245
- Moya Salvador de (1891–?),
RAM contributor, 114
- Munhós, Marcio Pereira, 144
- Municipality, 7, 13–14, 16, 20,
22, 28, 34, 37, 38, 54,
56–58, 67, 70–71, 95,
103, 105, 108, 111, 114,
116, 118, 121, 122, 126,
131, 133, 140, 141, 143,
145–161, 167, 169, 170,
176, 198, 202, 211, 217,
220–221, 249
- municipal autonomy, 54, 56,
103, 122
- municipal chart, 85, 210
- municipal employee (public
work office holder), 4,
10, 11, 56, 57, 81, 86,
104, 165, 166, 202, 226
- members of the State
Constituent Assembly,
144–145, 151, 211, 223
- permanent municipal
employee (*efetivos*), 86,
89, 94, 100, 101, 102,
103, 109, 201
- Municipal Employee Code, 86
- Municipal Engineer
Society (Sociedade dos
Engenheiros Municipais,
SEM), 55, 122, 217
- municipal gazette (*Diário
Oficial*), 113, 243
- municipal godchildren
(*afilhados da
prefeitura*), 58
- municipal journal, *see* RAM
- municipal stadium
(Pacaembu), 12, 56, 63,
67, 78, 122, 123, 124,
132–136, 139–162, 169,
170, 185, 196, 198, 217,
220, 221
- Municipal Theater, 29, 58,
62, 65, 206
- Municipal Works
Department, *see* DOP
- Nardon, Heitor (1907–?), DOP
engineer, 94, 205
- Nascimento, Walter Sócrates
(1893–?), DOP engineer,
90, 95
- National Constituent Assembly,
46, 49, 54, 76, 124, 142,
143, 147, 222, 223
- National Education
Council, 200
- neighborhoods, 10, 16, 18, 21,
22, 33, 34, 36, 47, 56,
57, 63, 64, 67, 70, 71,
72, 78, 79, 81, 88, 90,
93, 94, 96, 99, 102, 107,
116, 124, 126–134, 136,
164, 179, 187, 190, 194,
218, 222, 226
- Aclimação, 222
- Água Branca, 96
- Anhangabaú, 37, 41, 70,
78, 125, 127, 182, 198,
250, 258
- Barra Funda, 24, 88, 90, 96,
99, 178, 206, 241
- Bela Vista, 38, 99, 129,
196, 206
- Belenzinho, 126, 218
- Bexiga, 24, 38, 128, 129, 241
- Bom Retiro, 90, 129

- neighborhoods—*Continued*
 Brás, 16, 24, 100, 126, 128, 129, 151, 178, 241
 Butantan (working class and Cia City), 27, 66, 70, 77, 125, 127, 129, 158
 Cambuci, 218
 Campos Elísios, 22, 38, 88, 96, 136, 190, 220, 248
 Canindé, 128, 225
 garden-city neighborhoods (Jardins)
 Jardim América, 33, 36, 38, 66, 70–71, 73, 78, 120–121, 127–128, 136, 144–146, 188, 196, 198, 200, 207, 222, 223, 226, 230, 251
 Jardim Europa, 206, 222, 223
 Jardim Paulista, 78, 88, 145, 146, 210
 Guaianazes, 100
 Higienópolis, 22, 36, 38, 63, 128, 186, 207, 221
 Ibirapuera, 131, 132, 137, 158, 236
 Interlagos, 225
 Ipiranga, 116, 117, 184
 Lapa, 33, 71, 96, 116, 117, 127, 218
 Liberdade, 22, 41, 96, 202
 Luz, 16
 middle-class neighborhoods,
 idea of, 88, 93, 96, 127, 130–131, 206, 218
 Móoca, 16, 22, 94, 100, 126, 127, 128, 131, 132
 Pacaembu, 13, 33, 67, 71–72, 99, 121, 122, 127, 128, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 139, 140, 146, 149, 153, 157, 193, 200, 215, 220, 221
 Paraíso, 22, 100, 218
 Perdizes, 22, 130, 202
 Pinheiros, 127, 130, 143, 158, 198, 225
 proletarian neighborhoods,
 idea of, 16, 57, 75, 104, 117, 128, 129–130, 131, 151, 166, 231
 Santa Cecília, 18, 63, 96, 206, 221
 Santana, 83, 88, 93, 130–131, 203, 205, 206, 218, 220, 255
 Santo Amaro, 113, 225, 244
 São Caetano do Sul, 100
 Tucuruvi, 100
 Vila Galvão, 100
 Vila Mariana, 71, 88, 99, 130, 202, 217
 Vila Mazzei, 100
 Vila Pompéia, 93, 96, 202
 Vila Romana, 70, 127
 Neiva, Artur, 74
 nepotism (*parentela*), 62, 84, 165–166
 Neves, Christiano Stockler das (1889–1982), 245, 257
