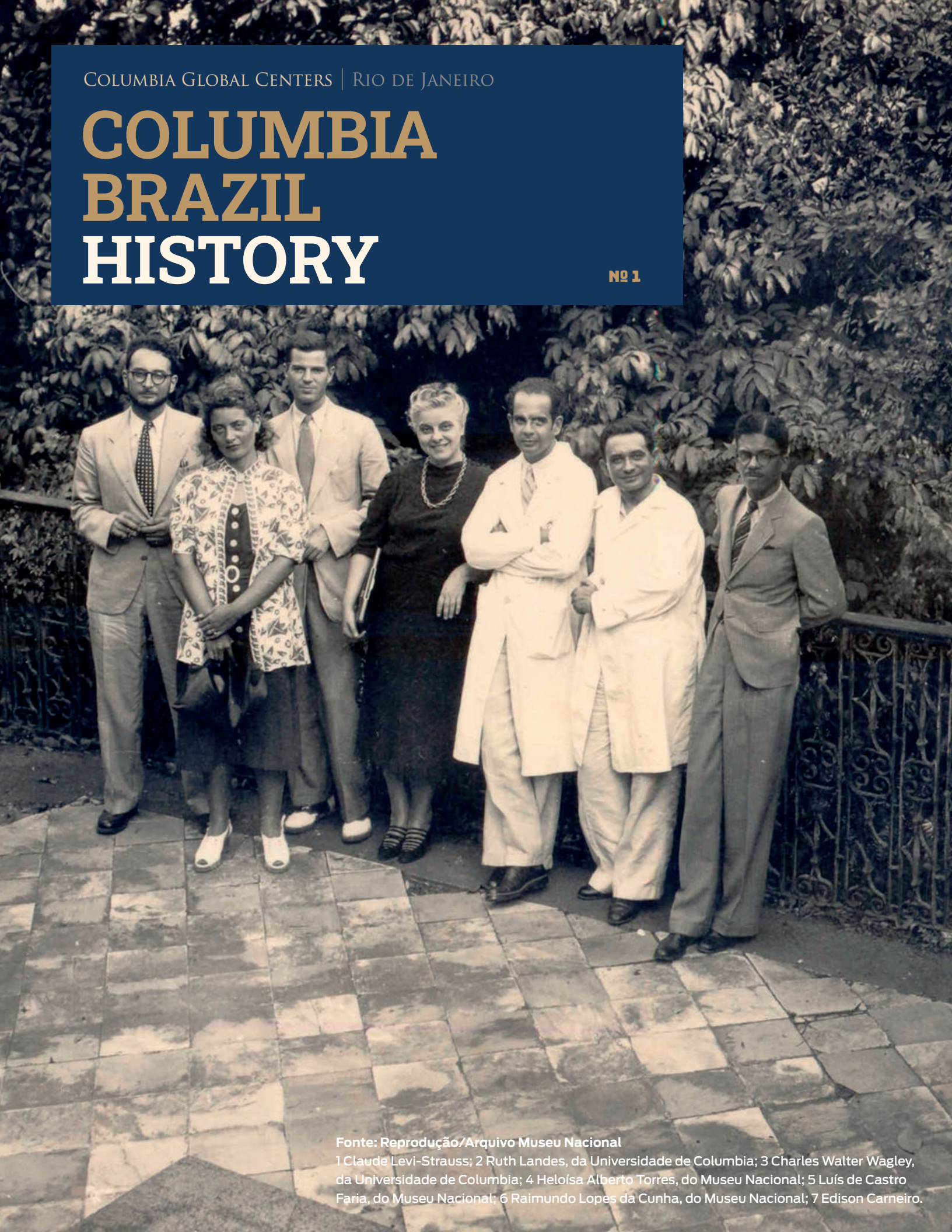
Columbia Global Centers | Rio de Janeiro

COLUMBIA BRAZIL HISTORY

Nº 1



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DEDICATION

To Professor Albert Fishlow and,
***in memoriam*, to Professor Alfred Stepan:**
the "two Als" whose dedication to the study of Brazil and to Columbia University inspired this volume.

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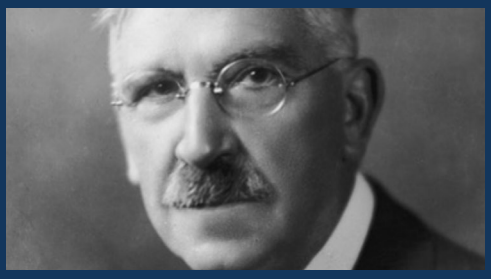

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PREFACE

To our readers,

The studies contained in this modest volume represent a first attempt to recover and make available important dimensions about the lengthy relationship between Columbia University in the City of New York and Brazil. As with most historical efforts, our intention in looking at the past history is motivated by a desire to learn its lessons for the present and the future.

It has been the case that Columbia and Brazil are closely intertwined today for a variety of human and institutional linkages. The clear ties between the University and Brazil are manifest today not only on Columbia's Morningside campus in New York, but also through the growing influence of the Columbia Global Center office in Rio de Janeiro.

Since 2013, the Columbia Global Center in Rio de Janeiro has been reporting a large census of Brazilians in residence at Columbia University in New York. In terms of total student enrollment (2018-19 data for graduate and undergraduate students), Brazil ranks seventh in terms of total sending countries, with enrollments comparable to those of France and the U.K. and ahead of Germany. Brazilian students can be found in practically every school and the program of the University, with the largest cohorts attending the Graduate School of Business, the Law School, the School of Professional Studies, the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, the School of International and Public Affairs and Columbia College, the main undergraduate school. In the years since the launch of the Global Center in Brazil in 2013, the number of Brazilians enrolled in formal degree programs has roughly doubled to 200 per year, with some year-to-year variation[1].

During the course of 2019-2020, the Rio Center has been involved in more than 70 academic programs and events that happened with direct participation of Columbia faculty from various schools. These programs brought together researchers, specialists, public servants and civil society to discuss a wide range of themes and to exchange their knowledge and experience.

Moreover, the Brazilian presence on campus is evident not only because of the large number of students, but also academics, visiting scholars, speakers and research centers dedicated to the study of Brazil is impressive.

The Institute of Latin American

1 For detailed data, see the Columbia Global Centers| Rio de Janeiro's Annual Report: https://globalcenters.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/content/AR2020-25.pdf

Studies (ILAS) as a center for research, teaching, and discussion on Latin America has played a big role in bringing together and providing resources for Columbia faculty, students, and visiting scholars interested in the region since its foundation in 1962.

Another crucial institution for the promotion of collaborations between the Columbia community and Brazilian scholars and institutions is the Lemann Center for Brazilian Studies (LCBS). Established in 2001, the Center was created to offer a place for scholars and students to pursue and share research and scholarship on Brazil. Besides rich public programming on campus, the LCBS manages programs for visiting scholars and supports students with travel grant opportunities and fellowships.

As the global relevance of Brazil grows and more students, faculty, academics and projects can be expected to come together to strengthen the bridge between Brazil and one of the most well known educational institutions in the world. Mindful of the present and future, we decided to look back into the past history of the relationships. We wanted at the outset to investigate the roles of people, of ideas, and of institutions that literally are the foundation stones for Columbia's intense interaction with Brazil today.

While we have recorded the importance of many different actors, a few names stood out throughout our research as key personalities whose talents shaped this history. Some of these individuals are academics who are already recognized by history and the literature for their intellectual contributions. A very partial list would certainly include Frank Tannenbaum, Charles Wagley, Ruth Landes, Anísio Teixeira, and Gilberto Freyre. Other names are those of illustrious Columbia scholars who continue to make their contributions to the Columbia community. Professors Albert Fishlow and John Coastworth, for example, can still be found on campus sharing their knowledge and intellectual capital with students and inspiring their faculty colleagues to bear in mind Brazil's global importance. Professor Alfred C. Stepan, who passed away prematurely in 2017, would certainly be on any short list of Columbia's most acclaimed Brazilianists. We are grateful to all of these individuals, and so many others, who made this partnership between Brazil and the University viable through lifetime scholarly contributions.

The two co-editors of this study, as well as the student authors of each of the main chapters, would also like to recognize the invaluable support of a faculty board of advisors. The Board was formed by outstanding faculty from Columbia, academics from other institutions with great knowledge about historical research, and others who generously shared impressions of their experiences as students and researchers. We thank Columbia professors Amy Chazkel, Ana Paulina Lee, and Nara Milanich for sharing some of their vast knowledge on research methodology and Brazilian history. We appreciated the team of Columbia librarians Socrates Silva Reyes, Jocelyn K. Wilk and Joanna M Rios who guided us through this entire process, helping our group to navigate the University's digital archives online. We also recognize and thank the renowned experts who donated their time through long interviews without which our study would have been far poorer. We especially mention Barbara Weinstein, Betty Wagley Kottak, Conrad Kottak, Elio Gaspari, James Green, Herbert Klein, Judith R. Shapiro, Maxine Margolis and Roberta Delson.

Finally, we thank the six Columbia students Gabriel Franco, Julia Shimizu, Cecelia Morrow, Robyn Maryah Stewart, Karolina Nixon and Wanyi Xie for their hard work and professionalism. The group was formed out of a Columbia Global Center initiative to create "virtual internships" during the pandemic summer of 2020. The students, all volunteers, and editors met online two times each week for three months to discuss the development of the project and learn from each other.

Finally, it bears mention that this publication was assembled during strange and frightening times for Columbia, Brazil, and the world as the ravages of the Covid-19 pandemic destroyed our daily routines and took so many lives. At the same time, it was for us an opportunity to see how Columbians of the past dealt with the strange and frightening times that occasionally darkened their lives. The six chapters at the heart of this study are, collectively, studies in scholarly entrepreneurship and courage in the face of adversity. We are proud to make this volume available to a broader audience in the hope that many will find in it inspiration to continue filling in the details of the intertwined history of Columbia and Brazil.

Thomas J Trebat
Laura Nora
Rio de Janeiro
November 2020

INTRODUCTION

This publication was organized by the Columbia Global Centers | Rio de Janeiro with the goal of retracing the ties between Columbia University and Brazil. The following six chapters were written by Columbia University students who spent the summer as "virtual interns" both defining and contributing to this project. The virtual internships were an initiative of the network of nine Global Centers as an opportunity to provide students with a meaningful experience despite the COVID-19 pandemic.

All the writers involved in this study faced challenging research conditions. The group was spread over three continents with different time zones, researchers never met in person, the interaction was restricted to online platforms and we had to work with limited resources since physical archives were closed as a way to prevent the spread of the virus. Nonetheless, this volume offers us important insights from the past.

Although the chapters of this study focus on different topics and historical periods, all six of them describe how invaluable the co-creation of knowledge across national boundaries can be. Even in times of connectivity and technological development, one can identify in these pages the many challenges academics had to face in order to collaborate across national boundaries. Try to imagine the level of complexity involved in the effort of an American anthropologist that wanted to research the Amazon Basin in the 1930s. Or picture a solitary Brazilian student at Columbia University in the 1860s, when the country was still an empire and engaged in one of the largest armed conflicts in South America[1]. Or even the waves created by a female academic and her work on gender and religion in Brazil in the 1940s[2].

1 Reference is to the Paraguayan War

2 Landes. Ruth, 1947. City of Women

Challenges related to communication, logistics, content production, cultural differences and social barriers were overcome because of the formation of global networks of scholars that facilitated learning. You will have a sense of the invaluable work of people such as Heloísa Alberto Torres, Edison Carneiro, Cecília Roxo Wagely, Clara Galvão and others throughout this publication. It is obvious that the individual contribution of many others has been overlooked, but those networks would not have been forged without the dedication of the others now perhaps lost in mists of time.

The Columbia Global Centers | Rio de Janeiro hopes this study can also be considered as a small piece of this long chain of contributions towards a shared research process between a major country and a leading educational institution. Our main goal was to emphasize the relevance of Columbia University around the world and how its global initiative can generate results through decades.

The first chapter, by Robyn Stewart, a Columbia College undergraduate, explores how a just single building at Columbia University's Morningside Campus can teach us much about the relationship of an American family and its sugar empire with slavery in Brazil. Stewart does a careful retrospective on the Havermeyer family and its benefactions to Columbia. In this way, she reminds us of the historical debt that both Brazil and the United States have acquired after centuries of slavery and calls for concrete actions to faciliate access to the Columbia of today for Black and Brown Brazilians.

In Chapter Two, Cecilia Morrow, an anthropology major at Columbia College today, takes us on a trip back to the time when the Columbia Anthropology Department was populated by distinguished scholars eager to explore and partner with the Brazilian academy. The author is successful in her goal to show us in a clear and concise way the deep-rooted connection between scholarly communities in Columbia and Brazil and how

much the modern field of anthropology owes to their collaboration. This part of the publication is essential for our understanding of the origins of the Institute of Latin America Studies at Columbia, the growth of Brazilian studies at the University, and the role played by Charles Wagley in fostering student interest in Brazil.

Chapter 3, contributed by Teachers College graduate student Wanyi Xie, attests to the far-reaching impact on education reform in Brazil spurred by the creation of the International Institute at Teachers College in the early 1920s. She brings back the memory of the great John Dewey of Teachers College and the impact that his ideas on progressive education had on Brazilian education . Xie calls attention to the critical role of one of Dewey and Kilpatrick's Brazilian students, Anisio Teixeira, in reimagining the importance of a democratic public school system in Brazil. The author also offers a brief comparative perspective on TC-Brazil history and TC-China history, reminding us of the extraordinary global impact of this remarkable school of education at Columbia.

Chapter 4, contributed by Barnard College student Julia Shimizu, shines a light on the (often ignored) contributions of women scholars and students to the history of Columbia University and Brazil. The author provides an analysis of the obstacles and social constraints imposed by gender inequality, many of which are still persistent today. The writer takes us back to a time when women's access to education was limited or overshadowed by societal norms. The chapter is built around a pair of case studies. The first is a focus on women scholars on the development of anthropology in the United States. The second brings back for us the memory of a group of five Brazilian women who improved education in Minas Gerais and elsewhere in Brazil after their period of study at Columbia Teachers College.

Chapter 5 was authored by Karolina Nixon, a Columbia College undergraduate with an interest in law and democracy. She examines and compares the intellectual contributions of three notable Columbia professors who focused extensively on Brazil: Alfred C. Stepan, Ronald M. Schneider, and Adolf Berle Jr. The author draws a parallel between the three scholars and emphasizes their contributions to the academic tradition of the study of democracy in Brazil. This chapter reminds us of analytical tools that can be helpful when studying threats to constitutional order in contemporary Brazil.

Chapter 6, by Columbia undergraduate history major Gabriel Franco, focuses on one of the most *critically* important eras in the long arc of Brazil-Columbia history: the military dictatorship of the 1960s and 1970s. The horrors and persecution of the era marked the growth of Brazilian studies at Columbia and made Columbia, for a time, into a safe haven for persecuted Brazilian intellectuals. Through careful examination of historical documents and extensive use of oral interviews, Franco reveals many nearly forgotten aspects of this transformational period in the history of Brazil and Columbia, calling attention to brave actions by Brazilian opponents of the regime and their supporters on the Columbia faculty. All were motivated by a moral commitment of scholars to democracy and a willingness to act when it is threatened.

The co-editors also added an Epilogue to this study with the goal of touching upon a few areas and topics that we could not report upon in a focused way, but which are worthy of future scholarly inquiry.

Finally, an Appendix continues a chronology of important dates in the history of Columbia University and Brazil.

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The Significance of Havemeyer Hall: How Sugar Links an Elite Family, Columbia University, and Slavery in Brazil

ROBYN STEWART

Havemeyer Hall, located in the heart of Columbia University's Morningside Campus, at first appears an unlikely candidate for an analysis of the connections linking Columbia and Brazil. While the passage of time has all but erased public familiarity with the Havemeyer sugar dynasty, Havemeyer Hall is not just the building that appears in a Spider-Man movie (as it is known by many undergraduates). The building is instead a vestige of the America of the late 1800s, a society of haves and have-nots, of greed and elitism, of slavery, of immigrants, and of monopoly. In this paper, I will use the Havemeyer building as a site of analysis to reveal how slave labor in Brazil and other nations enriched an elite. American corporate family, and how Columbia University, in turn, benefitted from these profits. Ultimately, this chapter hopes to shed light on the connections between the University, corporate interests, and slave labor in Brazil with the goal of initiating conversations around the disproportionately low representation of Black Brazilians among Columbia's student body.

I. The Havemeyers

The one-room sugar refinery opened in 1807 by William and Frederick Havemeyer, German cousins who immigrated to New York City, transformed into a sugar empire over the course of the 19th century. The pair, who worked in the British sugar industry prior to

Image I. Havemeyer Hall in 1906[1].[1]

1 Detroit Publishing Co., Copyright Claimant, and Publisher Detroit Publishing Co. Havemeyer Hall, Columbia University, N.Y. New York. United States, None. [Between 1900 and 1906] Photograph, from Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2016803368/.

arriving in the United States, expanded their tiny refinery into a large operation with the capacity to refine up to nine million pounds of sugar a year[1]. Their success in business translated into significant power over local politics despite their humble beginnings as young immigrants: by 1812, for example, they successfully lobbied for the lowering of tariffs on imports of raw sugar and the raising of tariffs on imported refined sugar, which lowered their production costs and made the products of foreign competitors more expensive[2].

In 1828, the cousins passed the company down to their sons, William Jr. and Frederick Jr., who solidified the Havemeyers' economic and political empire. Both men studied at Columbia: William graduated from the College in 1823 and Frederick left before graduating to lead the family business with his cousin[3]. William worked for the company until the 1840s, when he ran for Mayor of New York; he ultimately served as mayor for three terms. Frederick Jr., however, became the face of the American sugar industry, described in his obituary published in the New York Times as "the venerable head of the well-known Havemeyer family… [who] knew more about the sugar-refining industry than any other man in the world[4]". Frederick was adamant on teaching his sons the industry as well; he sent his children to Europe to learn about sugar refining and allowed them to work as early as their teenage years[5]. Perhaps because of this thorough training, two of his sons became the most well-known figures in American sugar refining in the 19th century: Theodore, who became known as "America's great sugar king", and H arry, known as the"Sugar Pope[6]".

1 Nolan Scruggs, "Columbia and Slavery," Columbia and Slavery, n.d., https://columbiaandslavery.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/content/2019%20Papers/PDFs/Nolen%20Scruggs,%20_Columbia,%20Coolies,%20Commerce%20_%20Cane_%20The%20Intersection%20of%20Columbia,%20Domino%20Sugar%20and%20Slavery.pdf .

2 Judson C. Welliver, "The Story of Sugar." Hampton's Magazine (1909-1911) 23, no. 4 (Oct 01, 1909), http://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/docview/128449379?accountid=10226.

3 "Obituary: Frederick C. Havemeyer," The New York Times, July 29, 1891.

4 Welliver, "The Story of Sugar"; "Obituary: Frederick C. Havemeyer," The New York Times, July 29, 1891.

5 Matthew Postal, "Havemeyer & Elder Filter, Pan, and Finishing House," Havemeyer & Elder Filter, Pan, and Finishing House § (n.d.), http://s-media.nyc.gov/agencies/lpc/lp/2268.pdf.

6 Ibid; "What's Your Favorite Building?," Tenement Museum, October 1, 2013, https://www.tenement.org/blog/whats-your-favorite-building/.

In the mid 1800s, the Havemeyers decided to move their refining operations to Williamsburg, which accelerated the expansion of their control over the American sugar industry. From the 1860s to the 1880s, the Havemeyers increased their ownership of the land on the East River in Brooklyn and, by the end of its construction, the factories on the Brooklyn Waterfront possessed the ability to produce 1,200 tons of sugar per day[7]. By the end of the century, the Havemeyers dominated sugar sales in the United States and were globally unrivaled, in effect synonymizing the last name Havemeyer with refined sugar.

II. Foreign Sugar, Slave Labor

The Havemeyers' location on the East River boosted the family's sugar refining empire because, as described by Frederick, there was "good deep water, plenty of labor, and… space to build[8]". As the sugar industry's dependence on raw sugar from overseas grew exponentially during the mid- to late-1800s, access to water facilitated access to the boats transporting sugarcane became essential to the continued prosperity of sugar refiners in the United States.

Image II. Havemeyer refinery on the Brooklyn waterfront, c. 1892-1900[9].

7 Postal, "Havemeyer & Elder Filter, Pan, and Finishing House".

8 Martin Schneider, "When Brooklyn Controlled the Nation's Sugar," Brooklyn Eagle, May 23, 2012, https://brooklyneagle.com/articles/2012/05/23/when-brooklyn-controlled-the-nations-sugar/.

9 D.L. Parker, photograph, "Views: Brooklyn, Long Island, Staten Island. Brooklyn scenes; buildings. View 046: Havemeyer Sugar Refinery.". Lantern slide 3.25x4in, 3.25 x 4 in., from Brooklyn Museum, S10_11_Brooklyn_LI_SI_Brooklyn_Scenes_Buildings046.jpg

Prior to the Civil War, Louisiana sourced much of the sugar available in the United States. Sugar plantations in the Bayou State produced the raw sugar upon which Northeastern refiners depended. The war, however, necessitated the refiners' search for new sources of raw sugar, as production in Louisiana shrunk to 5,000 tons in 1865, from a previous peak of 150,000 tons[10]. Data of sugar imports received in New York show a similar decline: 10,852 tons of sugar from Louisiana arrived in New York in 1864, a figure which shrunk to just 107 tons the following year[11]. This decrease occurred for two main reasons: one, wartime battles in Louisiana destroyed numerous sugar mills and, two, the war emancipated the people whose forced labor was crucial to the cultivation of sugarcane. The demise of Louisiana sugar coincided with a rising demand for sugar among American consumers, which grew by 37 percent from 1864 to 1865, despite having decreased by 28 percent the year prior.[12] Thus, for the Havemeyers and their competitors, the Civil War period represented a loss of the central domestic supplier of raw sugar and a simultaneous growth in demand for the refined product among the American public.

American sugar refiners hence turned to plantation economies outside of the United States to fulfill the demand for sugar. The Caribbean, South America, and the Pacific Islands, regions with economies centered around the production of sugarcane, met this need. In the Pacific and the Caribbean, indentured laborers from East Asia and South Asia worked on sugar plantations under horrid conditions; in Brazil, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, enslaved Africans and their descendants were forced to cultivate sugar as slavery would not be abolished until 1888, 1886, and 1873, respectively.

Imports of raw sugar from Brazil spiked after the start of the Civil War, and remained high until the United States' presence in Cuba expanded at the turn of the century. According to annual statements of the sugar trade in the United States, imports of Brazilian sugar increased dramatically in 1865: in New York, 3,622 tons of Brazilian sugar were received in 1865, nearly doubling the 1,796 tons received the prior year.[13] Data from 1902 on the international production of sugar from the Department of Commerce and Labor reveals a general rise in American imports of Brazilian sugar from the 1860s onwards, peaking in the 1880s, when it reached over 300 million pounds of sugar imported in a fiscal year[14]. This figure decreased over the 1890s, however, as evidenced by Senate congressional records from 1897 which note that 136 million pounds of sugar were imported from Brazil in 1896[15]. The Department of Labor's Senate report shows a steep growth in Cuban imports at the same time as the decline in Brazilian imports, reaching a billion pounds of raw sugar in 1901 and hitting nearly 3 billion in 1904[16]. This correlation seems to hint at the United States' growing presence in the Caribbean in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. American imperial expansion into Cuba and Puerto Rico eventually made these islands the main sources of raw sugar for the United States. It is in the decades in the late 1800s between the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, thus, that Brazilian sugar played its greatest role in the American sugar industry.

Given the Havemeyers' dominance over sugar in the United States in the 1800s, it is unsurprising that they imported Brazilian sugar. Indeed, by Theodore Havemeyer's admission, the company imported sugar from Brazil and other slave economies. In an 1878 testimony to the Subcommittee of the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, a committee investigating tax evasion in the sugar industry, Havemeyer testified to importing sugar from Brazil[17]. He spoke of the exponential growth of sugar imports from

10 Welliver, "The Story of Sugar".

11 "Sugar trade of the United States Annual statement, showing the import and consumption of unrefined for the year ending December 31st, exclusive of California and Oregon", New York 1866. New York, 1866. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.1270010c/.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 "Production and Commercial Movement of Sugar," Document No. 250 § (1906).

15 "Proceedings, June, 14, 1897", Annals of Congress, Senate, 55th session, from GovInfo, https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1897-pt2-v30/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1897-pt2-v30-23.pdf.

16 "Production and Commercial Movement of Sugar," Document No. 250 § (1906).

17 Testimony in Relation to the Sugar Frauds, Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, 1878, https://congressional.proquest.com/congressional/docview/t29.d30.hrg-1878-wam-0002?accountid=10226.

Brazil over the 1870s, and of the differences in sugar imported from "Pernambuco, Java, Manila, and Brazil" and the sugar from Cuba, differences that determined the correct percentage of tax to be applied - the center of the controversy.[18] The committee questioned Havemeyer on the characteristics of the sugar he imported from Pernambuco: he answered no to the existence of 'foots', a characteristic used to identify categories of raw sugar, in the Pernambucan sugar that he imported.[19] While it is unknown whether the Havemeyers felt remorse about their involvement in perpetuating slavery, it is improbable that they were unaware that enslaved peoples cultivated sugar in Brazil and Cuba.

If geographical distance and cognitive dissonance obscured the harsh realities of slave labor from the Havemeyers, the opposite was true of Pernambuco, the state that seems to have sourced most of the Havemeyers' imports of Brazilian sugar. Slavery shaped and defined Pernambucan society during the 1800s, as this state's political and agricultural landscapes in the 19th century were molded by the demands of sugar cane cultivation and the institution of slavery[20]. As described by Gilberto Freyre, renowned scholar of Brazilian race relations and a Pernambucan, "monoculture, slavery, and latifundia, but principally monoculture; they opened here, in the life, the landscape, and the character of our people, the deepest wounds[21]". Slavery and sugarcane production shaped the landscape of Northeastern Brazil, both literally and figuratively, as the laboral and agricultural necessities of sugarcane cultivation led to the state's deforestation and created class structures that persist into the present, intertwining notions of power, land, and labor in Pernambuco's agricultural society. These conditions complicated notions of free labor in decades surrounding the abolition of slavery. By the end of the 19th century, free Afro-Brazilians would work on plantations alongside enslaved Afro-Brazilians under the nearly identical conditions, and after the end of slavery, conditions for Afro-Brazilian 'free' workers often did not change substantially.

Sugarcane cultivation in this state was notably tolling in its nature. During the planting season in Pernambuco, beginning in May, slaves would plant the cane by repeatedly making holes in the earth, then would subsequently insert a short piece of sugarcane[22]. As the cane grew, they would have to clear the weeds. When harvest came, which would run from September through April, enslaved people would manually cut the canes with a sickle: they would curve their spines towards the earth to make a cut as near the ground as possible, then would trim off the leaves and split the cane in half[23].

Image III. Drawing of a sugar mill in Brazil, 1871. [24]

The violent demeanor of overseers and the subhuman conditions under which enslaved peoples were forced to work made the work particularly harsh. One man's description of his childhood on a Pernambucan sugarcane plantation underscores the brutality:

> The work was hard and the foreman didn't let us lift our heads. Not even to breathe better. No talking, no lagging, and drinking water only when we got to the end of the cane field. We stopped work at midday to eat a little something. If there was anything. If there wasn't, we only stopped when the sun hid under the horizon and it began to get dark. [25]

18 Ibid

19 Ibid

20 Thomas D. Rogers, The Deepest Wounds : A Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeast Brazil, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1, https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e025xna&AN=343670&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

21 Ibid

22 Ibid

23 Ibid

24 Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library. "A Sugar Mill" New York Public Library Digital Collections. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47da-7319-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99

25 Ibid

Statistics on Brazil's enslaved population provide some quantitative insight into the severity of the conditions of slavery. Economic historians estimate that the enslaved population in Brazil had a negative growth rate, the death rate was much higher than the birth rate, and the working life of a slave averaged around seven years.[26] Scholars of Brazilian slavery explain these stark data points by arguing that the geographical proximity between Brazil and West Africa facilitated the country's ability to forcibly acquire slaves, making this source of labor, enslaved Africans, more disposable in Brazil as compared to other slave societies in the Americas. [27]

The sugarcane harvested by enslaved Africans in Brazil would travel nearly directly between the plantations in Pernambuco and the Havemeyer's Brooklyn refinery, as the waterfront was deep enough for the boats to deliver the sugar and the Havemeyers would have customs agents inspect the sugar on site. As reported by the Brooklyn Eagle, "in securing a waterfront for their operations the [Havemeyer] refiners effect a great economy, for ... the raw material is brought to their doors from Pernambuco, Manila, Hawaii, Cuba, Egypt and Java and poured into their melting pans"[28]. The bags of sugar that traveled across the Atlantic, thus, traveled nearly directly from the hands of Brazilians slaves to those of the workers unpacking the ships arriving at the East River waterfront.

III. Columbia and the Havemeyer Legacy

One of Harry Havemeyer's grandsons spoke to the Greenwich Time in 2011 about his family's legacy. "During his life", he said of his grandfather, was exorcised by the press as the Sugar King[29]". This characterization of the press' coverage of the Havemeyers only skims the surface of the immense criticism aimed at the Havemeyers' during the peak of their sugar empire in the late 19th century.

In 1887, Harry Havemeyer created the American Sugar Refining Company, commonly known as the Sugar Trust, as a means to acquire competitors. Through the Trust, the Havemeyers retained control of over 95% of refined sugar in the United States, guaranteeing the family's ability to control pricing[30]. The Havemeyers acquired any competitor that took aim at their fortune and successfully persuaded the Supreme Court to leave their Sugar Trust intact in the case United States v. E.C. Knight (1891), which held that antitrust legislation could not be applied to the sugar industry through a convoluted application of the law. The public and press were suspicious of the company's undue power in politics as the American Sugar Refining Company was known to donate enormous sums of money to politicians; Theodore Havemeyer testified to a Congressional Subcommittee that he "was in Washington last winter, 'lobbying' as you so call it" to lower tariffs on sugar imports, a quote that reveals the shifting relationship between corporations and government at the time (lobbying was not yet a familiar word) and the role that the Havemeyers played in deepening the ties between business and politics[31]. Such dealings increased public distrust of the Havemeyers, making the family the brunt of many political cartoons critiquing corporate greed and weak politicians; indeed, some speculate that the company changed its product's name to Domino sugar in 1901 to disassociate the sugar from the family's negative reputation.

The Havemeyers were also accused of maintaining dangerous working conditions in their Brooklyn refineries. They largely employed immigrants from Eastern Europe, Ireland, and the Caribbean, and one local source asserts that the refinery specifically hired Eastern Europeans, who were often not proficient in English, so that they could not tell others about the

26 IBID, 81.

27 Kit Sims Taylor, "The Economics of Sugar and Slavery in Northeastern Brazil", Agricultural History 44, no. 3 (1970): 267-80, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3741454.

28 Postal, "Havemeyer & Elder Filter, Pan, and Finishing House".

29 Anne Semmes, "Havemeyer's Place: Book Looks at the Life of the 'Sugar King' and His Influence on the Gilded Age of Greenwich," GreenwichTime, November 7, 2011, https://www.greenwichtime.com/news/article/Havemeyer-s-place-Book-looks-at-the-life-of-the-2250158.php.

30 Richard Zerbe, "The American Sugar Refinery Company, 1887-1914: The Story of a Monopoly", The Journal of Law & Economics 12, no. 2 (1969), http://www.jstor.org/stable/724757.

31 "Testimony in Relation to the Sugar Frauds".

intolerable conditions in the refinery[32]. Workers worked 10 hours shifts at a minimum, and made on average 13 dollars a week - not enough to live comfortably in Brooklyn at the time, as noted by a journalist for the Brooklyn Eagle[33]. One scathing article from the New York Tribune particularly criticized the working conditions:

> ... the severity of their labors is shown by the fact that they are nearly all thin and stooped and rarely above middle age, it being a well-known fact that men employed in the refineries rarely live to old age. They are nearly all new immigrants when first employed, and before work is given to them, they must be found perfectly docile and obedient . . . Then begins a life of perpetual torture as long as he remains in the refinery, and not infrequently death comes.[34]

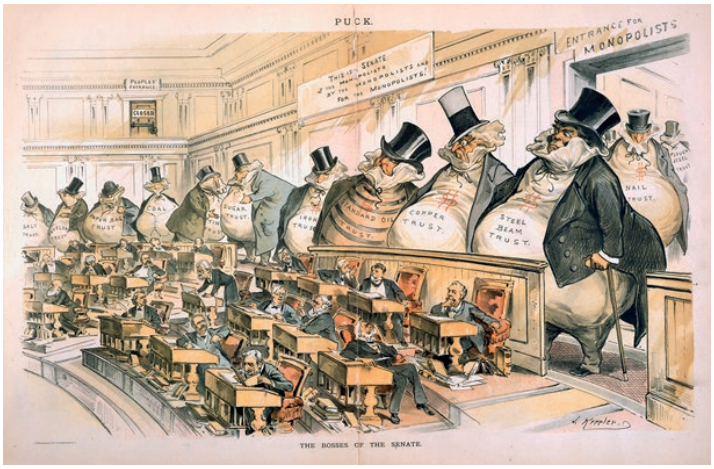

Image IV. "The Bosses of the Senate", 1889. Sixth monopolist from the left is Harry Havemeyer, seen speaking to the 'Tin Trust', likely referencing the controversy regarding tin additives to Havemeyer sugar.[35]

Heat stroke was particularly an issue: on one hot day, eight workers died, on another, hundreds of workers fainted. In 1886, thousands of workers went on strike to reduce the length of a shift and raise wages, and they were faced with police brutality. No changes came from the strike, as the Havemeyers were able to merely wait out the strike[36].

The family also became infamous for various accusations regarding the quality and safety of the Havemeyers' sugar as competitors claimed that the Havemeyers inserted strange chemical additions to their sugar. The Columbia Chemistry Department is deeply tied to these accusations — Professor Charles Frederick Chandler, who joined the Chemistry Department at Columbia University in 1863, worked extensively with the Havemeyers over the course of his career, becoming a Havemeyer family friend via his scientific contributions to their business. He specifically advised the family on creating the most efficient refining systems for "adulterating the pure brown sugar of the gentle and honest savages by the admixture of chemical ingredients to disguise the color, but destroy the strength", as according to an article on sugar manufacturing published by the Havemeyers' company[37]. This racialization of sugar fueled the Havemeyers' desire to purify brown, raw sugar, even leading the Havemeyers to allegedly add "tin salts, free acids, and artificial glucoses" to their sugars, as accused in 1878[38]. By this time, Professor Chandler had begun his role as President of the New York Department of Health. Despite previously asserting that the presence of tin in sugar put consumer health at risk, Chandler recanted once the Departments began to investigate the Havemeyers, instead claiming that small levels of tin did not pose a threat to the public's health[39].

Chandler's sudden pivot on the safety of tin additives drove a competitor of the Havemeyers to accuse Chandler of shielding the Havemeyers from investigation on this matter. Whether or not this is the case, it is notable that Chandler continued to advocate for the Havemeyers after such allegations, even facilitating the construction of the building on the Morningside Campus in their name: Chandler wrote Theodore Havemeyer, urging him to fund the construction of Havemeyer Hall, and Havemeyer immediately took his advice, donating $516,448 (approximately $15 million in 2020) within a year. In a sense, Chandler's contributions to the Havemeyer company and Havemeyer family are akin, as he purified both their sugar and their legacy. Harry Havemeyer's grandson's comments to the Greenwich

32 Geoff Cobb, "Horrific History Lesson: Working Conditions at The Domino Sugar Refinery," Greenpointers, October 30, 2017, https://greenpointers.com/2017/11/06/working-domino-sugar-refinery/.

33 Schneider, "When Brooklyn Controlled the Nation's Sugar".

34 Postal, "Havemeyer & Elder Filter, Pan, and Finishing House".

35 J. Ottoman, The Bosses of the Senate, Lithograph, from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, 1889, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002718861/.

36 Postal, "Havemeyer & Elder Filter, Pan, and Finishing House".

37 Anne-Laure White, "Building Havemeyer Hall", Columbia University and Slavery, n.d., https://columbiaandslavery.columbia.edu/content/building-havemeyer-hall-charles-frederick-chandler-and-sugar-refining-industry#/_ftn7.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

Time evidence this, as he points to "Havemeyer Hall at Columbia University" as a key part of his family's "splendid legacy[40]". Indeed, despite their 19th century infamy for monopolistic behavior, lobbying, tax evasion, and poor working conditions at their factories, among visible modern relics of the family is Havemeyer Hall at Columbia, a building which teaches the public little about the history and suffering behind its name and construction.

Conclusion

Kara Walker's installation "A Subtlety, or the Marvelous Sugar Baby: an Homage to the unpaid and overworked Artisans who have refined our Sweet tastes from the cane fields to the Kitchens of the New World on the Occasion of the demolition of the Domino Sugar Refining Plant" renewed public attention to the ties between African slave labor and the American sugar industry[41]. The main statue, made of sugar, was displayed inside of the Havemeyers' former factory on the East River. It depicts a woman of African heritage as an unabashed critique of the Havemeyers and the modern iteration of their company, Domino Sugar, for their role in perpetuating slavery in the United States, Brazil, Cuba, and other nations in the Americas. Walker's piece reinforces the extreme horrors of slavery via the placement of smaller statues around the woman made of sugar. These statues, of an amber-colored material meant to evoke the visual aspect of molasses, depict children holding baskets and other objects, laboring alongside the woman.

Despite the media attention that Walker's statue brought to the role of slavery in building the Havemeyer empire, however, the Havemeyers and Domino Sugar have so far escaped a widespread public reckoning in their complicity in the so-called peculiar institution. Domino Park, which opened in the summer of 2018, clearly represents this: located on the site of the former refinery, it is a modern park that does not educate visitors on the slave labor that cultivated the product refined on site nor the harsh conditions under which immigrants labored. Instead, it is a modern park with a playground meant to playfully imitate the sugar refining; "the idea", according to the architect, "is that a child enters as raw sugar cane and exits at the last portion of the playground as molasses, or sugar cubes[42]". It is disheartening that the playground and the park erase the suffering that unknowable numbers of humans faced in order to produce the Havemeyer's sugar.

Image V. "A Subtlety, or the Marvelous Sugar Baby", in its installation at a Havemeyer Refinery. [43]

Whether Columbia has reckoned with its complicity in the perpetuation of slavery in Brazil is more ambigous as compared to the legacy of the Havemeyer family and Domino sugar. Brazilianists at Columbia, particularly during the 20th century, have shaped conversations around the oppressive role of race and class in Brazilian society. Gilberto Freyre for example, whose work on the class structures of Pernambuco informed my analysis of sugarcane cultivation in Brazil, deeply influenced conversations about race in Brazil, particularly via his work *Casa grande e senzala* (Masters and Slaves). The book's thesis, while aged in its understanding of relationships between the oppressed and the oppressors, was much more progressive on issues

40 Semmes, "Havemeyer's Place".

41 Roberta Smith, "Sugar? Sure, but Salted With Meaning," The New York Times (The New York Times, May 11, 2014), https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/12/arts/design/a-subtlety-or-the-marvelous-sugar-baby-at-the-domino-plant.html.

42 Daniel Mcdermon, "Testing Brooklyn's Newest Playground at Domino Park in Williamsburg," The New York Times (The New York Times, June 7, 2018), https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/07/arts/design/playground-domino-park-williamsburg.html.