 newspapers, 6, 7, 45, 51, 56, 70, 71, 72, 78, 79, 93, 100, 107, 113, 123, 124, 127, 128, 130, 137, 140, 148, 158, 176, 186, 197, 209, 263–264
Diários Associados, 7, 192
Diário da Noite, 79, 114, 179, 197, 200, 208, 224, 263–264
Diário de São Paulo, 179, 197, 200, 224, 230
Diário Popular, 151, 179, 220, 224, 263
A Folha da Noite, 79
A Gazeta, 79, 200, 202, 224
Hoje, 208
O Correio Paulistano, 7, 79, 178–179, 224
O Estado de São Paulo, 55, 56, 57, 58, 93, 100, 113, 123, 124, 127, 130, 137, 145, 151, 162, 179, 190, 193, 194, 196–201, 210–212, 215, 218–220, 223–225, 229, 235, 244, 247, 252, 263–264
O Jequitibá, 114
 new towns (*ciudades operárias*), 35, 75, 181
 New York Municipal Recreation Department, 119
 Ninth of July Tunnel, 56, 124
 Noronha, Sylvio Cabral (1894–?), 88, 202
 Nothmann, Victor, 22, 187, 195
 Old Republic, *see* First Republic
 Oliveira, Armando de Salles (1887–1945), 52–53, 54, 71, 95, 123, 127, 133, 136, 141–147, 149, 152, 159, 178, 194, 197, 218, 222–223, 250, 263
 Oliveira, Francisco, 9, 245
 Oliveira, Marcial Fleury (1904–?), 94, 95–96
 Oliveira, Nelson Gama de, Cia City general manager (1928–1943), 65, 67, 70, 73, 141–142, 144, 146–147, 149, 153–154, 156–158, 222–224
 Oliveira, Renato Machado de (1890–?), DOP assistant engineer, 96
 Oliveira, Roberto Cardoso de, 118, 215, 233
 Oliveira Filho, “Maneco” Manuel Lopes de, 190
 Owensby, Brian, 3, 176, 205, 246, 257
 Pacaembu scheme, *see* Cia City
 Pacaembu stadium, *see* municipal stadium
 Palmer, Jr., Thomas Waverly (1920–1957), 174, 179, 188, 189, 194, 198, 227, 257
 Paraguay War, 16, 19, 115, 211
 Parker, (Richard) Barry (1867–1947), 13–15, 33, 35, 75–76, 139, 161, 181
Páteo do Colégio, 125
 Pati, Francisco (1898–1970), DC director (1938), 159
 patronage, 9, 21, 26, 55, 58, 67–68, 72, 76, 84–85, 87, 102, 109, 135, 146, 160–161, 165–166, 177, 186, 200, 225, 233, 238, 256
 Paula, Eurípedes Simão de (1910–1977), 91, 116, 182, 204, 239, 246
 paulista flag, 43, 48, 78, 193
 Paulista War (1932 Revolution), 42–47, 48, 49, 51, 54, 67, 68, 71, 73, 80, 88, 90, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 120, 124, 125, 133, 137, 141, 147, 165, 180, 191, 193–194, 196–197, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 206, 218, 222, 223, 253

- Constitutionalist, 43, 45,
48, 99, 100, 101, 141, 191,
194, 253
- Legalist, 43, 51, 133, 141,
191, 194
- paulista militia, 39,
43, 99
- PC (Constitutionalist Party),
127, 144, 152, 162
- PD (Democratic Party), 67, 68,
105, 115, 161, 179, 191,
193, 197, 206, 223
- Pearson, Frederick Stark, 25
- Pereira, Bresser (1934),
207, 246
- Peto, Ralph, 33
- Pierson, Donald (1900–1995),
ELSP professor, 5, 7,
118, 127–131, 135, 168,
178, 214–215, 216, 218,
219, 234, 259
- Pimentel, S. de Barros, 33
- Pinheiros River, Pinheiros River
Canalization, 38, 66, 70,
77, 197
- Pinto, Adolpho Augusto
(1856–1930), 207, 247
- Pinto, Firmiano de Moraes
(1861–1938), São Paulo
mayor (1920–1926), 31,
37, 196, 236, 244
- Pinto, João França, 203
- Pinto Filho, Pedro França
(1900–?), DOP engineer,
95, 96
- POLI (São Paulo Engineering
School/Polytechnic
School, Escola Politécnica
Paulista), 21, 27, 28, 29,
47, 48, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89,
90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97,
98–103, 104, 105, 109,