43 Sara Krulwich, photographer, "A Subtlety, or the Marvelous Sugar Baby, New York, New York Times, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/12/arts/design/a-subtlety-or-the-marvelous-sugar-baby-at-the-domino-plant.html.

of race than works by white American scholars in the United States, many of whom dedicated their careers to aiming in vain to intellectualize and justify segregation and extralegal violence against African Americans. Freyre's work was influenced by his time at the Columbia Anthropology Department, a department that served as an American hub of studies of race in Brazil. This department's work, driven by scholars Franz Boas, Charles Wagley, Marvin Harris, Frank Tannenbaum, and others, challenged American thinkers to think beyond segregationist policies and the outlandishly racist policies of the early 20th century. An array of American intellectuals, Brazilianists and others, have credited the work of Columbia Anthropology for its efforts in pushing progressive conversations on race, discrimination, and integration. (See *Chapter* 2 of this volume for more on the Anthropology Department).

While Columbia-based academics did, and continue to, contribute greatly to the study of racial inequity in Brazil, Black and Brown Brazilian students make up a disproportionately small portion of the student body at Columbia. Brazil has the second largest Black population in the world, only behind Nigeria in its size, yet Brazilians of African descent make up only a sliver of the Brazilian student population at the *University*, and the same can be said of Brazilian faculty at Columbia. This evidences a divergence between the racially progressive efforts of academics who research Brazil at Columbia and the University's actual policies regarding the recruitment and retainment of Brazilians of color.

In response to the global protests against racial oppression during the summer of 2020, the University's administration began to reassess the names of buildings on campus that glorify people who actively participated in the slave trade and slavery. It is clear that the Havemeyer building is a suitable candidate for such evaluation, yet a change to the building's name would not fully rectify the true cost of Columbia's relationship with the Havemeyer family. Instead, the University should use its historical ties to the Havemeyers and, thus, Brazilian slavery as the impetus of self-critique: why are Brazilians of African heritage so sorely underrepresented at Columbia? How should Columbia's relationship with the Havemeyer family shape the aims of the University's work in Brazil? How can the wealth passed from the Havemeyers to Columbia ultimately be used to further the advancement of Black and Brown Brazilians? Such lines of inquiry may lead to tangible changes targeting and benefitting the descendants of the enslaved people whose labor generated the profits that constructed Havemeyer Hall.

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Columbia Anthropology in Brazil: Academic Cooperation and the Development of a Discipline

CECELIA MORROW

From the 1930s to the beginning of the 1970s, Columbia University benefited from an increase in both the number of American anthropologists studying in Brazil and the number of Brazilian graduate students and visiting professors at the University. Important academics in Brazilian sociology, ethnography, and anthropology, such as Gilberto Freyre, Heloísa Alberto Torres, Edison Carneiro, and Florestan Fernandes, were among the Brazilian visitors, associated academics, and students at Columbia. During this roughly four-decade period, issues of race, religion, gender, and indigenous peoples in Brazil became centered in the works and political activities of many anthropologists. Due to their many political and social implications, these scholars and their published works have also influenced other social scientists, beyond just those specializing in Brazil studies. This work and the rapid increase in interest in Brazil as a field of study would not have been possible without the relationships of international academic exchange established between social scientists in both the U.S. and Brazil. Through fieldwork and academic discourse, anthropology at Columbia and Brazilian anthropology became two closely connected communities of scholars during this time period. The goals of many of the Americans were made attainable by the support and aid of their Brazilian counterparts, and the Brazilian researchers also benefited from this relationship with Columbia.

Themes in the Department

Encouraged by Franz Boas, many anthropologists in the early years of the Department began to embrace the role of the anthropologist as a political actor; the current Columbia Department of Anthropology describes Boas as having introduced "the anthropologist as scholar-activist and public intellectual" ("History"). Boas' work has been criticized for being, "more of a social and political agenda than a science" (Greenfield 2001: 50). Works such as Margaret Mead's Sex and Temperament in *Three Primitive Societies* (1935), *Boas' Anthropology and Modern Life* (1928), and Gilberto Freyre's *Casa Grande & Senzala* (1933) would become important texts for the feminist movement and movements for racial equality in Brazil respectively. These works differed from traditional ethnography because they were, at times, motivated by specific political goals, or the authors took political stances in their writings. It should also be noted that although both Freyre and Mead studied with Boas, their works are important in their own rights. The claims made by all three of these scholars have been disputed since the time of publication of their works, but they remain influential in the ways that they changed and challenged the thinking of many important scholars at the time.

From the earliest days of the Department, Columbia anthropologists trained by Boas and his students conducted research and fieldwork on indigenous groups throughout the world. Many of the defining works of early twentieth century American anthropology include accounts of tribal societies and the development of human culture. Several of the Columbia anthropology graduate students, including Ruth Landes and Ruth Bunzel, first conducted fieldwork with tribes of North America before they began studying in Latin America; Landes studied the Canadian Ojibwa in 1932 (Cole 2002) and Bunzel studied the Puebla of Zuni, New Mexico, beginning in 1924 (French 2005). During this earlier era, the Columbia anthropologists did not publish as many comparative works as in-depth ethnographies, yet their experience working in the U.S. must have provided a background for their research in Latin America. Additionally, works by their mentors, Columbia faculty, and Department collaborators provided this generation with a wide range of ethnographic information and theory, not previously available to the earliest generations of anthropologists. Anthropology as a

discipline was not yet well defined and specialized, so these works also exhibit an extensive level of contact with the theories of sociology and history.

While all of studies may not have been explicitly comparative, anthropologists, including Landes and Freyre, drew political comparisons between the U.S. and Brazil; the countries were well suited for comparison because they were both multicultural, former European colonies at a time of political and racial tension. The weakness of democratic governance in Brazil, the start of Vargas' authoritarian Estado Novo in 1937, Jim Crow laws in the U.S., and differing types of systematic racism in both countries provided necessary political context for anthropological work being done in cities in Brazil. For these anthropologists, it was, perhaps, difficult to make conjectures on the nature of race and cultures of indigenous societies in Brazil without also commenting on the applications of their theories to segregation and racism in the U.S. at some point. In addition, the way the Anthropology Department functioned from 1930 to 1970 meant that graduate students were often hired back into the Department to teach. This pattern created extensive dialogue between generations of teachers and students who commented on both contemporaneous politics and the theories of their predecessors.

Among the anthropologists working in Brazil in the 1930s and 1940s, the idea that there was no racism in Brazil became increasingly popular after the publication of Gilberto Freyre's Casa Grande & Senzala (1933), a book that is perhaps most famous for introducing the idea of a "racial democracy." Freyre's theories were quickly assimilated into discussions of race at Columbia. In City of Women, Ruth Landes writes, "This book about Brazil does not describe race problems there because there were none" (1947: vi). Freyre's favorable views of miscegenation and multiculturalism in Brazil stood against commonly accepted conceptions of race at the time; miscegenation would not be legalized in the U.S. until 1967. His ideas were heavily affected by his experience in the South during his undergraduate years at Baylor University in Texas. During these years, Freyre witnessed the effects of Jim Crow laws and racial discrimination against African-Americans in the U.S. (Andrews 1996). The violence he witnessed would influence his later comparisons of racial politics in the U.S. and Brazil (Skidmore 2002). After graduating from Baylor, Freyre was recruited to attend graduate school at Columbia, where he became a student in the history department under William Shepherd. He was also a student under Franz Boas in the Anthropology Department.

Although the myth of "racial democracy" is perhaps the most influential theme in Casa Grande & Senzala, the book is also notable for bringing more attention to Brazil and the contrasts between it and the U.S. Freyre was one of the more vocal critics of racism in anthropology during the 1930s, and he was one of the first Brazilian scholars to bring attention to the importance of African cultures in Brazil (May 2009: 162). Freyre's theories popularized a different way of thinking about race, and although his idea of "racial democracy" has been heavily critiqued, it provided other academics with evidence that race did not have to function in the same way in every society. In the 1960s, Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris both critiqued Freyre's claims, and in their works, they both attempted to detail the nuances of race in Brazil that they felt Freyre had left out. Harris, a Columbia professor and student of Wagley, criticized Freyre's work for masking many of the race-based inequalities in Brazilian society (Skidmore 2002). Despite the fact that some of the earlier anthropologists did not believe that racism existed in Brazil, a number of them held fairly radical opinions about race for the time. Otto Klineberg, Franz Boas, and several others in the Department were criticized for producing work which directly or indirectly questioned the validity of racial hierarchies and the inherent superiority of people of European descent.

Insights derived from anthropology and from Franz Boas had an influence on students studying outside of the Department of Anthropology. Otto Klineberg received his doctorate in psychology from Columbia in 1927, but while finishing his dissertation, he was also a student of Franz Boas, who encouraged him to study Native Americans. Klineberg would eventually go on to become the first chair of the Social Psychology Department at Columbia (Lambert 1992). Klineberg

was involved in a number of landmark U.S. studies on the relationship between intelligence, race, and poverty during the 1950s. His studies of black students' intelligence were used to disprove the idea that black students were inherently less intelligent. These studies, which show the harmful effects of school segregation, were also used during Brown v. Board of Education (1954), the Supreme Court case that overturned segregation in the U.S. (Lambert 1992). Klineberg had the opportunity to conduct similar tests of intelligence in Brazil when he was invited to conduct classes at the *Universidade de São Paulo* (USP) in 1945 (Maio 2016). Once he arrived in Brazil, Klineberg also participated in the 1950s UNESCO project (Maio 1999) that would draw in many other Columbia faculty and students, including Charles Wagley. During his time researching and teaching at USP, Klineberg published the first Brazilian edition of his book, Social Psychology, and served as a founding member of the *Sociedade de Psicologia de São Paulo* (Maio 2017).

Fieldwork and Ethnography

Foreign anthropologists, however, were not the only ones interested in studying in Brazil. Brazilian academics, some of whom were trained as sociologists or historians but used anthropological methods in their research, and the Brazilian public in the South also showed an interest in the Amazon and the indigenous people of Brazil beginning in the late nineteenth century. During the Brazilian Anthropological Exhibition of 1882, for example, the Imperial Ministry of Agriculture requested that officials in Espírito Santo abduct twenty members of the Botocudo tribe[1] , only seven were actually captured, and send them to the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro to be exhibited in a "festival of science" (Fischer 2019, Vieira 2019). The museum opened the "festival" in the presence of Emperor Pedro II and members of the imperial family. The appearance of the indigenous persons and the presence of photographers during the initial abduction and at the exhibition helped to increase the event's publicity (Fischer 2019); the added foreignness of photography and the new circulation of images among wealthy Brazilians may have added additional intrigue to the study of the indigenous people of Brazil. Exhibitions such as the one of 1882 give context for some of the "studies" of indigenous people and Brazilians of African descent which precede the development of formalized ethnography in Brazil.

One of the first formalized relationships for fieldwork between Columbia and Brazil was nurtured by Heloísa Alberto Torres, the first female director of the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. Over the years, Torres recruited William Lipkind, Buell Quain, Ruth Landes, and Charles Wagley to study in Brazil; all of the students recruited, with the exception of Ruth Landes, studied in the Amazon or in other locations with indigenous peoples (Corrêa and Mello 2008: 30). As Director of the Museu Nacional, Torres' authorization was needed in order to conduct fieldwork in Brazil (Maggie 2015), and with her encouragement, the Columbia anthropologists were able to gain access to their areas of interest. Brazil and the Amazon region may have been especially attractive to these anthropology students because fieldwork in this region offered them an opportunity to produce ethnographies of previously unstudied peoples.

While in Brazil, the Columbia anthropologists faced several challenges in the field and among themselves. They had traveled a great distance to study in Brazil, but they still dealt with issues of gender discrimination and challenges to their personal health, which added to the complexities of conducting fieldwork in a foreign country. Buell Quain, a graduate student working in the rainforest, committed suicide while still in the Amazon ("Buell Quain Suicide Verified" 1939). Wagley contracted malaria on his first visit to the Amazon and only narrowly survived (Pace 2014). Although Ruth Landes was more experienced than the other anthropologists invited to study, she noted that she received less support from Heloísa Alberto Torres than her male counterparts (Corrêa and Mello 2008: 32). Her experience is part of an unfortunate pattern in the early decades of the Anthropology Department. Between 1891 and 1930, the Anthropology Department at Columbia had produced more female anthropology

1 The Botocudos were part of an indigenous tribe that lived in what is now the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais.

Ph.Ds than any other department in the U.S. (Bernstein 2002), but the department did not give women the same opportunities for work and promotions that it gave their male colleagues. Although Ruth Benedict became the first woman to receive tenure at Columbia in 1937 ("Women at Columbia" 2004), many female anthropologists of this period were denied tenure or never received official positions in the department. Women often received less recognition for their work, sometimes even from other female academics, and these problems persisted among their colleagues in Brazil (for more on the role of women at Columbia see chapter 4).

Edison Carneiro, a prominent Brazilian ethnologist from Bahia who conducted many studies on Afro-Brazilian cultures, also worked alongside Heloísa Alberto Torres and the Columbia anthropologists (Maggie 2015). Landes came into contact with Carneiro through her connections from Fisk University and with other scholars in Rio de Janeiro (Maggie 2015; Landes 1947). Although he was only 27 years old and employed as a journalist, Carneiro had already published a number of ethnographies on Afro-Brazilian cultures and candomblé (Landes 1947), and he had already established connections with scholars in the U.S. (Maggie 2015). In City of Women, her book on Bahia and Afro-Brazilian religion, Landes notes, "It seemed significant to me that Edison was a mulatto, of the tan-skinned color called 'pardo' in Brazil" (1947: 13). She says this in reference to the fact that none of her colleagues mentioned his race in their letters of introduction, but his race was also significant because he was one of the few ethnographers of color at this time.

From left to right: Claude Lévi-Strauss, Ruth Landes, Charles Wagley, Heloísa Alberto Torres, Luís de Castro Faria, Raimundo Lopes da Cunha, and Edison Carneiro at the Jardim das Princesas (Arquivo do Museu Nacional) benefited from being in contact with each other and the network of anthropologists in Brazil and the U.S. (see Corrêa and Mello 2008 for correspondence).

Landes and Carneiro soon developed a working relationship, in which Carneiro made introductions for Landes and accompanied her to interviews. Carneiro was a proponent of women's rights, and he had practical knowledge on how to approach possible interviewees in a respectful manner. In exchange for his help, Landes shared resources and her own observations with Carneiro. Carneiro proved invaluable for Landes because his presence served as what she calls, "the best possible reassurance" (1947:14), to Brazilians of color that she was trustworthy. Additionally, she notes that it was much easier to move through Brazilian society while accompanied by a man. Letters between the participants invited by Torres show how they all benefited from being in contact with each other and the network of anthropologists in Brazil and the U.S. (see Corrêa and Mello 2008 for correspondence).

A Later Generation of Anthropologists

Charles Wagley first became interested in anthropology during his time as an undergraduate at Columbia in the 1930s, and his interest led him to pursue a Ph.D through the Columbia anthropology department. While at Columbia, Wagley was able to take classes across several subdisciplines of anthropology in courses taught by Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, Ruth Bunzel, and Ralph Linton. Wagley would later become known and respected for his work in Brazil, but he completed his Ph.D. dissertation fieldwork in Guatemala, where he spent time in 1937 living in the highland community of Santiago Chimaltengo (Wagley 1941; Stein 1992). His dissertation was supported by Ruth Bunzel, one of Wagley's main mentors and a student of Franz Boas. This work eventually resulted in the publication of "Economics of a Guatemalan Village," as a part of the series Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association (Wagley 1941).

After completing his fieldwork in Guatemala, Wagley was contacted by Heloísa Alberto Torres, who had been recruiting Columbia graduate students to study in Brazil (Corrêa and Mello 2008; Pace 2014). Aided by his Brazilian wife, Cecília Roxo Wagley, and a number of Brazilian colleagues, Charles Wagley made several trips into the Amazon and northern Brazil to study tribes of indigenous people and rural life. Cecília Roxo came from a wealthy Brazilian family, and during Wagley's trips to Brazil, her connections within the country as well as her Portuguese language skills were important aids to his research. During these trips, he spent a significant amount of time among the Tapirapé (1939-1940) and the Tenetehara, eventually publishing The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil: A Culture in Transition (1949) with Eduardo Galvão. Wagley would much later publish another book on the Tapirapé called Welcome of Tears (1977), which was one of his last major publications. In these regions, Wagley developed his interest in rural communities and cross-cultural contact.

From 1951-1952 Wagley collaborated on the State of Bahia-Columbia University Community Study Project with Anísio Teixeira and Thales de Azevedo, both distinguished Brazilian academics from Bahia (Kottak 2014). During the project, three of his graduate students, Marvin Harris, Harry W. Hutchinson, and Ben Zimmerman, worked alongside Wagley to research different geographic locations within the state of Bahia (Maio 2009). Brazilian sociologist, Luiz Aguiar Costa Pinto, and Eduardo and Clara Galvão, also collaborated with Wagley on the preliminary project. After his work in Bahia, the Brazilian government presented Wagley with two awards: the Order of the Southern Cross and the Medalha da Guerra (Shapiro 1961).

Wagley's best known early book, Amazon Town: A Study of Man in the Tropics (1953), differed from previous books on the Amazon because he considered the interactions between rural communities, industrialization, and indigenous peoples within the region. This more inclusive view represents an early marker of a significant shift in the field of anthropology. Instead of focusing solely on remote, "untouched" tribes, as many earlier anthropologists had done, Wagley examined the changes in society in the Amazon which had occurred because of the intersection of a number of different groups and societal forces. For example, while studying the Tapirapé, Wagley recorded a section on the history of diseases introduced by the Europeans that had caused the destruction of several villages (1940). In Amazon Town, Wagley also criticizes a group

that he calls, "tropical racists" (1953: 6), who would claim that the tropics are culturally "inferior" because they can only successfully be inhabited by races with darker skin. Wagley's comparisons gained popularity among anthropologists because they were carefully constructed and he did not stretch his observations to create forced equivalencies; both he and Klineberg emphasized the importance of considering the very distinct characters of São Paulo and Salvador before selecting them as two major cities during the UNESCO project (Maio 1999).

Wagley's classes on Brazil and the Department's numerous connections gave graduate students an introduction to Brazilian culture and allowed them to more easily conduct field work in Brazil, thereby creating a new generation of Brazilianists at Columbia. Many students, including Maxine Margolis and Conrad Kottak, took advantage of summer opportunities to conduct fieldwork in Brazil under Harris and Wagley. Wagley's first doctoral student, Eduardo Galvão, was a Brazilian colleague who worked with him and completed his dissertation *A religião de uma comunidade Amazônica; Um estudo de mudança cultural* in 1952. Conrad Kottak writes that Wagley's students benefited from his "interest in race, ethnicity, and social change as well as his pioneering coordination of simultaneous, systematic comparative fieldwork projects in multiple Brazilian communities" (2014). Marvin Harris, who was Wagley's student and, later, his colleague, published the very influential Patterns of Race in the Americas (1964) which continued the tradition of comparative studies of race.

Furthermore, from the 1960s to the early 1970s, the Department of Anthropology was home to many Ph.D. students who conducted research in Brazil. Conrad Kottak, Wagley's son-in-law, received a Ph.D. in Anthropology in 1966. Maxine Margolis received her Ph.D. in Anthropology from Columbia in 1970; Wagley and Harris served as the co-chairs of her dissertation (Margolis 2014). Judith R. Shapiro, former President of Barnard College, received her Ph.D. in Anthropology from Columbia with a thesis entitled: "Sex Roles and Social Structure Among the Yanomami Indians of Northern Brazil" (1972). Diana Brown received her Ph.D. 1974[2]. Florestan Fernandes, another influential Brazilian sociologist, was a visiting scholar in the Institute of Latin American Studies, ILAS, for a brief period from 1965 to 1966 at the invitation of Charles Wagley (Blanco and Brasil 2018). Later students of Florestan Fernandes included Fernando Henrique Cardoso, sociologist and President of Brazil from 1995-2003, and Ruth Cardoso, who studied political science and anthropology and spent time as a Visiting Scholar at Columbia in the 1980s.

Cecilia Roxo Wagley : woman and boy posed on dock near the boat "Marcolano Candau" (Gurupa, Para, Brazil)
(Wagley, University of Florida Digital Collections)

Brazil and Columbia Anthropology Today

During the 1970s, the focus of the Columbia Department of Anthropology and the field of anthropology began to shift away from the study of "traditional societies," and the Anthropology Department's interest in Brazil began to diminish. Maxine Margolis suggests that the decline in the number of Columbia anthropology students studying Brazil after the mid-1970s is partially due to the departure of Wagley from the department during this same period (personal correspondence, 2020); Marvin Harris would also leave the Department for the University of Florida in 1981 (Margolis and Kottak 2003). Possibly, the absence of Brazil specialists in the department meant that there was no one to guide and encourage students to develop an interest in Brazil. Additionally, potential students looking to study Brazil

2 To know more about the contributions of Maxine Margolis, Judith R. Shapiro and Diana Brown see chapter 4

may have been less likely to apply to the Department because of this same absence. The professors who left continued to nurture their students' interest in Brazil at the University of Florida, but they took many of their connections with them, possibly causing the Department of Anthropology to lose touch with contacts in Brazil. Robert Murphy, who had done work on Brazil during the 1960s, did remain on the Columbia faculty, but his research interests and venues shifted to Africa.

Other factors contributed to a decline in the importance of Brazil in the Columbia faculty after the 1970s. These included increased academic censorship by the military dictatorship (1964-1985) in Brazil, a heightened reflection inside the discipline on the responsibility of the anthropologist, and a widespread shift away from the study of indigenous peoples, a field which had drawn many of the earlier anthropologists to Brazil. In general, anthropologists became continually more critical of the original practices of their field and sought to move away from the roles that many early anthropologists had played in colonialist projects around the world.

At this same time, some researchers began to identify themselves as Brazilianists. This term came with its own share of preconceptions; these stereotypes depicted Brazilianists as a predominantly white, male group who "appeared a figure out of place, even after many years living with Brazilians" (Weinstein 2016: 2). While these stereotypes may not have been among the main reasons for the changes in the Anthropology Department, they could have still been a smaller contributing factor.

Other Columbia institutions, such as the Institute of Latin America Studies and the Brazil Seminar (part of the University Seminars), continued to host Brazilians and Brazil-centered events, but interest in Brazil in the Department of Anthropology has remained low since the mid-1970s. Claude Lévi-Strauss' *Tristes Tropiques* (1955), which describes his trips to the Amazon, is still taught in beginning anthropology classes at Columbia, mainly Introduction to Social and Cultural Theory, but across most classes, the focus of discussion is often his theories and techniques and not specifically his insights on Brazil. Lévi-Strauss, who received an honorary doctorate from Columbia in 1971, was connected to the Department of Anthropology mainly through relationships with individual anthropologists and not formalized instruction or research. He formed many of these relationships during his time living as a refugee in New York, from 1941 to 1944; while in New York, he was influenced by the thinking of the Columbia anthropologists, including Boas, Benedict, and Linton (Debaene 2010).

While conducting this research, I have encountered a vast amount of information on an incredible number of anthropologists, graduate students, and academics in other departments who have studied Brazil. This paper is in no way a comprehensive history of the Columbia Department of Anthropology's involvement in Brazil; I merely sought to compile information on the complicated academic relationships between a selected few of the anthropologists at Columbia and those from Brazil. These relationships aided the flourishing of anthropology in Brazil and brought Brazilian data, perspectives, and voices to the Department of Anthropology at Columbia and, from there, to a global scholarly audience for the first time.

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International Education Reform: Rediscovering the Ties between Teachers College and Brazil

WANYI XIE

I. Introduction

In 1923, when Columbia Teachers College created its International Institute, John Dewey and his colleagues probably could not anticipate its far-reaching impact on education reforms all over the world. The International Institute of Teachers College ultimately drew more than 4,000 students to TC, including a number of scholars who returned home to lead the modernization of their country's school system. (Teachers College, 2018)

Surprisingly, the history of TC-Brazil relations has often been underappreciated. In fact, as the graduate school of education, psychology, and health of Columbia University, Teachers College endeavored to support both education and health systems in Brazil starting early in the twentieth century. Evidence shows that the relationship was mutual: In addition to Brazilian students who came to TC to study, scholars from TC offered support on funds, research, and training for Brazil.

This chapter is dedicated to revealing the neglected stories of the TC-Brazil relationship in the twentieth century, drawing some parallels at the end with the better known case of China and TC. In the early twentieth century, China presented a somewhat similar situation as Brazil: a colonial, underdeveloped, and uneducated country. A group of Chinese students traveled over the Pacific Ocean and arrived at TC to study, hoping that a thorough education reform could become a powerful tool to transform their country. In this chapter, a comparative perspective on TC-Brazil history and TC-China history will be offered, showing how Teachers College's international programs promoted *educational developments* in these two important global societies.

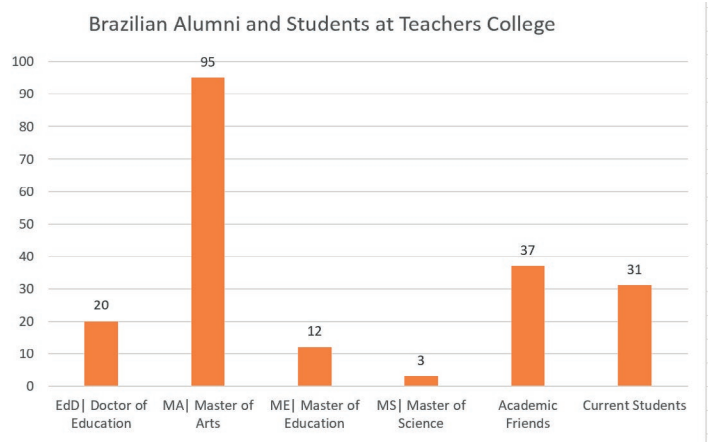
II. Overview: Brazilian Alumni and Visiting Scholars at TC

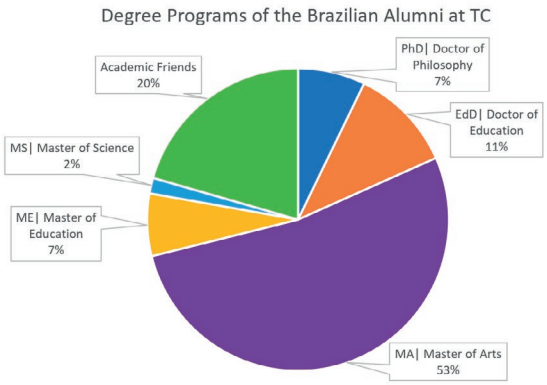
Our name notwithstanding, Teachers College was founded on the proposition that education alone can't correct our society's inequalities — that to maximize the life chances of all people, we must also support poorer communities' physical and nutritional health and psychological wellbeing. Thus, fields such as education psychology, nursing education, nutrition education, special education, conflict resolution and spirituality and education were created at TC, and for more than a century we have prepared psychologists, nutritionists, health educators, speech pathologists and other professionals, as well as teachers and school leaders.

—— Teachers College

In order to provide some initial context, we begin with a look at some of the available indicators on Brazil and TC. The first Brazilians to arrive at Teachers College included eleven who pursued degree work in the 1920s and six more in the 1930s. The Brazilians were attracted to TC because of the newly created (in 1923) International Institute. The Institute was one of the first in the United States created specifically to study comparative educational systems and, accordingly, it attracted students from all over the world. Brazilian educators were attuned to the Institute from its earliest days and used it and TC as a gateway toward understanding educational trends in the United States, particularly progressive education ideas that, at the time, were virtually synonymous with John Dewey, William Heard Kilpatrick, and Edward Thordike (whose name was recently removed from Thorndike Hall) and TC. It is highly significant, as well, that those Brazilians who did pass through TC and returned to Brazil nurtured later in their careers connections with U.S. educators, forming important networks for the exchange of information and the diffusion of the American model of education, less rigid than the prevailing European models of the day.

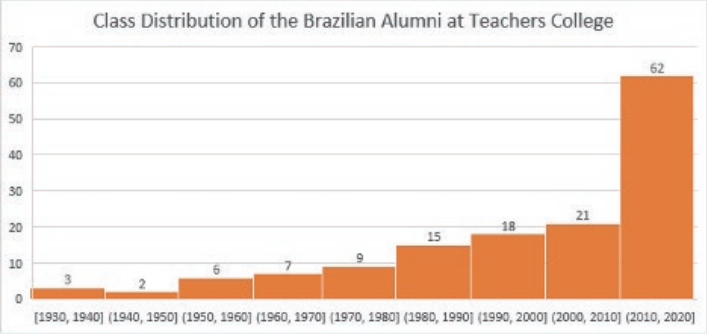
Our team collected data from the TC Alumni Network for the period 1930 through 2020. We suspect that additional research will confirm that these data understate the historical presence of Brazilians at TC, but they are sufficient for present purposes to describe the broad contours of the relationship. This produced a dataset including more than 200 alumni or visiting scholars who attended Teachers College and had Brazilian citizenship. It is striking that while Brazilians have been present at TC over many decades, a large proportion of the Brazilians attended or did research at TC in relatively recent times, especially since 2010.





In these two graphs, while “current student” means students who are currently enrolled in a degree program at TC in 2020, the group referred to as "Academic Friends" could apply to various circumstances, including persons who enrolled in a certificate program or other non-degree based coursework or who had a research fellowship or other visiting scholar appointment at the College. The data show that, except for the 31 currently enrolled students, 62% of the Brazilian alumni acquired a Master's degree at TC, 20% of went to TC as an “academic friend”, and 18% obtained a doctoral degree. The degree and other programs that the Brazilian students attended were very diverse. While the focus on education permeates TC, education was broadly interpreted in the school’s mission to include a focus on public health education, for example, and nursing education.

TC’s program diversity could be also seen in the program selected by the Brazilian alumni statistics. While the most popular major was the International Educational Development (15 students, around 7% of the entire population), this program only accounts for a relatively small slice of all the programs that Brazilian alumni have studied at TC. Other than various programs in education, psychology programs such as Mental Health Counseling, Clinical Psychology, Organizational Psychology, and Social Psychology attracted students from Brazil. So, too, did various health programs, such as Nutrition Education, Nursing Education and Nutrition and Public Health.



Furthermore, looking only at the 143 TC graduates (those who obtained degrees, excluding “Academic Friends” and “Current Students”), the graph above is a distribution of the student population by year that they graduated from TC. As is clear in the graph, , the number of Brazilian students at TC is increasing on the whole, with a particularly marked jump in the Brazilian students’ population in the 2010-2020 decade.

However, it is worth noting that the data from the TC Alumni Association is not comprehensive, undoubtedly missing a significant number. who passed through TC and had Brazilian citizenship or were originally from Brazil. For example, Anísio Teixeira, considered the father of public education in Brazil, attended TC in 1928, but was missing in the alumni record. Therefore, the noteworthy increase in the most recent decade

(2010-2020) might be due to data collection difficulties in earlier periods of time. This chapter will make an effort to go beyond the alumni dataset, and to highlight Brazilian alumni stories that may have been lost in the official record. We will start with a consideration of, perhaps, the most distinguished Brazilian TC graduate of all - Anisio Teixeira.

III. Dewey, Kilpatrick, and Teixeira: Educational Reform in Brazil

The relationship of Teachers College and Brazilian education reform has to start from the connections between John Dewey and his colleague William Heard Kilpatrick with one of their most famous Brazilian students: Anísio Teixeira.

John Dewey, one of the most influential American educational philosophers, taught at Columbia University from 1904 to 1939. It can be said that he spent most of his academic life at Teachers College (after an earlier period at the University of Chicago) and had contributed mightily to its original Golden Age, alongside other educational historians, comparative educators, and educational psychologists like P. Monroe, I. Kindle and Edward Thorndike. Apart from his professional titles at Teachers College and Columbia, Dewey was also a major educational reformer in the early 20th century. His *Theory of Democratic Education* and *Progressive Education* were two of his most famous. He insisted that the role of education is to establish a common belief among people, and to build channels of communication and understanding through schools. Education should consider that the student is a social being. The process begins at birth with the child unconsciously gaining knowledge and gradually developing their knowledge to share and partake in society. (Dewey, 1897) These education theories had far-reaching impacts on countries all over the world, especially in developing countries at that time.

William Heard Kilpatrick was also a famous scholar at Teachers College and a close colleague of Dewey. He studied at Teachers College as a student with Dewey, then worked as an educator, and spent the rest of his career and long life at Teachers College from 1907-1937. He was also a major figure of progressive education movement of the early 20th century. His pedagogical theory, “the project method”, put students into the center of education. Students in a project method environment should be allowed to explore and experience their environment through their senses and, in so doing, to direct their own learning guided by their individual interests.

Though Dewey and Kilpatrick never traveled to Brazil, nor was their work directly related to Brazilian education, their ideas were carried to Brazil by their most famous Brazilian student, Anísio Teixeira. Following his studies with Dewey and Kilpatrick, Teixeira returned to Brazil where he was a leading force in the reform of public education for many decades. (Vinicius Da Cunha, 2005)

By way of background, Anísio Spínola Teixeira was born in Caetité, in the hinterland of the State of Bahia in the Northeast of Brazil, on July 12, 1900. After early training acquired at the São Luiz Gonzaga Institute, in Caetité, and at the Colégio Antonio Vieira, in Salvador,

both Jesuit schools, he graduated in Law from the Law Faculty of the University of Rio de Janeiro in 1922.

The earliest records show that Teixeira spent some time in the U.S. and at Columbia in the early 1920s, participating in debates about educational reform. Eventually, he returned to Columbia with support from the State of Bahia and enrolled in the Master of Arts program at TC, obtaining his degree in 1929.

During his study in the United States, he connected his own thinking with the work of John Dewey, a decisive moment in his intellectual trajectory. While Dewey was perhaps less active in teaching by the time of Teixeira's enrollment, the record shows that Teixeira did take classes with Kilpatrick. Influenced by his studies at TC, Teixeira decided to bring the educational ideas of democratic education back to Brazil and facilitated the flourishing of pragmatism in Brazil from the 1920s through the 1930s. (Vinicius Da Cunha et al., 2011)

To begin with, Teixeira translated some of Dewey's work into Portuguese, and developed his own educational philosophy, adapting Dewey's ideas into Brazilian context. In l930, Dewey's book, *Life and Education*, was published in Brazil as Vida e Educação, and was enormously influential. Teixeira translated *The Child and the Curriculum and Interest and Effort in Education* in this book, and also wrote an introductory study. Teixeira's *Progressive Education* was also one of the books which labeled him as a follower of Dewey's ideas. (Vinicius Da Cunha, 2005)

Besides his contribution to educational theories, Teixeira's greatest contribution was focused on education practices in Brazil, which he sought to align with Dewey and Kilpatrick's ideas. In 1932, Teixeira was one of the 26 notables to produce the *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* (Pioneers for a New Education Manifesto), advocating changes in Brazilian education. The statement was noteworthy for urging that education be the responsibility of the State, and not, as was the tradition in Brazil, under the control of the Church. Famously, it called for a single school system for Brazil: public, secular in nature, mandatory for all, and, of course, free. In time, the concept of this school became known in Brazil as Escola Nova, or New School.

Considering that Brazilian society at the start of the twentieth century was not organized in terms of educational institutions and practices, intellectuals signing the Manifesto started to think about creating institutions adapted to the nation's reality. Teixeira, as a member of the group, believed deeply that, by expanding the supply of schools, especially its primary schools, and by reorganizing higher education, the Brazilian people would learn how to care for their own wellbeing and be encouraged to have a less mystical, more rational mindset. The reforms would tap into latent human resource potential which would also be more effective in promoting the nation's development. (Xavier 2012) Therefore, education should be public, free, and secular, attuned to a developing industrialized society, not focusing on memorization, but allowing the student's intellectual development.

Inspired by this education philosophy, in 1935, Teixeira founded the Universidade do Distrito Federal (UDF) in Rio, with a firm basis in the New School tenets. The UDF stood apart from other Brazilian institutions of higher education in that it incorporated formal studies in education, rather than in the more traditional areas of law, engineering, and medicine. The new university was met with the strong opposition of religious educators affiliated with the Church and sectors of the Getúlio Vargas government. Eventually, it and its program of education studies were absorbed into the Universidade do Brasil.

Teixeira eventually resigned as the Director of Education Chair in 1939 and returned to Bahia, where he was invited by Governor Octávio Mangabeira to work as State Secretary of Education. He assumed the position of advisor for UNESCO in 1946. The following year, he was invited again to assume the position of Secretary of Education of Bahia, where he was very successful as a public administrator. He created Escola Parque in Salvador, which became a pioneering center for comprehensive education.

Following the end of the Getúlio Vargas dictatorship in 1945, Teixeira took up several important responsibilities.

In 1951, Teixeira was appointed Director of Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas (INEP). In 1952, he became the Director of the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies in Rio de Janeiro. In 1954, he took up a position as a professor at Institute of Education in the Federal District in Rio. After the Brazilian capital was moved from Rio to Brasilia in 1960, Teixeira, together with Darcy Ribeiro and other intellectuals, planned a new university for the city. Very shortly thereafter, the University of Brasilia was founded in 1961, with Teixeira as its first Rector.

Throughout this long and distinguished career, Teixeira was in touch with Columbia. He and Frank Tannenbaum remained in close contact. Teixeira and Charles Wagley collaborated on studies of education. Teachers College also remained involved. In 1963, Anisio Teixeira was awarded the Teachers College Medal for Distinguished Service by an Alumnus, for his commitment to education in Brazil as well as the global society.

After the 1964 Brazilian *coup d'état*, Teixeira was forced to resign his position as Rector of the University. Seeking safety from the military who suspected intellectuals of leftist sympathies, he traveled to the United States and to Columbia. He was for a time a Visiting Professor at Columbia and also taught at Teachers College. Teixeira returned to Brazil in the late 1960s, just as the repression in Brazil turned more violent against intellectuals deemed dangerous to the regime. The historical record remains murky to this day, but witnesses say that Teixeira was arrested by the military in 1971. He was never seen again. Anisio Teixeira died under mysterious circumstances three days later. He was 71 years old.

Anísio Teixeira was part of a generation of intellectuals whose main concern, in the first half of the twentieth century, was to organize the nation and forge the people through a culture that sought to ensure its unity through public education, the reform of teaching and the construction of a cultural field from the University. (UNESCO 2000) For his many accomplishments in the field of education, he is certainly one of the most distinguished Brazilian graduates of Columbia of all time.

IV. The International Institute at Teachers College: Brazil Becomes Part of a Global Educational Network

While we have focused on Teixeira, there were also many other education researchers and practitioners trained at Teachers College who made contributions to the advancement of education in Brazil. Most of these we will mention were students in the International Institute at TC where they focused upon comparative international education. The Institute had an enormous effect globally starting in the early 1920s, and Brazil was a good example of this impact. Working together with counterparts around the world, the TC Institute legitimized the very concept of education as an academic discipline and envisioned a network of scholars around the world dedicated to the exchange of knowledge and to teacher education. (Vidal and Silva Rabelo)

In this, they were taking advantage of seeds planted in Brazil in the 1920s by Professor Isaac Kandel of Teachers College, a Director of the Institute at TC, who spent months traveling throughout Brazil in 1926 and, thereafter, became a vocal exponent of Brazilian secondary education at global fora. (Vidal and Silva Rabelo) Kandel, who stood in opposition to some of the tenets of the progressive education school, was probably less of an intellectual influence on the Brazilian students who studied at TC. His importance is more as a facilitator of educational opportunities and networking for Brazilians at TC.