114, 120, 186, 192, 193,
196, 201, 202, 203, 204,
205, 206, 207, 208, 209,
210, 217, 218, 223, 226,
229, 236, 237, 249, 254,
255, 260
- Ponchon, C., 152
- Population Congress (Paris 1937),
116, 212
- Prado, Amador Cintra do
(1897–?), 88, 94, 262
- Prado, Antonio da Silva
(1840–1929), 18, 29–31,
32, 116, 140, 188, 190,
210, 223
- Prado, Décio de Almeida
(1917–2000), 137,
221, 247
- Prado, Fábio da Silva
(1887–1963), 7, 42, 53,
54, 55, 56–59, 63, 80,
85, 87, 94, 95, 98, 103,
104, 105, 111, 112, 113,
116, 120, 123, 124,
125, 129, 130, 131, 137,
144, 145, 147, 156, 158,
159, 162, 165, 168, 178,
190, 192, 194, 195, 209,
210, 219, 220, 221, 235,
247, 259
- Prado, Veridiana (1825–1910),
18, 236
- Presbyterian Mackenzie School,
see Mackenzie
- PRP (Paulista Republican Party,
*Partido Republicano
Paulista*), 25, 34, 37, 41,
68, 74, 114, 115, 125,
131, 144, 161, 162, 179,
190, 205, 206, 223, 226
- Prudente de Moraes School, 59
- Quadros, Janio da Silva
(1917–1992), 209
- Queiróz, Amadeu de (1873–1955), RAM
contributor, 259
- Quellennec, Edouard, Cia City
founder, 33
- RAM (Municipal Archives
Journal, *Revista do
Arquivo Municipal*), 7,
88, 97, 112–113, 114
115, 117, 118, 120, 121,
122, 123, 125, 135, 137,
138, 140, 152, 153, 194,
201, 202, 203, 210, 211,
212, 214, 218, 220, 224,
225, 258–260
- Ramalho, Baron, 22–23
- Ramos, Artur (1903–1949), 116
- Ramos, Augusto Theodoro,
52, 141
- Ramos, Graciliano
(1892–1953), 120
- Ratto, Gilberto de Souza
(1889–?), 90
- Revolution of 1932, 39, 42–48,
50–52, 54–55, 68, 71, 73,
75, 80–81, 83, 85, 88, 90,
94–96, 98, 99–100, 103,
108–109, 112, 115, 120,
124–125, 130, 133, 137,
147, 165–166, 176, 180,
189, 191–194, 196–200,
202, 204, 206–207, 210,
216, 218, 222–223, 226,
235, 237, 242, 244–245,
253, 262
- battle train/tank (*blindado*),
47, 95
- Gold for the Benefit of São
Paulo* campaign, 46
- revolutionary major
engineers, 47, 95–96,
120, 159, 192, 206, 210
- separatism, idea of, 43, 75
- Rezende, Fausto Soares de, 152
- Ricoeur, Paul, 5, 162, 178, 221
- Rio, José Pires do (1880–1950),
São Paulo mayor
(1926–1930), 31, 38
- Rio de Janeiro School of
Engineering, 97
- Rockefeller, Nelson, 167
- Rockefeller Foundation, 119, 127
- Rodrigues, Alexandre Martins
(1901–?), DOP engineer,
41, 88, 95, 121, 206, 260
- Rodrigues, José Wash, 43, 248
- Rodrigues, Lúcio Martins
(1876–1970), POLI
professor (1902–1937), 94
- Rodrigues Filho, Lúcio Martins,
DOP sub-division chief
engineer (1935), 206
- Rossi, Santa Catharina, 99–100
- Rowntree, Joseph (1836–1925),
35, 75, 189, 199, 254
- Rudolfer, Bruno (?–1941), RAM
contributor, 122, 126,
131, 217–218, 260, 263
- rural middle class (*café com leite
coalition, colonos, and
colonato*), 8–9, 39
- Sabino, Horácio Belfort
(1869–1950), Cia City
director, 32, 33, 131, 141,
142, 143, 146, 222, 263
- Saboya, Arthur (1878–1952), 31,
38, 47, 51, 52, 87, 88, 94,
95, 105, 190, 201–203,
206, 230, 261
- SAC (Society of Friends of São
Paulo, Sociedade Amigos
da Cidade), 105, 109,
234, 241, 243, 251, 261

- Saia, Luis (1911–1975), 7, 183, 184, 227, 248, 260
- Sampaio, Teodoro (1855–1937), 2, 136, 137, 220, 262
- Santa Casa da Misericórdia, 46, 233, 252, 256
- São Bento school, 89, 202, 207
- São Luis school, 182, 207
- São Paulo Gas Company (*Companhia de Gás*), 18, 25, 155, 233