In any case, Institutes of Education, modeled on the TC institute, were created in Rio de Janeiro in 1932 and in São Paulo in 1933, obviously heavily influenced by Teixeira and others familiar with TC. These institutes in Brazil continued for a while under their own original structures, but both were eventually incorporated into the two most important universities in the country: Universidade do Brasil in Rio and Universidade de São Paulo. Thus, it could be said that these institutes, by virtue of their faculty and curricula, were the seedbed for the faculties of education that exist to this day in Rio and São Paulo. By the early to mid-1930s, many

of the writings of the leading TC professors were published in Portuguese. Teixeira himself put together a compilation of Dewey's texts under the name of *Vida e educação*. Kilpatrick's text, *Educação para uma civilização em mudança*, was produced in Portuguese by one of his Brazilian students. Thorndike's influential *Principios elementares de educação* was published in 1936.

In the rest of this section, we will focus mainly on profiles of a representative handful of the almost 30 Brazilian educators who received degrees from TC from the 1920s through the early 1940s, a period in which Dewey's influence was still profoundly in evidence. This will show how these individuals created important connections between Teachers College and Brazil at a critically important juncture in the history of Brazilian education.

Isaias Alves de Almeida was a close colleague of Teixeira and also from the State of Bahia. He received an M.A. in educational psychology from TC in 1931 and, upon returning to Brazil, worked with Teixeira in the Secretariat of Education in Rio in 1931 and 1932. Alves de Almeida then took up a position at the Institute of International Education in Rio from 1932-34. **Noemy Silveira** studied at TC at the same time as Alves de Almeida, though she was called back to São Paulo in 1930 before obtaining her degree in order to assist in the educational reform there.

In 1927, a group of five Brazilian women was sent to Teacher's College as part of an official mission of the State of Minas Gerais. Their purpose was to learn new educational methods and practices they could apply to the schools of Minas Gerais to develop and implement education reform (Fonseca, 76). The five were **Alda Lodi, Ignácia Ferreira Guimarães, Amélia de Castro Monteiro, Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro, and Lúcia Schmidt Monteiro de Castro.** After returning from the United States, all of them became part of the faculty of the "Escola de Aperfeiçoamento," an institution that sought to train teachers from public primary schools in Minas Gerais (Maciel, 82). Lodi worked in the training of teachers, especially in arithmetic, Castro worked in alphabetization, and Monteiro was the director of the school. Their efforts to improve the public education system contributed to a more democratic and egalitarian society, as idealized by Anísio Teixeira and inspired by the progressive education movement. (See Chapter 4 in this volume for more detail on these five women.)

Joaquim Faria Góes Filho was also a Bahian and a contemporary of Teixeira. He received his Master's in Comparative Education from TC in 1936. Following his return to Brazil, Goes Filho eventually succeeded Teixeira as Secretary of Education for the Federal District in 1937. His interest in education inclined more toward training in the industrial arts and in vocational training, responding to the needs of a newly industrializing economy for a labor force trained in a new way. Later in his distinguished career, Goes Filho became a consultant to the then newly created UNESCO in the 1950s. For many years in Brazil (1948-1960), he was Director of SENAI's National Department, SENAI being the most important educational agency of the Federal Government dealing with training in the industrial arts.

The program of studies at Teachers College included many fields of study not yet widely taught in the United States. Professional education in the sciences also formed an important part of the course offerings available to Brazilians through the International Institute. As the graduate school of education, psychology, and health at Columbia, Teachers College received women from Brazil who went on to make significant contributions in nursing education. For example, in 1935-1937, Hilda Anna Krisch, Delizeth Oliveira Cabral and Alayde Borges Carneiro received Rockefeller Foundation scholarships from the US to study nursing education at Teachers College.

Hilda Anna Krisch was known as a pioneer in nursing and nursing education in the State of Santa Catarina. (Borenstein, et al., 2004). The daughter of an Austrian family that arrived in Brazil in 1863, Hilda was born in 1900 in Joinville. After completing her basic studies, Hilda started working at Casa de Saúde Dona Helena, in Joinville. There Hilda met Dr. Norberto Bachmann, who suggested that she should take a

bacterioscopy course in São Paulo which, with support from her family, she did in 1927. She wound up studying and working at Samaritano Hospital for almost ten years before being selected for a prestigious Rockefeller Foundation scholarship to study in the United States at Teachers College. Her course of studies, perhaps typical of the curriculum at the time, included surgery, public health practices in Harlem, educational psychology, and hospital administration. (Borenstein, et al., 2004)

Upon graduation from TC, Krisch went back to Brazil and became President of the Brazilian Association of Graduate Nurses (known as ANEDB) from 1938 to 1941. Afterwards, she worked as one of the organizers of Hospital das Clínicas, one of the most important hospitals in São Paulo and in Brazil, as well as the most important public hospital in the country. Krisch worked as the chief of the nursing subdivision in the hospital. She then moved back to Santa Catarina, where she continued her life's work.

V. Concluding Comments

To conclude, this chapter focused on the stories of TC faculty who had research and supported Brazilian education, as well as the Brazilian alumni who studied at TC and made significant contributions to the educational development of their home country. These stories uncovered some of the TC-Brazil history and demonstrated how Teachers College and Brazilian pioneers in education were closely connected. In closing, we offer here a very brief comments on TC's role in developing the modern educational system in China. This may provide at least a brief glimpse at a useful comparative context to our study of Brazil.

In the early 20th century, as a modernizing wave swept the country, China was still ruled by the Qing dynasty, semi-colonial, and underdeveloped. Naturally, a concern for the educational system was paramount. As a result, a large number of Chinese students and scholars traveled overseas to further their education at Teachers College which was already well known throughout the world.

Similar to the example of Anisio Teixeira in Brazil, the Chinese students at TC studied with Dewey and Kilpatrick and were exposed to the ideas of the progressive education movement as it was unfolding throughout the world. Chinese academics, including Xingzhi Tao, Shi Hu, Bingwen Guo, and Menglin Jiang, eventually returned to China and there promoted a series of educational reforms. Bingwen Guo is a leading example of this impact. Guo entered Teachers College in 1911 and received his doctoral degree in 1914. When he returned to China, he is credited with creating the modern higher education system in the country. The National Southeast University that he founded was referred to as "the modern university rising in the East" and "China's first modern national university". Many graduates of the National Southeast University later on became rectors of other higher education institutions throughout China.

The story of the Chinese educators reminds us that the case of the history of Brazil and Teachers College was not a unique case of cross-national co-creation of educational reforms. TC's international programs have always been helping to promote educational transformation all over the world. The stories and efforts of all these TC people highlighted in this chapter remind us, also, that education meant far more than acquiring specific skills that can be implemented in a classroom. It is a much broader social process. Through the TC international education programs, a certain idea, or practice, may travel overseas, to another country, take root, and sprout, while ultimately affecting the modernization project of an entire society. Although 100 years have passed since Teachers College consciously set out to receive students from the world over, the school in its modern form continues to be dedicated to the mission set out by its early founders, continuing to encourage and nurture those committed to a better educational system in Brazil and elsewhere. International students enrolled at TC in the 2018-2019 academic year, for example, represented more than 20% of the student body. The story of Teachers College and its international impact has not ended.

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Women, Columbia University, and Brazil

JULIA SHIMIZU

Introduction

The history of Columbia University and Brazil was built on the many contributions of women scholars and students. Despite the obstacles of gender inequality, many of which still persist, Columbia women and Brazilian women fostered an academic relationship that continues to grow. However, many of these contributions have been overlooked or lost in anonymity. A proper analysis requires looking at the relevance of their contributions within the social constraints imposed on women. Columbia University only became a coeducational institution in 1982, while accepting women to some graduate and professional schools and to Barnard College prior to this agreement. While actively participating and strengthening the relationship between Columbia and Brazil, these women challenged gender roles and expectations. Thus, including women's legacy is crucial to the reconstruction of the history of Columbia University and Brazil.

As professoras na Universidade de Columbia, em Nova Iorque – em pé: Ignácia Guimarães (esq.), Benedicta Valladares e Amélia Monteiro (esq.); sentadas: Alda Lodi (esq.), desconhecida e Lúcia Schmidt (dir.)
Fonte: acervo de Maria Mercedes Valadares Guerra Amaral. Fotógrafo desconhecido.

Though Columbia University only became a coeducational institution in the early 1980s, the efforts to include women began in the nineteenth century. Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard, President of Columbia from 1864 to 1889, was a keen advocate for women's education and petitioned the Board of Trustees to allow women in the undergraduate program. In 1883, all members of the committee organized by the Board of Trustees voted against co-education, except President Barnard himself (Golia). The decision created a backlash that led the Board of Trustees to compromise. The Collegiate Course for Women allowed women to take courses at Columbia, but they could not attend lectures or take the exams with men (Golia). Despite being able to graduate from Columbia College, they were in academic disadvantage and were unwelcome among most faculty and colleagues (Golia). The inadequacy of the Course prompted the creation of a separate, all-female institution. A former Course student, Annie Nathan Meyer, lobbied the Board of Trustees and was the driving force behind the foundation of Barnard College in 1889 (Golia).

Despite the reluctance to adopt coeducation for its undergraduate school, Columbia's graduate and professional schools were more inclusive of women even prior to the coeducation decision in 1982. The first woman to be awarded a Ph.D. from Columbia was Winifred Edgerton in 1886. The last professional school to accept women was the School of Engineering in 1942 ("Women at Columbia"). Columbia College decided to become coed in 1982 and Barnard maintained its status as a women's college. Though the decision was motivated by the College's need to raise application numbers and improve the quality of life for its students"(Golia), it reflected not only the desire of students and faculty to include women in the Columbia community, but also the impact of the women's liberation movement on the public perception of women's rights.

Similar to the history of Columbia University and the United States, access to higher education was also limited to women in Brazil. The influence of Iberian

patriarchal customs and of Jesuits in colonial Brazil assigned women to the private sphere, to occupy roles as homemakers and mothers, and kept them from accessing formal education (Favaro & Pereira, 5529). It was only in 1822, with the transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil and independence, that the issue of education gained greater importance. Though young women were allowed to attend preschool, the lack of female teachers did not reflect significantly on women's education (Favaro & Pereira, 5530). Besides the lack of academic and professional opportunities, women had more pregnancies due to the absence of effective birth control methods, keeping them attached to childcare and the household. Though at the end of the nineteenth-century women began to access higher education in Brazil, it was only in the 1960s that they gained significant participation in those institutions (Favaro & Pereira, 5532-5534).

Looking at the history of women's education at Columbia and in Brazil, we observe that the patriarchal structure of the American and Brazilian societies restrained women's access to higher education. Despite the social constraints, this Columbia-Brazil history presents many notable women faculty, students, and academic administrators. At Columbia, women had particularly distinguished participation in the Anthropology Department and in Teachers College. In the rest of this chapter we provide two inspiring case studies. The first will show the decisive impact of women scholars on the development of anthropology in the United States and in collaborative research with Brazilian scholars to develop new knowledge based on the Brazilian context. The second case will provide a glimpse of how women teachers from Brazil were instrumental starting in the 1920s in bringing progressive ideas of education to their country.

The Case of Women in Anthropology

As described more fully in Chapter Two of this volume, the history of the Anthropology Department at Columbia University and Brazil is founded upon the exchange of knowledge and international collaboration. On Columbia's side, many anthropologists went to Brazil to conduct fieldwork. On Brazil's side, the Museu Nacional created incentives for Columbia's scholars to do research in Brazil in exchange for training and education of Brazilian anthropologists. The role of women in fostering this relationship gives it even greater value in Columbia-Brazil history. In the twentieth century, when women had fewer rights and opportunities than they have today and were constrained by strict gender roles, five women anthropologists from Columbia and a women director of the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro built an academic cooperation in anthropology.

Columbia University was a pioneer in awarding anthropology doctorates to women. In the early days of the professionalization of anthropology, young men dominated the field. According to research conducted in 2002 at the City University of New York on the "First Recipients of Anthropological Doctorates in the United States," 85 percent of doctoral research in anthropology was done by men (Bernstein, 9). Of the 124 people included in the study, only eighteen were women; ten of those eighteen women received their doctorates from Columbia. This shows how from the very beginning of the development of American anthropology, Columbia's Department embraced significant participation of women. They paved the way for the many female anthropologists who studied Brazil in the twentieth century, such as Ruth Landes, Betty Meggers, Maxine Margolis, Judith Shapiro, and Diana Brown.

Below we profile these selected individuals and mention some of their many contributions to the field.

Ruth Landes

Ruth Landes was a cultural anthropologist who studied under Ruth Benedict and earned her Ph.D. from Columbia in 1935. She studied race relations and Afro-Brazilian religions in Salvador, Brazil. Her book on candomblé, City of Women (1947), is considered a "landmark in gender and religion studies" (Oliveira, 30). The reception of her studies in Brazil and the criticism she received from many male anthropologists should be questioned when analyzing Landes' work. Landes recalls her "Brazilian happenings" as the story of "a woman stumbling in men's affairs" (Landes, 124).

According to Mariza Corrêa, Ruth Landes "was an exception because she was a self-employed researcher since until then the female researchers who came here were doublés of researchers' wives – such as Dina Lévi-Strauss, Frances Herskovits, Yolanda Murphy" (Oliveira, 30). Not only did Landes' position as a field researcher challenge gender roles in the male-dominated hierarchy in anthropology, but also her fields of studies, such as race and gender, were politically controversial, especially under the Getúlio Vargas dictatorship in Brazil in the 1930s and 1940s. Landes herself reflected on her experience as a field researcher:

> "The woman anthropologist is a professional worker, which means that she is measured by standards attached to men, since the work is in a public sphere -- the sphere controlled by men in our world. (...) The importance here is that the woman field worker might be considered an honorific man by title, she was appraised and censured as a private women-person by the patriarchal culture she studied as well as by most of her men colleagues," Ruth Landes, *Women in the Field: Anthropological Experiences* (p. 123)

Betty Meggers

Betty Meggers was a pioneer in the field of environmental archaeology and one of the most famous archeologists of the twentieth-century. Meggers earned her Ph.D. at Columbia in 1952 for her study on "The Archaeological Sequence on Marajó Island, Brazil, with Special Reference to the Marajoara Culture." Meggers and her husband, Clifford Evans, were the first archaeologists to study ancient Amazonians (Kapsalis). She was a research associate in the Smithsonian Department of Anthropology and Director of the Latin American Archaeology Program at the National Museum of Natural History (Bennicoff).

In 1974, Meggers and Evans also implemented the "Amazon Ecosystems Research Program" which brought together Brazilian scientists and Smithsonian staff members "interested in environmental studies of the Amazon region" (Betty J. Meggers and Clifford Evans Papers).

Casal Clifford Evans e Betty Meggers. (Acervo CCHAT).

Maxine Margolis

Maxine Margolis, Professor Emerita at the University of Florida and Senior Research Scholar at the Institute of Latin American Studies at Columbia University, earned her Ph.D. in anthropology in 1970 at Columbia. She conducted field research in many places in Brazil, such as Bahia, Paraná, Minas Gerais, and Rio de Janeiro (University of Florida). Margolis pioneered the research of Brazilian emigration and dedicated most of her life to studying the Brazilian Diaspora (BRASA). She is the author of many books on Brazil, such as *Goodbye Brazil: Émigrés from the Land of Soccer and Samba, An Invisible Minority: Brazilian Immigrants in New York City, and Little Brazil: An Ethnography of Brazilian Immigrants in New York City.*

Judith Shapiro

Judith R. Shapiro, former President of Barnard College (1994-2008), is an anthropologist who earned her Ph.D. at Columbia in 1972 on "Sex Roles and Social Structure Among the Yanomami Indians of Northern Brazil." She studied the Tapirapé and the Yanomami indigenous peoples in Brazil in the 1960s. Shapiro recalls that at her time as a graduate student she "never felt like a second class citizen as a woman student," and adds that what was valued at Columbia was work and

academic achievement (Shapiro interview). However, she also highlights that there were no women among the faculty who taught her at Columbia. The absence of women in prominent faculty positions is a reflection of not only the small number of women who were able to access higher education, but also a gendered hierarchy in academia, in which men were at the top of the departments and academic administration.

Diana Brown

Diana Brown is Professor Emerita at Bard College and Co-Chair of the Columbia University Seminar on Brazil. Brown received her Ph.D. in anthropology at Columbia in 1974 for her study of the urban African-Brazilian religion of Umbanda, later published as the book Umbanda: Religion and Politics in Urban Brazil. Noted Brazilian anthropologist Roberto da Matta wrote at the time that Brown's book is "one of the most comprehensive sociological studies of Umbanda in Brazil" (DaMatta, 395).

Brazilian Collaborators

Columbia's work in Brazil was, obviously, made possible by close collaboration with Brazilian scholars. Heloisa Alberto Torres was perhaps the most important Brazilian in the relationship between Brazil and Columbia's Department of Anthropology in the mid-twentieth century. She was not only a respected woman in academia, but also had many famous admirers, such as poets Mario de Andrade and Carlos Drummond de Andrade and scholar Gilberto Freyre. Even though there were not many women public servants at the time, Torres served from 1938 to 1955 in a very prestigious position as the Director of the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. (Corrêa & Mello 10).

The Museu Nacional was an institution central to academic research in the country and Torres exercised enormous influence and power in this position. Also called "the First Lady of Brazilian anthropology," Torres is credited with initiating the relationship between the Museu and Columbia University (Corrêa & Mello 19). It is not known when Torres's relationship with the United States started but, starting in 1938, Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict approached her to seek support for Columbia students who would be traveling to Brazil to research (Corrêa & Mello 2-4). The series of informal agreements between the two institutions was the gateway for Columbia students to conduct research in Brazil, such as Charles Wagley, and for Brazilian students to study anthropology at Columbia, such as Eduardo Galvão.

The letters exchanged between Heloisa Torres and Charles Wagley show the hierarchy between them and the influence they had on each other. Torres was a middle-aged woman, the Director of the Museu Nacional, respected by many Columbia scholars, and with vast experience in the support of research. When Wagley first arrived in Brazil, he was described as a skinny twenty-five-year-old who gave an appearance of fragility thrust into a land unknown to him (Corrêa & Mello 123). His reliance on Heloisa for food, clothes, and traveling is a contrast to gender norms and roles. Torres's scarce correspondence with Wagley and other scholars also show how communication followed a bottom-up route and decision-making came from the Museum's director.

The five women anthropologists, Ruth Landes, Betty Meggers, Maxine Margolis, Judith Shapiro, and Diana Brown, contributed significantly to the development of Brazilian studies at Columbia and to the study of anthropology in Brazil. Heloisa Alberto Torres fostered and administered field research conducted by Columbia scholars in Brazil and, thus, was fundamental to the foundation of the Columbia-Brazil relationship.

Figura 12 - Classe Anexa da Escola de Aperfeiçoamento. 1929

Thus, these women were an integral part of the history of Columbia University and Brazil because these connections and exchange of knowledge contributed

to the University's scholarship and to the development of Brazilian academia.

The Case of the "Embassy of Minas Gerais" at Teachers College

In early twentieth-century Brazil, teaching was one of the few professions that were available to and socially acceptable for women. As the population slowly became more urban and as the economy industrialized, gender roles loosened up and women were allowed in more fields of study and workspaces. For the majority of the population, that meant that women now could have paid jobs in factories, especially in the textile industry. But for women from middle-class and elite families, the modernization of Brazil meant having more access to formal education. And the main profession was teaching. In 1927, Brazilian teachers Alda Lodi, Amélia de Castro Monteiro, Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro, Ignácia Ferreira Guimarães, and Lúcia Schmidt Monteiro de Castro had the opportunity to study abroad at Teachers College, which would have been a great accomplishment even for men at the time. These five women, referred to at the time as the "Embassy of Minas Gerais," were fundamental to the dissemination of the progressive education methodology in Brazil and were an integral part of education reform in the state of Minas Gerais. Some context will help to appreciate the importance of these pioneering women.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, basic education in Brazil was of low quality and of difficult access for the majority of the population. In the 1920s, 65% of the country's population was illiterate (Azevedo 2018). Though elite families could send their children to better schools that were managed by the federal government, the poor mostly had access only to state schools, which had a precarious infrastructure and whose teachers were not well trained (Azevedo, 2018). This poorly developed public education system was caused by the lack of incentives to educate a largely rural population. In 1920, Brazil had a population of 27.5 million and only 17 percent lived in cities (Brito, 2006). However, starting at the beginning of the twentieth century, Brazil went through many demographic changes prompted by waves of migration, urbanization, and the industrialization of the economy. The coffee industry, concerned that the abolition of slavery (1888) would reduce the available workforce, promoted international immigration from Europe, Japan, and elsewhere (Fusco & Souchaud 6). These immigration incentives saturated the agricultural job market in rural areas, leading to a rural exodus and to the growth of the urban population (Samara 34). The large offering of workers in urban centers then contributed to the growing industrialization. And this transition from rural to urban, from agrarian to industrial demanded a more qualified workforce.

In the 1920s, many intellectuals and politicians believed that education was necessary for the development of the country. Influenced by the Progressive Education movement[1], they advanced the idea that access to education in Brazil should be universal and public and that education could reduce inequality. The demographic changes as well as the growth of the population contributed to the development of this intellectual movement in Brazil. It was also during this period that Heitor Lira created the Brazilian Association of Education[2], which served as a hub for leaders to discuss issues and plans to improve education. Moreover, 1920s Brazil experienced great political turmoil. In 1922, São Paulo hosted the Modern Art Week and the Brazilian Communist Party was founded. Tenentism, a political-military movement led by junior army officers advocated for public education reform and mandatory primary education, among other issues. This political scenario prompted efforts to modernization and change, which helped push the agenda for education reform across the country.

In the state of Minas Gerais, the education reform s led by governor Antonio Carlos[3], along with his secretary of Interior Francisco Campo[4]s and the General Inspector of Public Education Mário Casasanta. During his campaign, Carlos defended a progressive education reform because he believed that a growing industrial

1 Movimento Escola Nova, in Portuguese.

2 Associação Brasileira de Educação (ABE).

3 "Foundation degree in primary teaching" here refers to "Magistério."

4 Francisco Luís da Silva Campos.

society would certainly benefit from a more educated population (Kulesza 21). At the time, Brazil did not have a higher education track for teachers. Teachers mostly studied in an "Escola Normal" to receive a foundation degree in primary teaching [5]and a pedagogy course was only created in 1939.

Governor Antonio Carlos's administration (1926-1930) proposed the creation of a training school in the state capital of Belo Horizonte based upon a belief that a longer pedagogical and literary formation for teachers would improve the quality of education and contribute to the formation of school administrators. Due to the lack of qualified teachers to establish a training school, the government invested in the schooling of Brazilian teachers abroad. The most notable exchange between Brazil and Teachers College was the official mission of five women sent by the Minas Gerais government.

The "Embassy of Minas Gerais" was a group of five women from Minas Gerais - Alda Lodi, Ignácia Ferreira Guimarães, Amélia de Castro Monteiro, Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro, and Lúcia Schmidt Monteiro de Castro - all sent by Francisco Campos to study at Teachers College in New York. Their mission was to prepare to contribute to the education reform in Minas Gerais (Kulesza 139). This effort by the state government went along with the growing "internationalization of the field of education" (Kulesza 51). According to Mirian Warde, Teachers College was the epicenter of this phenomenon, thanks in no small measure to the global reputation of John Dewey (193). The richness of the materials and the production of knowledge attracted students from all over the world. In 1923, the International Institute was founded by TC to support incoming foreign students, such as offering scholarships and housing. And these conditions contributed to the mission of the five Brazilian women.

Ignácia Guimarães's previous study experience in the United States also facilitated the planning and guiding of the group to the United States. She studied at George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville (now a part of Vanderbilt University) from 1922 to 1924 (Barbosa 20). Because of her performance at Peabody, in a visit to Belo Horizonte in 1927, Isaac Kandel, an American educator born in Romania and educated at Columbia, offered Guimarães a scholarship to continue her studies[6] at TC (Kulesza 51). In exchange for granting Guimarães a leave of absence from the "Escola Normal Modelo" and for sponsoring the travel expenses, Francisco Campos asked her to select and lead a committee of four teachers to study at TC (Francisca 74). Campos saw an opportunity to educate a group of teachers who could carry out the reform of primary education in the state and contribute to the foundation of the future training school for teachers in Belo Horizonte.

The group of five teachers departed from Rio de Janeiro in September of 1927. After twenty-three days traveling by sea, they were welcomed in New York by the Brazilian Consul, Dr. Sampaio (Araujo 35). At Teachers College, each of them specialized in a different area. Alda Lodi studied arithmetic and school administration; Benedita Valladares studied teaching methods as well as history, geography, and ethics; Lucia de Castro studied language and alphabetization (Barbosa 20). Ignácia Guimarães continued her graduate studies and, before returning to Brazil, she traveled to Germany to study the education system (Kulesza 57). During their time at Columbia, the teachers were heavily influenced by the progressive education movement, especially by the teaching of John Dewey. All of them but Lodi, who continued her studies in mathematics and returned a couple of months later, left TC in February of 1929 (Araujo 39).

Life at TC and in New York was a great contrast with the small city of Belo Horizonte. In 1920, TC had students from 72 countries and New York City had a population of more than 5.5 million people of which 36 percent were foreign-born (Francisca 77; NYC Government). Belo Horizonte had a population of 55.5 thousand and was a slowly developing urban center with only 23 years of history (IBGE). The most striking social contrast for the teachers was the level of independence women had in New York. In the beginning, Benedicta expresses her frustration in a

5 "Foundation degree in primary teaching" here refers to "Magistério."

6 Ignácia was most likely studying for a master's degree (Barbosa 21;Araujo 35), though a source differs claiming it was a PhD (Francisca 34).

letter with regard to the rules imposed on women, such as reporting to the hall director when and where they wanted to go out if they were accompanied by a male companion and were less than twenty-three years old (Barbosa 22). However slowly, Benedicta came to realize that the rules were not so strict and that she could explore the city, pointing out later in another letter that "the woman here has the same rights and the same freedom, almost, as the man!" (Barbosa 22). She was also very interested in the female suffrage and showed her interest in seeing women vote in the United States (Barbosa 23).

Though the early twentieth-century wave of modernization and industrialization in Brazil was changing women's roles, as observed by the gradual increase in access to education and some professions, there still was great gender inequality. In the 1920s, women could not vote, own property, nor could they work or have a bank account without the authorization of their husbands. During their time studying at TC, these five women had achieved a level and quality of education that was impossible back in Brazil even for a man. And, despite the language barrier and cultural shocks, they completed their studies and returned to Brazil to innovate teaching and contribute to the education reform of Minas Gerais.

Ignácia Guimarães (esq.), Benedicta Valladares e Amélia Monteiro (dir.) a bordo do navio que as levou aos Estados Unidos em 1927.

Fonte: acervo particular de Maria Mercedes Valadares Guerra Amaral. Fotógrafo: desconhecido.

As a part of the education reform, the "Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Belo Horizonte"[7] (or EABH) was founded in February of 1929 with the purpose of training educators and school administrators. The two-year course was meant to instruct teaching professionals on theories and methods of modern pedagogy that would be applied in primary schools and taught in training schools. The faculty was composed of European teachers, mainly related to the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute in Geneva, and three of the Brazilian teachers who had studied at Teachers College (Kulesza 12). Alda Lodi taught the methodology of arithmetic, Lúcia Casasanta (*née* Lúcia Schmidt Monteiro de Castro) the methodology of Portuguese, and Amélia Monteiro the methodology of natural sciences, geography, and history (Kulesza 72).

At the EABH, Alda Lodi, Amélia de Castro Monteiro, and Lúcia Casasanta were responsible for the specialization of many teachers and school administrators, most of whom were women. Their students at the Escola de Aperfeiçoamento spread the methods imported from Teachers College across the country. Benedicta Valladares returned to the "Escola Normal Modelo" and continued to train teachers and award them the foundation degree in primary teaching.

Figura 2 — Símbolo da EA

Fonte: Prates (1989).

And the contributions of these teachers[8] to educational reform in Minas Gerais is widely recognized to this day among teachers in Belo Horizonte and in Brazilian academia.

The EABH was a milestone in the introduction of progressive education theory, especially as espoused

7 In English, The Training School of Belo Horizonte (my translation).

8 Ignácia de Guimarães worked in Rio de Janeiro with Anisio Teixeira, whom she met at her time at TC. There is not a lot of information on her work with Anísio Teixeira, though it appears that she worked in the Department of Education in Rio around 1935 ("Biogeographia dynamica" by Alberto José de Sampaio, page 48). Further research is necessary since this information seems relevant to the Columbia/TC-Brazil history.

by John Dewey, and the dissemination of progressive ideas in Brazil. Lodi brought with her two of David Eugene Smith's books from the United States to use as a reference for her course (Kulesza 140). Lucia Casasanta taught classes on alphabetization based on the global method of literacy she had gained experience at the Horace Mann School, the experimental unit of TC (Francisca 79). This progressive method heavily influenced Lúcia's students, as presented in the bestselling book *O Livro da Lili* written by Anita Fonseca (Francisca 136).

The EABH also stood out as a female-dominated institution. In the second year of the School, Amelia Monteiro assumed the position of director of the School until its closure in 1946. The faculty was all-female in the 1930s and the students were mostly female, with only two male graduates by the late 1940s (Kulesza 74). Thus, the EABH was a school for women, managed by women with women teachers. Moreover, the school attracted many teachers from the countryside of Minas Gerais and other states, such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, which helped spread the movement of female emancipation through education.

At a time when most of Brazil's population was illiterate, especially women, the achievement of these five women from Minas Gerais is of utmost importance in the Columbia-Brazil history. Although these five women came from middle class and elite families and their access to education was facilitated by their social status, their work at the EABH contributed to the democratization of teaching professions. Not only did they learn and disseminate the modern methodologies and theories from Teachers College, but they also made their contribution to female education, in a period when college was barely accessible to women.

Their contribution was also a step towards female emancipation in Brazil. The EABH's education in school administration contributed to the preparation of women to work in bureaucratic and director-level positions, which advanced women's participation in leadership positions and facilitated the advocacy for better salaries and work conditions for teachers. Furthermore, the certification provided by the School allowed women to move forward with their careers as educators and administrators. Besides the contribution to female emancipation, the training course at the EABH was in the vanguard of education studies and is considered a cornerstone of the Bachelor's degree program in pedagogy in Brazil.

In conclusion, Alda Lodi, Ignácia Ferreira Guimarães, Amélia de Castro Monteiro, Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro, and Lúcia Casasanta were five avant-garde women who contributed to the reform of education in Minas Gerais, to the training of women teachers, to the dissemination of the theories of the progressive school movement, especially the ideas of John Dewey. The success of their mission at Teachers College further fostered incentives to send Brazilians to study in the United States and at Columbia University.

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Democracy in Brazil: Contributions from Columbia Brazilianists

KAROLINA NIXON

To scholars of comparative law and political science, Brazilian political history presents an endless number of subjects for observation and analysis of political processes. The country has endured two infamous dictatorships in the last century, several Constitutional Assemblies, and an oscillating military presence in the national government which to this day controls 8 of the 22 Brazilian ministries in the Bolsonaro government (Barrucho). Professors at Columbia University have proved to be no exception to this well-deserved fascination with Brazilian political history. In fact, one of the most interesting aspects of Columbia University's historical relationship to Brazil is the extent to which prominent Columbia professors chose to use Brazil as a case study to research political processes such as democratization and militarization. This chapter will examine and compare the intellectual contributions of three notable Columbia professors who focused extensively on Brazil: Alfred Stepan, Ronald M. Schneider, and Adolf Berle Jr.

Alfred Stepan was a noted political scientist and material democratic theorist who produced definitive works on Brazilian democratization as a Professor of Political Science and at the Columbia School of International Public Affairs. Ronald Schneider worked as an Associate Professor of public law at Columbia from 1963-1970, specializing in Latin American studies and ultimately published four books on Brazilian history and politics (CUNY Queens College). Adolf Berle was perhaps the most notable Columbia law professor who extensively worked in Brazil. While he is primarily remembered for his role as an economic advisor to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Berle also served as Assistant Secretary of State specializing in Latin American Affairs and as the U.S. Ambassador to Brazil for a little over one year immediately following the end of WWII (C250 Celebrates Columbians Ahead of Their Time). Throughout his career in public service he remained a member of the Columbia Law School faculty in different capacities, his career at the University beginning in 1927 and lasting until 1963.

While placing these three professors together may seem random, comparing Stepan, Scneider, and Berle specifically should yield particularly interesting results for several reasons. First, these men were somewhat direct contemporaries of each other (at least to the extent that for some portion of their academic careers, they would have been working on Columbia's campus at the same time). Second, the time period in which they lived and worked (the second half of the 20th century) saw many of the most significant moments in Brazil's political history and development towards democratization. Finally, aspects of Berle's ambassadorship in Brazil were studied by both Stepan and Schneider, so in some ways the latter two men have already created the context for their comparison. This chapter aims to examine commonalities among the work of Stepan, Schneider, and Berle, paying close attention to how Berle's ambassadorial performance can be seen through the lens of Stepan and Schneider's portrayal of Brazilian history and democratization.

Stepan and Schneider

There are numerous parallels between the work of Alfred Stepan and Ronald Schneider, which is unsurprising given that the two intellectuals were not merely contemporaries, but close colleagues. The two individuals also focused on Brazil or used their focus on Brazil throughout their academic careers. Stepan continued studying democratic transitions stemming from what he fondly referred to as his "Brazilian base" until his death in 2017 (Stepan) and Schneider worked

on Brazil and Latin America until his retirement in 2007 (Shirley). Both professors worked under the umbrella of the Institute of Latin American Studies at Columbia University, headed at the time by Charles Wagley. In the acknowledgements for *The Military in Politics*, Stepan acknowledges both Wagley and Ronald Schneider as having "extended intellectual assistance far beyond any formal responsibility and contributed invaluable criticisms."

The two Brazilianists overlap primarily in their efforts to understand the shifting democratization of Brazil and the role of the military in consolidating authoritarian power. Stepan wrote his Columbia dissertation [later published as *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil* (Stepan, 1971)] on the breakdown of democracy in Brazil. His work focused on the importance of studying civil-military relations as well as the military as an institution in order to understand the military's role in Brazil's democratic breakdown (Shirley). Stepan would later publish an edited work entitled *Democratizing Brazil: Problems of Transition and Consolidation* in 1989. Similarly, Schneider's *Order and Progress: A Political History of Brazil* emphasizes the role of the military in Brazil's political history, highlighting the varying degrees to which the military furthered and maintained its interests in Brazil both alone and with regard to other significantly active institutions In addition to being a point of comparison, the focus on the military in their work also acts as a point of mutual distinction for the two intellectuals. Prior to Stepan and Schneider, most academic treatment of democratization of Brazil focused very little on studying the military as a relevant institution (Nelson).

Further evidence of the mutual overlap and intellectual camaraderie between the two Brazilianists can be found in Stepan's reference to Schneider's "forthcoming book [that] will provide in exhaustive detail, an analysis of many aspects of the Brazilian military which, because I have developed different themes, I have dealt with only sketchily in this work" (Stepan). In this instance, Stepan's reference to Schneider demonstrates both his close knowledge of Schneider's work and intended publications as well as an eagerness to assign credit to his contemporary. Despite Stepan's claim that his treatment of the Brazilian military had been "sketchy," Schneider admits to borrowing heavily from Stepan's work *Democratizing Brazil: Problems of Transition and Consolidation* for his chapter on the "Sarney Government: From Transition to Consolidation, 1985-1989" in his work *Order and Progress: A Political History of Brazil*. He references Stepan's consideration of the Brazilian case as a "re-democratization initiated by the military as a government," though he evaluates Stepan's "comprehensive symposium" as having very little focus on consolidation, placing Stepan in the category of "many authors who struggle to understand why the transition did not lead to a new order substantially free of the clientelism, populism, and military influence that has marked Brazilian politics to 1985" (Schneider). In a sense, this excerpt demonstrates how Schneider and Stepan's works not only referenced one another, but also built upon one another. In this case, Schneider's work continues on the "Consolidation" aspect first put forth but left underdeveloped in Stepan's *Democratizing Brazil: Problems of Transition and Consolidation*.

Berle's Ambassadorship Through the Lens of Stepan/ Schneider

The scope of Stepan and Schneider's work on Brazil, specifically their work in democratic shifts and Brazilian elections provides an immediate connection to the earlier work of Adolf Berle, whose resigned his role of U.S. ambassador shortly after the election of 1945 in which the longstanding dictatorial president ,Getúlio Vargas, was voted out of office (New York Times). However, the connection between Alfred Stepan's work as a democratic theorist and Berle's ambassadorship in Brazil becomes clearer towards the very end of Berle's ambassadorial career. In 1945, Berle encountered a real-life political situation which put his actions in direct contact with Stepan's later ideas on the minimum requirements for a government to be considered a democracy. In the wake of the upcoming December 1945 Brazilian presidential election, there was much debate in Brazil about whether or not the election should be postponed until the conclusion of a Constitutional Assembly which would revise Brazil's

Constitution to establish a democratic system of government (Metcalfe). On September 29th, Berle delivered a speech to the Brazilian Journalists' Union which opposed postponing the incoming elections until a new Constitution was drafted . (Metcalfe)

It seems Berle was placed in the position—or willingly placed himself in the position—of publicly stating which of Stepan's minimum requirements for democracy should take precedence over another: free and fair elections or the establishment of a democratic constitution. A key point of Stepan's theory on the minimum requirements for democracy was based on Robert Dahl's eight conditions, the most important of which is the existence and enforcement of free and fair elections, which leads to the creation of a Constitution representative of the majority ("The Twin Tolerations"). However, Stepan's ideas superseded his Dahlian base with the view that not only must a government have free and fair elections in order to be considered democratic, but the Constitution that results from those elections must also be democratic itself. The Brazilian political situation during Berle's ambassadorship presented a significant problem to meeting the minimum requirements for democracy put forth by Stepan: whether or not to hold democratic elections under an undemocratic constitution, with the promise of a revised democratic Constitution by both major campaigns following the elections.

Berle's speech to the Brazilian Journalists' Union was criticized for taking the stance that carrying out the elections under the current Constitution should take precedence over a Constitutional revision, despite the undemocratic nature of the current Constitution (New York Times). His speech that advocated for the prioritization of free and fair elections drew criticism for affecting the fairness of the upcoming election. The Council for Pan American Democracy officially accused Berle of unwarranted interference in Brazilian political affairs in a letter sent to the Secretary of State, which also called for an investigation into Berle's actions in Brazil and dismissal from his ambassadorial role in the country. Three months after the controversial speech was given, Truman reportedly recalled Berle to Washington to explain his actions (New York Times). Finally, Berle's actions were personally condemned by former Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas, who called Berle an "agent of international finance" and claimed his speech was responsible for his loss in the election ("Vargas Says Berle Aided in Downfall"). Berle denied Vargas' claim, citing the independent spirit of the Brazilian population as evidence against any perceived influence by him or any other political figure on Brazilian politics.