- São Paulo Railway Company, 16, 17, 25, 33, 185, 257
- São Paulo State Constituent Assembly, 88, 144, 145, 151, 223
- Scatollin, Luis, Head of the School of Arts and Crafts (1920s–1940s), 26
- School of Arts and Crafts (*Liceu de Artes e Ofícios*), 18, 21, 26, 27, 65, 84, 88, 136, 184, 196, 235, 237, 249
- School of Fine Arts, 48, 89, 97, 200
- Severo, Antonio (Dumont da Fonseca) (1902–?), Escritório's partner (1938), 62, 152
- Severo, José (Dumont da Fonseca) (1897–?), Escritório's partner (1930s), 62
- Severo, Ricardo (da Fonseca Costa) (1869–1940), 27, 48, 59, 60, 62, 66, 142, 143, 144, 149, 150, 152, 158, 160, 184, 185, 187, 196, 249, 255, 263
- Shalders, Carlos Gomes de Souza, 107
- Shaw, Paul Vanorden, 118, 215, 264
- Silva, Ary (1917–2001), 83, 264
- Silva, Domício de L. Pacheco e (1892–?), 202
- Silva, Euclides, 201
- Silva, Lysandro Melle Pereira (1903–?), 88, 95, 103, 121, 250, 260
- Silveira, Carlos, IHGSP member and RAM contributor, 114
- Simonsen, Roberto Cochrane (1889–1948), ELSP founder and professor (1933–1948), 26, 187, 237, 240, 247, 250
- Smith, George Everard Kidder, 163, 178, 221, 237
- Smith, Thomas Lynn (1903–?), 227, 250, 253
- Soares, Marcelo de Lacerda, 152
- Société Générale et Immobilière et d'Embellissement de la Ville de São Paulo*, 33
- Souza, Washington Luis Pereira (1869–1957), São Paulo mayor (1914–1919), 31, 37
- Stevens, G. T. Gordon, 155
- Suburbana Paulista Company, 27
- Taubaté Convention, 74
- Taunay, Affonso Teixeira d'Escragnolle (1876–1958), POLI (1899–1923) and FFCL (1934–1937) professor, 2, 185, 202, 227, 251
- Tea Viaduct (Viaduto do Chá), 28, 56, 259, 262
- Teixeira, José Horácio Meirelles (1907–1972), 122, 217, 260
- Telles, Antonio Carlos da Silva, 17
- Telles, Antonio de Queiróz (Baron of Parnaíba), 19, 20
- Telles, Francisco Emygdio da Fonseca (1888–?), 47, 207, 221
- Telles, Godofredo Teixeira Silva (1888–1980), São Paulo mayor (1932), 52, 202, 251
- tenentes, 39, 95, 96, 191, 196
- Teodoro (Xavier de Matos), João, 17–18, 29, 116, 184, 204, 256
- Thut, João Roberto (1896–?) DOP engineer (1935), 96
- Tietê River, 16, 38, 70, 96, 197, 206, 245, 250
- Toledo, Pedro Manuel de (1860–1935), São Paulo federal interventor (1932), 45, 46, 52, 125
- Topographic Cabinet, 28
- Torres, Ary Frederico (1900–?), 99, 100, 221
- Unwin, Raymond, 33, 35, 75, 181, 231
- urban legislation
- Additional Tax on Profits (*Taxa de Melhoria*), 86, 105, 121, 149, 154, 157, 224
 - Arthur Saboya Code, 38, 190, 203, 206, 230
 - Edict (*Edital de Concorrência Pública*), 149–150
 - Installment Purchases Legislation, 156
 - Municipal Act 754 (1934), 86
 - Municipal Act 834 (1935), 203
 - Municipal Act 856 (1935), 203
 - Municipal Act 1013 (1936), 125
 - Municipal Act 1115 (1936), reconfirmed Law 5096 (1931), 150
 - Municipal Act 1146 (1936), 85, 210
 - Reform Acts (1936), 85
 - Taxes on Selling Prices of Land (*Imposto Territorial Urbano*), 28, 57, 155–156
- urban segregation, *see* urban typology, zoning
- urban space, 1, 2, 3, 14, 24, 28, 37, 106, 151, 163, 168, 177, 179, 201, 202, 207, 230
- street names, 124–125
- Angélica Avenue, 128, 219
 - Anhangabaú Avenue, 70, 198
 - Augusta Street, 124, 222
 - Brasil Avenue, 111, 112, 128, 198, 219
 - Do Estado Avenue, 128
 - Europa Avenue, 121
 - Líbero Badaró Street, 63, 78, 194