Conclusion: A Final Thread of Commonality

Berle's confidence in the independent nature of Brazilian politics mentioned above leads into a final thread of commonality between Stepan, Schneider, and Berle: an optimistic view of Brazil and the future of Brazil's political system. Throughout both their published works and quoted materials, the three Brazilianists espouse a confidence in Brazil's industrial future and democratic stability. Berle demonstrated this view not only in his characterization of the Brazilian polity, but in his characterization of the country itself. For example, Berle claims a preoccupation with the slums of Brazil to be an "American cliché" that ignores the "swift development of the great West, where settlements grow into important towns in a decade" ("The Real Brazil"). Similarly, Stepan describes Brazil's prospect for democracy and continued global rise as "encouraging" and "promising" (Brooke). Finally, to grasp Schneider's optimistic impression of Brazil, one need not look further than the title of Schneider's later work on the country: *Brazil: Culture and Politics in a New Industrial Powerhouse*. At the very least, this final thread of commonality demonstrates the tendency of the country of Brazil to leave political scientists and political figures studying Brazil with an impression of her indomitable national spirit and boundless future potential.

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Stepan, Alfred. “A Life in Comparative Politics: Chasing Questions in Five Continents.” International Political Science Review, Vol. 37(5) 691–705. 2016. It should be noted that Stepan remained intellectually devoted to Brazil throughout his academic career. After completing his dissertation, he used his study of Brazilian democratization as a model which he applied to the examination of democratic transitions in several Eastern European countries. Stepan also co-founded the Lemann Center for Brazilian Studies at the University of Illinois in 2009. (https://lemann.illinois.edu)

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The "Twin Tolerations" As a Model for Foreign Policy Thinking in the Obama Administration.

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Outsider Vision Amid the Darkness: Brazilianists at Columbia University and the Brazilian Military Dictatorship, 1964-1980

GABRIEL AZEVEDO DUARTE FRANCO

GABRIEL AZEVEDO DUARTE FRANCO [A]

Outsider Vision Amid the Darkness: Brazilianists at Columbia University and the Brazilian Military Dictatorship, 1964-1980 [B]

> In seeking the unity of a society and national culture so complex as that of modern Brazil, I realize that certain things cannot be stated scientifically, with full substantiation. Much of the unity of Brazil comes from just being a Brazilian—from feeling and acting like a Brazilian. These implicit, almost intuitive, aspects of a culture are difficult to make explicit and define [...]. Sometimes the foreign visitor who has come to know a people sees them with a freshness and objectivity which helps them understand themselves.[C]

In 1971, journalist Elio Gaspari wrote a piece for Brazilian magazine Veja investigating a cohort of American academics who dedicated their careers to the study of Brazil. Upon calling them "Brazilianists," Gaspari was certainly responsible for bringing the term into the mainstream, imparting it a quasi-official status. The idea of organized North American "Brazilianism" was still foreign to the majority of the Brazilian population, despite the steady ascension of Brazilian studies at universities across the United States[1]. In the making of his 1971 article, Gaspari traveled to New York City to do fieldwork at Columbia University. His choice was far from arbitrary[2].

By the early 1970s, Columbia's history of development of Brazilian studies was already extensive, as was the history of its connections to Brazilian political activism.

The 1960s had been a period of political turbulence in Latin America, and Brazil was not an exception to that rule. The military dictatorship in which the country had been immersed since 1964 seemed to have become ever more averse to dissidence; between 1968 and 1970, Brazil would see many of its most vocal democratic activists flee in exile. In the United States, popular action against the Vietnam War led to students' occupation of several university campuses. The protests of 1968 at Columbia were part of that conjuncture, and their objectives included the condemnation of US ties to Latin American dictatorships[3]. Brazil assumed a prominent position in talks of political action within Columbia at the time, a feat which owed to four main, although hardly exhaustive, causes: (i) its protagonism as the largest country in the region; (ii) the brutality of the military regime's repression tactics; (iii) the earlier development of anthropological studies on Brazil at Columbia; and (iv) the presence and influence of Charles Wagley. I argue that the fourth reason is the most decisive one.

Charles Wagley received both his undergraduate (1936) and graduate (1941) degrees from Columbia. Although his doctoral thesis (in anthropology) investigated the habits and beliefs of a small and secluded native Guatemalan community, by the end of World War II he had already turned almost exclusively to the study of native

A This work would not have been possible without the kind help of Ralph Della Cava, Margaret Crahan, Herbert Klein, Bela Feldman-Bianco, Maxine Margolis, Joan Dassin, Elio Gaspari, Ana Cristina Angel Jones, Hildegard Angel Jones, Roberta Delson, and Barbara Weinstein. I would like to give special thanks to Patricia Freitas for sharing so much of her extensive knowledge of Augusto Boal, and James Green for the invaluable support throughout the process. Finally, I am grateful for the "Columbia and Brazil" research team—Robyn Stewart, Cecelia Morrow, Wanyi Xie, Julia Shimizu, and Karolina Nixon—, as well as our coordinators Thomas Trebat and Laura Nóra, for the rich and productive meetings in the midst of such difficult times as the COVID-19 crisis.

B Undergraduate student, Latin American and Caribbean studies, political science, Columbia College, Columbia University. Summer research intern with Columbia Global Centers, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (July-August 2020).

C Charles Wagley, An Introduction to Brazil (New York, 1971): p. 267. For contextualization purposes, note that the first edition of this book was published in 1963.

1 Ralph Della Cava, "'Brasilianista' – Que é Isso?," in X Congresso Anual Da Associação De Educadores Do Ceará, 2011.

2 Elio Gaspari, telephone interview by author, July 27, 2020.

3 Margaret Crahan, interview by James Naylor Green, May 15, 2003, New York City; ———, interview by author, July 31, 2020, online video-conferencing. For more on the 1968 protests at Columbia, a detailed account of its unfoldings and students' main claims, see Eleanor Raskin, "The Occupation of Columbia University: April 1968," Journal of American Studies 19, no. 2 (1985); B. Slonecker, "The Columbia Coalition: African Americans, New Leftists, and Counterculture at the Columbia University Protest of 1968," Journal of Social History 41, no. 4 (January 2008); Bonnie Stepenoff, "Gender at the Barricades: Women and the Columbia University Uprising of 1968," New York History 95, no. 1 (2014).

Brazilians[4]. Partnering with anthropologist Thales de Azevedo and educator Anísio Teixeira[5], Wagley founded the Bahia State-Columbia University Community Study Project ("Programa de Pesquisas Sociais Estado da Bahia-Columbia University") in the early 1950s[6]. Throughout that decade and into the 1960s, Wagley spent significant periods of time in Brazil, conducting research alongside colleagues, students, and friends such as Eduardo Galvão, Marvin Harris, Ruth Landes, and his own wife, the Brazilian Cecilia Roxo Wagley, among others[7]. When, in 1963, Columbia University Press published his book "Introduction to Brazil, "it was hardly surprising to find in it a discerning—although at times highly emotional—ode to a country that "represents the future, not the past."[8]

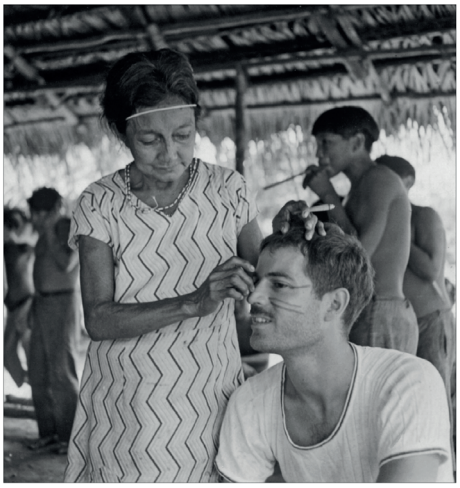

Image I. A Tenetehara woman paints Charles Wagley's face.[9]

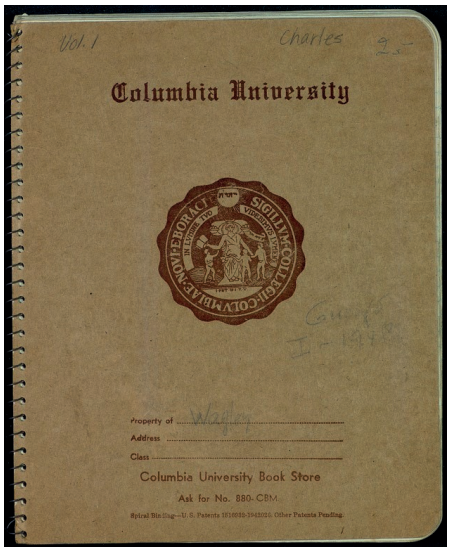

Image II. Wagley's field notebook from the Gurupa Project.[10]

Upon the retirement of Latin American History Chair Frank Tannenbaum in 1965, Wagley—who was already an influential member of the Anthropology Department—became Columbia's foremost leader in the development of Latin American studies. He founded the University's Institute of Latin American Studies and served as its first director from 1962 to 1969[11]. Wagley's academic dedication to and personal love of Brazil led him to recruit several rising scholars from diverse academic backgrounds and train them to study the country[12]. The time was ripe for the development of Latin American centers at universities across the United States; Wagley knew how to take advantage of the opportunities the political conjuncture provided and use them to foster Brazilian studies and the training of younger Brazilianists.

The advent of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 had brought a new wave of American investment to area studies at the graduate level. A prominent example of this increased investment was the National Defense Foreign Language Fellowships program (NDFL), which

4 Conrad Phillip Kottak, "Charles Wagley: His Career, His Work, His Legacy," Boletim Do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas 9, no. 3 (2014): p. 624; Richard Pace, "O Legado De Charles Wagley: Uma Introdução," Boletim Do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas 9, no. 3 (2014): p. 604. For more on Wagley's earlier years and his anthropological research in Brazil, see Chapter 2

5 Teixeira was also a Columbia alum (Teachers College, Class of 1929). For more on Teixeira's career and his connections to Columbia, see chapter 3.

6 Josildeth Gomes Consorte, "O 'Projeto Columbia' – Um Resgate Necessário," Revista HISTEDBR On-Line 14, no. 56 (May 2014): pp. 17-25.

7 Several contemporaries of Wagley's have noted Cecilia's social and familial connections to the Rio de Janeiro elite as an important window for the development of Wagley's field work and his friendships with Brazilian intellectuals. Maxine Margolis, interview by author, July 31, 2020, online video-conferencing; Bela Feldman-Bianco, interview by author, August 4, 2020, online video-conferencing; Kottak, "Charles Wagley."

8 Wagley, An Introduction to Brazil, p. 296. The chapter that contains the referred quote, aptly titled "If I Were a Brazilian," is an account of Brazil's most distinctive cultural, social, economic, and political aspects from Wagley's perspective, written in an informal tone and filled with vibrant personal digressions.

9 Unknown author, 1941. University of Florida Smathers Library Digital Collections, in Richard Pace, "Os Tapirapé, Tenetehara e Gurupaenses Através Das Lentes Da Máquina De Charles Wagley: Uma Análise De Conteúdo," Boletim Do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas 9, no. 3 (2014).

10 Charles Wagley, 1948. "Field notebooks from the Gurupa Project, 1948." University of Florida Smathers Library Digital Collections: Charles Wagley Papers.

11 Doron Gopstein, "CU Will Inaugurate Institute for Latin American Studies," Columbia Daily Spectator, October

12 Pace, "O Legado De Charles Wagley" Boletim Do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas 9, no. 3 (2014): p. 615; Crahan, interview by James Naylor Green; ———, interview by author; Maxine Margolis, interview by author; Bela Feldman-Bianco, interview by author; Della Cava, e-mail correspondence with author.

covered both academic year and summer expenses for scholars interested in doing fieldwork outside of the First World. The NDFL was part of a governmental initiative to produce sophisticated knowledge on regions disputed by the USSR at the height of the Cold War[13]. Cuba was perhaps the main example of this dispute. Cuba's turn to the East alarmed the US and stoked fears of the fall of other Latin American nations into the Soviet sphere of influence. Consequently, Latin American studies flourished as money poured into universities and research centers across the country. At institutions on the West Coast, such as Stanford and Berkeley, most of the research focused on Mexico[14]. At the time a smaller hub, Columbia under Tannenbaum followed a similar, although regionally broader, path[15]. Nevertheless, Wagley's rise to leadership changed the scene, as he reached into the other social sciences to expand an already established trend in the Anthropology Department: the study of Brazil. While Latin American studies at Columbia were far from exclusively focused on Brazil in the early 1960s—for instance, Lewis Hanke, a prominent historian on Spanish America, also taught and advised students—Wagley's enthusiastic encouragement of "Brazilianism" among his colleagues inaugurated a process that would culminate in Columbia's establishment as the prime center for Brazilian studies in the United States[16]. By the end of the 1960s, Wagley had taught and advised the likes of anthropologists Marvin Harris, Maxine Margolis, and Diana Brown, as well as historians Ralph Della Cava, Michael Hall, and Peter Eisenberg[17]. It was also in the late 1960s that his work and that of his colleagues became increasingly political.

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Overcharges Redesignated By Cleaners

But Two Will Maintain Labor, Supply Charge

By Jonathan Stein

The two local laundries which have been misrepresenting the nature of the surcharges attached to their bills have decided to change this practice.

The Royal Cleaners on Broadway will in the future designate this charge by its accepted name, a service charge to cover increases in the cost of "labor and supplies."

The Equitable Cleaners on Amsterdam Avenue say they will discontinue the same practice and add the costs to the individual items.

Equitable had been referring to the ten per cent charge as a "state tax" and Royal called it a charge which helped to defray "CIO union dues."

The Campus Cleaners on Amsterdam Avenue will continue its current practice of calling the ten per cent addition a "labor and supply adjustment."

Counsel representing the New York Hand Laundryman's Association denied that this surcharge was fraudulent. Other attorneys advised Spectator that quoting one price to customers and adding to it on delivery was a "violation of contractual obligation."

'Spokes in the Wheel'

Wagley Sees Top Faculty For Latin American Center

By Doron Gopstein

"It has been said that in Latin American affairs Columbia has all the spokes for the wheel but no one ever bothered to put them all together."

This is how Professor of Anthropology Charles Wagley described the resources of the new Latin American Institute, of which he is the first director.

Columbia has a large number of recognized experts in this field and its library resources are extensive. A quick look through the University's catalogues reveals more than a score of courses in Latin American studies.

At this moment, a year before its opening, the Institute already has a staff which Dr. Wagley calls "one of the best in the country in this field."

There are gaps, but they are being filled. Anticipating the center's establishment, the University has added to its faculty Lewis U. Hanke, professor of Latin American history, and Kempton E. Webb, assistant professor of economic geography.

Dr. Hanke, who was director of the Institute of Latin American Studies at Texas University for seven years, is an internationally known authority on the region's history.

There are still weak areas in the curriculum and they can be improved either by appointing new faculty members or getting those who have a background in the field to devote more of their time to the Institute, say University officials.

Dr. Wagley indicated that there are a number of men in the latter category. He said that "very few schools in the country have so many on their staff with interest and background in Latin America."

Schuyler C. Wallace, Dean of the School of International Affairs, pointed to Professor of International Economic Relations Albert O. Hirschman as an expert who has not recently taught

(continued on page two)

Jacob K. Javits

'Owl' to Sponsor Dr. King Benefit

Dr. Matin Luther King jr., Southern sit-in leader, will speak at McMillin Theater Friday, October 27, at 8:15 p.m.

Appearing with Dr. King will be Congressman William Fitts Ryan of Manhattan, and a Columbia University Freedom Rider. In addition, entertainment will be provided by comedian Orson Beane, folksinger Cynthia Gooding, and George Tipton and the Journeymen.

The Columbia Owl, newspaper of the School of General Studies, will sponsor the program, called "An Evening

(continued on page five)

Gardner to Talk On UN's Survival

A talk by Professor of Law Richard N. Gardner on "Will the U.N. Survive?" opens the fall program of the Columbia Society of International Law today at noon in the Woman's Faculty Club.

Professor Gardner, currently on leave from the Columbia Law School, is deputy assistant secretary of state to international organizations. He is also a consultant on space law for the Rand Corporation of Cali-

Javits' Talk Opens Series On Campaign

Young Republican Group To Host Local Leaders

By Geoffrey Horn

U.S. Senator Jacob K. Javits will speak here tomorrow, at 1:30 p.m. in Ferris Booth Hall, in the first of the Young Republican Club's projected political education series.

Congressman Paul R. Fino and Mr. John J. Gilhooley, Republican candidates for City Council President and Controller respectively, also head the program.

After a series of opening speeches, the group will divide into discussion panels. A cocktail party, at which Mayoralty candidate Louis Lefkowitz has promised to appear, will bring the afternoon to a close.

The meeting is designed as an instructional and educational afternoon in practical politics, according to Sandy Schlesinger '63, President of the New York City Council of College Young Republican Clubs and leader of the University club.

All University students and student representatives of the local colleges have been invited.

"This is a chance," Schlesinger stated, "for college people to meet party leaders and to start working in the campaign for Lefkowitz, Fino, and Gilhooley."

"Columbia students are less

Image III. "Wagley Sees Top Faculty For Latin American Center." [18]

On December 13, 1968, the Brazilian military junta passed the Institutional Act Number Five (AI-5). The mega-decree, commonly referred to as the "coup inside the coup," gave unrestricted political power to the military and paved the way for an escalation of state-led human rights abuses, such as censorship and torture of dissidents. The "last straw" leading to President Costa e Silva's issuing of the AI-5 had been a speech by Congressman and journalist Márcio Moreira Alves advocating for a boycott of the military regime. In his speech, Alves eloquently uttered, "When will the Army not be a safe haven for torturers?"[19] Indeed, after the AI-5, the already deployed practice of torture grew increasingly common among state police and intelligence forces. [20]

13 According to Ralph Della Cava, the influence of the Cuban Revolution on the increase in funding for area studies in the United States led many scholarship recipients to informally refer to one another as "Fidel's godchildren." In his book We Cannot Remain Silent, historian James N. Green states that "Stanford University in California and Columbia University [...], among a handful of other institutions, [...] became spawning grounds for a generation of young and enthusiastic scholars, many of whom would become leaders among their peers in providing a progressive critique of U.S. foreign policy." See James Naylor Green, We Cannot Remain Silent: Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United States (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010): p. 65; Della Cava, interview by Marcia Contins, José Reginaldo S. Gonçalves, and Vânia Penha-Lopes, June, 2017; José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, "Entrevista: Charles Wagley," Revista Da Universidade De São Paulo, no. 5 (May 1987): p. 124.

14 Margolis, interview by author.

15 Although a famous and accomplished academic in several fields, within Latin American studies Tannenbaum was often perceived as a specialist in Mexican history (although he did not define himself as such). He is reported to have been good friends with Lázaro Cárdenas, President of Mexico between 1934 and 1940; Joseph Maier and Richard Whitney Weatherhead, Frank Tannenbaum: a Biographical Essay (New York: University Seminars, Columbia University, 1974): pp. 29-31; Crahan, interview by author; Barbara Weinstein, interview by "Columbia and Brazil" research team, online video-conferencing, August 28, 2020.

16 Crahan, interview by James Naylor Green; ———, interview by author; Della Cava, email correspondence with author; Paulo Fontes and Francisco Barbosa Macedo, "Entrevista Com Michael Hall," Estudos Históricos (Rio De Janeiro) 29, no. 59 (2016): p. 816; Meihy, "Entrevista: Charles Wagley," p. 124. See also Lewis Hanke, "Presidential Address: Lewis Hanke," American Historical Association, 1974.

17 Pace, "O Legado De Charles Wagley"; Fontes and Macedo, "Entrevista Com Michael Hall," p. 816.

18 Doron Gopstein, "Wagley Sees Top Faculty For Latin American Center," Columbia Daily Spectator, October 13, 1961.

19 "Ato Institucional 5 - Íntegra Do Discurso Do Ex-Deputado Márcio Moreira Alves (02' 51') - Câmara é História - Rádio Câmara," Portal da Câmara dos Deputados (Governo Federal do Brasil).