 - 9th of July Avenue (Itooró Avenue), 58, 125, 129, 133, 218
 - Pacaembu Avenue, 128, 134, 147, 153, 219
 - Paulista Avenue, 22–23, 34, 222
 - Rebouças Avenue (Itapirassu Street), 34
 - Tiradentes Avenue, 218
 - 23rd of May Avenue, 125, 137, 218

- urban typology, 130
chácara (small semi-rural house), 15–18, 21–24, 27, 111
cortiços and *casebres* (tenement house), 1, 129, 219
garçonnières, 57
 palace (*palácio* or *palacete*, upper-class or government mansion), 18, 19, 41, 63–64, 71, 93, 128, 130, 136–137, 139, 194, 220
repúblicas, 57
 two-story houses (*sobrados* and twin two-story houses, *sobradinhos* or Ford V-8), 18–19, 57, 128–130, 185
 USP (University of São Paulo), 7, 41, 48, 54, 55, 58, 83, 85, 90, 91, 97, 98, 103, 107, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 133, 136, 137, 140, 179, 184, 193, 196, 204, 206, 210, 214, 215, 216, 218
 Valadares, Benedito, 44
 Vampré, Spencer (1888–1964), Cia City lawyer (1920s–1933), 34, 252
 Varella, Álvaro Maurício, DOP engineer, 217, 260
 Vargas, Getúlio D., 5, 12, 38–39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 51, 54, 55, 56, 68, 100, 108, 115, 120, 126, 138, 141, 144, 155, 159, 160, 169, 173, 175, 187, 188, 189, 191, 191, 193, 194, 197, 198, 216, 222, 234, 235, 236, 238, 240, 241, 248, 250, 252, 253, 254
see also Estado Novo, Paulista War
 Vaughan, Júlio César Ribeiro, 193
 Vidal, Sampaio, 34, 198
 Vidigal, Cássio da Costa, DOP engineer, 88, 95, 96
 Vigers, Leslie R., 33
 Vila Economizadora Paulista, 32, 188, 236
 Villares, Alfredo Dumont (1896–1970), Escritório's partner (1938), 60, 62, 152, 196
 Villares, Arnaldo Dumont (1888–1965), 11, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 59–70, 76, 77, 80, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 160, 161, 165, 179, 188, 195, 199, 252
 Villares, Guilherme de Andrade (1853–1930), 59, 60
 Villares, Henrique Dumont (1892–1960), 60, 77, 152
 Villares, Laura Lacaze Ramos de Azevedo (1884–?), 60, 190, 253
 Washburne, C. W., 202
 Weinstein, Barbara, 160, 174, 175, 176, 191, 193, 199, 253
 Willems, Emilio (1905–1997), 92, 118–119, 122, 205, 216, 234, 238, 253, 260
 Williams, Lois Marietta, 6, 118, 216
 women, 3, 8, 18, 19, 22, 24, 41, 46, 48, 55, 58, 59, 60, 91, 92, 97, 100, 101, 102, 118, 134, 136, 175, 179, 185, 186–187, 193, 195, 204, 217, 222, 230, 239, 242, 253, 254
 workers (working class), 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 16, 19, 23, 35, 43, 56, 57, 58, 75, 88, 96, 100, 108, 116, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 135, 137, 144, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 211, 213, 226, 246, 253, 254
bedel, 83, 99, 200
chacareiro (subsistence farmer), 111–112, 146
 foremen (*capomastri*), 13, 20–21, 26, 62, 84, 135
 janitor (*zelador*), 58, 79, 83
 plasterers (*fachadistas* or *frentistas*), 83
 skilled workforce (unskilled professionals, *profissionais de "risco"*), 4, 15, 18, 21, 41, 54, 83–84 (*licenciados práticos*), 87, 97, 102, 136, 139, 176, 196, 200
 Wright, Frank Lloyd (1867–1959), 97, 163, 226
 Zagottis, Alberto de, DOP engineer, 122–123, 217–218, 260
 zoning (*ocupação do solo urbano*), 14
 Avenue Plan (Plano de Avenidas), 56, 106
 Bouvard Plan, 32
 Cardoso Plan, 38
 Cia City, 78, 105
periferia, 102
 Plan (perímetro de irradiação plan), 37
 radial configuration, 15, 16, 17, 106