20 Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, pp. 78-9, 89; ———, "Clerics, Exiles, and Academics: Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United

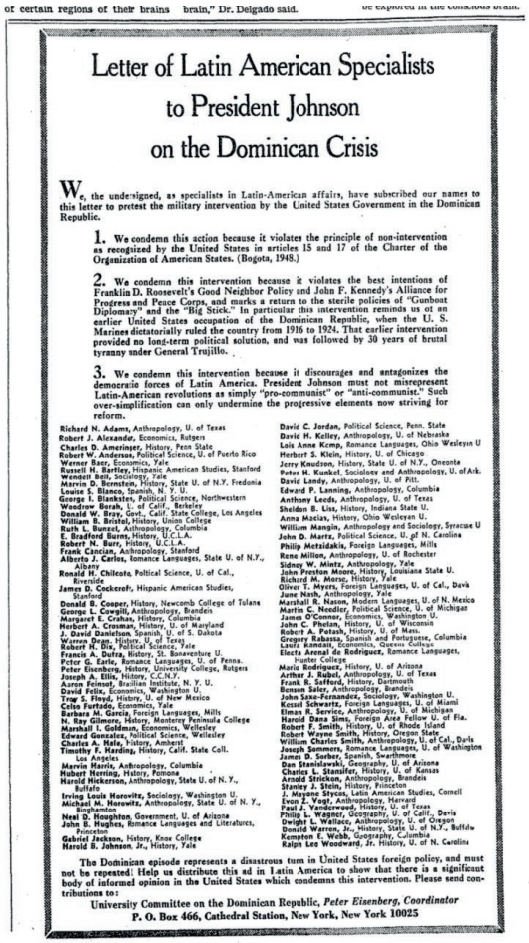
The flourishing Brazilianist community at Columbia was not alien to the abuses of the dictatorship. As Cubanist historian Margaret Crahan recounts, Latin Americanists in history and the social sciences would often meet after-hours in local restaurants and pastry shops to discuss the political state of affairs in the region as it connected to the content of their classes[21]. The high politicization of Columbia students at the time, as well as the significant level of ideological affinity among Latin Americanist scholars, meant that these meetings were the starting point for a series of political actions organized by members of the group.

Among the leaders of pro-democracy activism in the academic sphere was Peter Eisenberg. A PhD student in history who would later become an influential Brazilianist, Eisenberg organized and led the University Committee on the Dominican Republic, which advocated against US military intervention in the DR during the latter's civil war. In the May 23, 1965 edition of the New York Times, the Committee published a letter addressed to President Lyndon B. Johnson, evoking principles of international and American domestic law to condemn the intervention. The letter was co-signed by over one-hundred academics—professors and students alike—across more than forty American universities, among them E. Bradford Burns, Marvin Harris, Herbert Klein, Stanley Stein, and Anthony Leeds, all of whom sooner or later conducted some research on Brazil and who cultivated some kind of tie to Latin American studies at Columbia by the time of their retirement. In several ways, Eisenberg's activism regarding the Dominican issue set the scene for Columbia-originated activism about Brazil, whose human rights situation would increasingly worry Latin Americanists at the university after 1968. [22]

States, 1969-1974," Latin American Politics and Society 45, no. 1 (2003): p. 100.

21 Crahan graduated as a PhD from Columbia in 1967. Crahan, interview by James Naylor Green; ———, interview by author; Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, p. 178.

22 The University Committee on the Dominican Republic used newspapers as a publicity resource, gathered students and professors alike, and effectively functioned as a country-wide coalition of politically engaged scholars interested in Latin America—elements that, starting in 1968, would also come to characterize the political activism of American Brazilianists against the military dictatorship in Brazil. "Letter of Latin American Specialists to President Johnson on the Dominican Crisis," The New York Times, May 23, 1965, sec. E, p. 6; Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, pp. 62-3.



of certain regions of their brains brain," Dr. Delgado said.

Letter of Latin American Specialists to President Johnson on the Dominican Crisis

We, the undersigned, as specialists in Latin-American affairs, have subscribed our names to this letter to protest the military intervention by the United States Government in the Dominican Republic.

1. We condemn this action because it violates the principle of non-intervention as recognized by the United States in articles 15 and 17 of the Charter of the Organization of American States. (Bogota, 1948.)

2. We condemn this intervention because it violates the best intentions of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy and John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress and Peace Corps, and marks a return to the sterile policies of "Gunboat Diplomacy" and the "Big Stick." In particular this intervention reminds us of an earlier United States occupation of the Dominican Republic, when the U. S. Marines dictatorially ruled the country from 1916 to 1924. That earlier intervention provided no long-term political solution, and was followed by 30 years of brutal tyranny under General Trujillo.

3. We condemn this intervention because it discourages and antagonizes the democratic forces of Latin America. President Johnson must not misrepresent Latin-American revolutions as simply "pro-communist" or "anti-communist." Such over-simplification can only undermine the progressive elements now striving for reform.

Richard N. Adams, Anthropology, U. of Texas
Robert J. Alexander, Economics, Rutgers
Charles D. Ameringer, History, Penn State
Robert W. Anderson, Political Science, U. of Puerto Rico
Werner Baer, Economics, Yale
Russell H. Bartley, Hispanic American Studies, Stanford
Wendell Bell, Sociology, Yale
Marvin D. Bernstein, History, State U. of N.Y. Fredonia
Louise S. Blanco, Spanish, N. Y. U.
George I. Blanksten, Political Science, Northwestern
Woodrow Borah, U. of Calif., Berkeley
Donald W. Bray, Govt., Calif. State College, Los Angeles
William B. Bristol, History, Union College
Ruth L. Bunzel, Anthropology, Columbia
E. Bradford Burns, History, U.C.L.A.
Robert N. Burr, History, U.C.L.A.
Frank Cancian, Anthropology, Stanford
Alberto J. Carlos, Romance Languages, State U. of N.Y., Albany
Ronald H. Chilcote, Political Science, U. of Cal., Riverside
James D. Cockcroft, Hispanic American Studies, Stanford
Donald B. Cooper, History, Newcomb College of Tulane
George L. Cowgill, Anthropology, Brandeis
Margaret E. Crahan, History, Columbia
Herbert A. Crosman, History, U. of Maryland
J. David Danielson, Spanish, U. of S. Dakota
Warren Dean, History, U. of Texas
Robert H. Dix, Political Science, Yale
Francis A. Dutra, History, St. Bonaventure U.
Peter G. Earle, Romance Languages, U. of Penna.
Peter Eisenberg, History, University College, Rutgers
Joseph A. Ellis, History, C.C.N.Y.
Aaron Feinsot, Brazilian Institute, N. Y. U.
David Felix, Economics, Washington U.
Troy S. Floyd, History, U. of New Mexico
Celso Furtado, Economics, Yale
Barbara M. Garcia, Foreign Languages, Mills
N. Ray Gilmore, History, Monterrey Peninsula College
Marshall I. Goldman, Economics, Wellesley
Edward Gonzalez, Political Science, Wellesley
Charles A. Hale, History, Amherst
Timothy F. Harding, History, Calif. State Coll. Los Angeles
Marvin Harris, Anthropology, Columbia
Hubert Herring, History, Pomona
Harold Hickerson, Anthropology, State U. of N. Y., Buffalo
Irving Louis Horowitz, Sociology, Washington U.
Michael M. Horowitz, Anthropology, State U. of N. Y., Binghamton
Neal D. Houghton, Government, U. of Arizona
John B. Hughes, Romance Languages and Literatures, Princeton
Gabriel Jackson, History, Knox College
Harold B. Johnson, Jr., History, Yale
David C. Jordan, Political Science, Penn. State
David H. Kelley, Anthropology, U. of Nebraska
Lois Anne Kemp, Romance Languages, Ohio Wesleyan U
Herbert S. Klein, History, U. of Chicago
Jerry Knudson, History, State U. of N.Y., Oneonta
Peter H. Kunkel, Sociology and Anthropology, U. of Ark.
David Landy, Anthropology, U. of Pitt.
Edward P. Lanning, Anthropology, Columbia
Anthony Leeds, Anthropology, U. of Texas
Sheldon B. Liss, History, Indiana State U.
Anna Macias, History, Ohio Wesleyan U.
William Mangin, Anthropology and Sociology, Syracuse U
John D. Martz, Political Science, U. of N. Carolina
Philip Metzidakis, Foreign Languages, Mills
Rene Millon, Anthropology, U. of Rochester
Sidney W. Mintz, Anthropology, Yale
John Preston Moore, History, Louisiana State U.
Richard M. Morse, History, Yale
Oliver T. Myers, Foreign Languages, U. of Cal., Davis
June Nash, Anthropology, Yale
Marshall R. Nason, Modern Languages, U. of N. Mexico
Martin C. Needler, Political Science, U. of Michigan
James O'Connor, Economics, Washington U.
John C. Phelan, History, U. of Wisconsin
Robert A. Potash, History, U. of Mass.
Gregory Rabassa, Spanish and Portuguese, Columbia
Lautz Ramsay, Economics, Queens College
Electa Arenal de Rodriguez, Romance Languages, Hunter College
Maria Rodriguez, History, U. of Arizona
Arthur J. Rubel, Anthropology, U. of Texas
Frank R. Safford, History, Dartmouth
Benson Saler, Anthropology, Brandeis
John Saxe-Fernandez, Sociology, Washington U.
Kessel Schwartz, Foreign Languages, U. of Miami
Elman R. Service, Anthropology, U. of Michigan
Harold Dana Sims, Foreign Area Fellow U. of Fla.
Robert F. Smith, History, U. of Rhode Island
Robert Wayne Smith, History, Oregon State
William Charles Smith, Anthropology, U. of Cal., Davis
Joseph Sommers, Romance Languages, U. of Washington
James D. Sorber, Spanish, Swarthmore
Dan Stanislawski, Geography, U. of Arizona
Charles L. Stansifer, History, U. of Kansas
Arnold Strickon, Anthropology, Brandeis
Stanley J. Stein, History, Princeton
J. Mayone Stycos, Latin American Studies, Cornell
Evon Z. Vogt, Anthropology, Harvard
Paul J. Vanderwood, History, U. of Texas
Philip L. Wagner, Geography, U. of Calif., Davis
Dwight L. Wallace, Anthropology, U. of Oregon
Donald Warren, Jr., History, State U. of N.Y., Buffalo
Kempton E. Webb, Geography, Columbia
Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. History, U. of N. Carolina

The Dominican episode represents a disastrous turn in United States foreign policy, and must not be repeated: Help us distribute this ad in Latin America to show that there is a significant body of informed opinion in the United States which condemns this intervention. Please send contributions to:

University Committee on the Dominican Republic, *Peter Eisenberg, Coordinator*
P. O. Box 466, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025

Image IV. Letter from the University Committee on the Dominican Republic to President Johnson. [23]

In December 1969, one year after the AI-5 came into effect, Brazilian Congregational Church leader Jether Pereira Ramalho and his wife traveled to New York City. On a different flight, Presbyterian minister and theologist Domício Pereira de Mattos headed to the same destination. There they met William Wipfler, head of the Latin American Department of the National Council of Churches (NCC)[24], as well as fellow

23 "Letter of Latin American Specialists."

24 "NCC unifies a diverse covenant community of 38 member communions and over 40 million individuals—100,000 congregations from Protestant, Anglican, Orthodox, Evangelical, historic African-American, and Living Peace traditions [...]. NCC partners with secular and interfaith partners to advance a shared agenda of peace, progress, and positive change." "About Us," National Council of Churches, accessed August 27, 2020. Up to 2013, the ecumenical organization—the largest in the United States—was headquartered at the Interchurch Center (ICC), referred to by many (including several of the Brazilianists cited in this paper) as the "God Box," on Riverside Drive in Manhattan. Around the period investigated here, the Interchurch Center had several connections to Columbia, owing to elements as diverse as the latter's Union Theological Seminary (which functions as Columbia's graduate theology school), relationships between Columbia faculty and ICC staff members, and even logistically beneficial partnerships due to ICC's physical proximity to Columbia's Morningside campus. See Lauren Markoe, "Cash-Strapped National Council of Churches to Move to D.C.," Religion News Service, February 13, 2013.

Brazilians Jovelino Ramos and Rubem César. In the NCC's premises, Ramalho and Mattos revealed to the others the invaluable material they had concealed for the trip: letters from political prisoners and other pieces of evidence that denounced state-led torture in Brazil. Wipfler summoned Ralph Della Cava, then a professor at Queens College, and the team set out to compile all the available information into a publication[25]. In the 1970 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA)[26], Della Cava and his partners unveiled the pamphlet "Brazil: A Report on Terror."[27]

The report contained detailed accounts of torture and other human rights violations inflicted by branches of the military government on Brazilians accused of "subversion." It also contained a letter from multiple academics—Latin Americanists and others—urging the government to reckon with its crimes and American allies of the cause to be vocal about those violations. Among the signatories of the letter were Ralph Della Cava, Stanley Stein, and Charles Wagley[28]. The effort to spread awareness of "Terror in Brazil" included the publication of supporting articles by Della Cava and other activists on American magazines and newspapers, such as the *Washington Post* and the Catholic *Commonweal*[29]. News of the dossier eventually reached the US Congress through the hands of American University professor Brady Tyson. A hearing was set up to investigate potential US support to the dictatorship's political repression apparatus[30].

25 Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, pp. 150-1; Green, "Clerics, Exiles, and Academics," pp. 96-7; Della Cava, email correspondence with author, August 18, 2020.

26 "The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) is the largest professional association in the world for individuals and institutions engaged in the study of Latin America. [...] LASA's mission is to foster intellectual discussion, research, and teaching on Latin America, the Caribbean, and its people throughout the Americas, promote the interests of its diverse membership, and encourage civic engagement through network building and public debate. Every year, specialists on Latin America gather at the LASA International Congress. Featuring over 900 sessions, including plenary sessions and informal meetings, the Congress is the world's premier forum for expert discussion on Latin America and the Caribbean." "About LASA," Latin American Studies Association, accessed August 27, 2020.

27 "II Conference of the Latin American Studies Association," in Latin American Studies Association (LASA) - DSI. (Brasília: Arquivo Nacional, 1970); "Terror in Brazil," in BRADY BRADFORD TYSON. (Brasília: Arquivo Nacional, 1977); Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, p. 178-9.

28 "Terror in Brazil," in BRADY BRADFORD TYSON. (Brasília: Arquivo Nacional, 1977).

29 Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, pp. 165-6, 239.

30 Ibid, pp. 239-50.

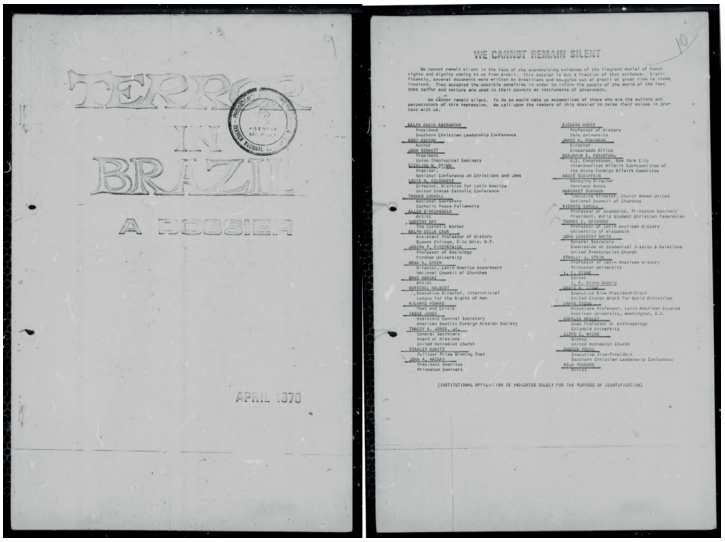


Image V. "Terror in Brazil" dossier cover and "We Cannot Remain Silent" letter.[31]

The publication of the "Terror in Brazil" dossier was not the only instance of Columbia affiliates' involvement in pro-democracy activism regarding Brazil. In February 1970, Wagley and Richard Morse, also a professor at Columbia, sent a letter co-signed by Thomas Skidmore and Stanley Stein to the New York Times, denouncing the unwarranted arrest of Brazilian philosopher and historian Caio Prado Júnior. Prado had been taken into custody for "publicly preaching subversion of the political and social order.[32]" In fact, Prado's allegedly "subversive" comments had been part of a 1967 interview he had given to University of São Paulo's humanities journal Revisão. The absurdity of his conviction was heightened for two reasons: first, the content of the interview consisted of Prado's effective rejection of the possibility of armed counter-revolution in Brazil, not at all his endorsement of it, as the military courts affirmed; and second, his conviction for a "crime" from 1967 was based on legislation passed through 1968's AI-5, which was not meant to be retroactive[33]. The categorical letter signed by Wagley, Morse, Skidmore, and Stein featured in the "Letters to the Editor" section of the March 8 New York Times issue. Della Cava, Ivan Morris and several

31 "Terror in Brazil."

32 "Conviction and Imprisonment of Noted Brazilian Academician," We Cannot Remain Silent (Brown University Library).

33 "The Case Of Caio Prado Jr.," We Cannot Remain Silent (Brown University Library).

colleagues organized other protest activities over the course of Prado's trial and imprisonment[34]. The judicial process involved two appeals and eventually concluded with the professor's acquittal one year and five months after the start of his sentence.[35]

Also in 1970, Della Cava and Tyson invited Congressman Márcio Moreira Alves to the United States[36]. Wagley asked Margaret Crahan, then a professor at Hunter College, to host and aid Alves during his stay in New York City. Stripped of his political rights, Alves had been away from Brazil since the junta had dissolved Congress through the AI-5 decree. In exile, he aimed to denounce Brazilian authoritarianism to international audiences and attract attention to the situation of others who, like him, had been forced to flee their country. For months, Alves spoke to audiences from a number of universities in the East Coast, including Columbia, where he participated in the University Seminar on Brazil alongside playwright, drama theoretician, and political activist Augusto Boal.[37]

Boal had been a PhD graduate in Chemistry in Columbia's class of 1954. At Columbia, he also learned about drama theory and practice from John Gassner. Back to Brazil, Boal later developed techniques and narratives of political theater aimed at denouncing social and political injustices in Brazil. For that, he was arrested and tortured in 1971, soon thereafter leaving Brazil. In New York, briefly one of his temporary locations during his exile years, Boal directed adaptations of his play Torquemada, as well as a version of the Latin American Fair of Opinion, which he had earlier organized in São Paulo[38].

Image VI (left). Augusto Boal in front of Alma Mater statue on Columbia's campus (1955). [39]

Image VII (right). Boal on 114th Street with the west side of John Jay Hall in the background. [40]

Alves' and Boal's backgrounds illustrated the plurality of experiences within the archetypical idea of the 'exiled.' As a former Congressman and member of an elite family connected to the political class, Alves had managed to flee Brazil without suffering the cruelty of arbitrary arrest and torture[41]. His discourse was much

34 See Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, p. 133; Richard Morse et al., "Brazilian Dissident," The New York Times, March 8, 1970, sec. E, p. 11.

35 "Superior Military Tribunal Reduces Caio Prado's Penalty" (1970), "Superior Military Tribunal Upholds Convictions Against Two Writers,""Well Known Intellectual Released" (1971). We Cannot Remain Silent (Brown University Library).

36 Della Cava, email correspondence with author.

37 Crahan, interview by author; ———, interview by James Naylor Green.

38 Augusto Boal, Hamlet and the Baker's Son: My Life in Theatre and Politics, trans. Adrian Jackson and Candida Blaker (London: Routledge, 2001): pp. 284-99; Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, pp. 294, 306-8.

39 Unknown author, 1955. "Augusto Boal em Nova Iorque (AB.If.041)." Acervo Augusto Boal.

40 Unknown author, 1955. "Augusto Boal em Nova Iorque (AB.If.051)." Acervo Augusto Boal.

41 Alves' father, Márcio Honorato Moreira Alves, owned the Ambassador Hotel, in Rio de Janeiro, whose bar was a favorite among the intellectual and political elite of the city before the federal government's move to Brasília. Some sources claim Alves' father was also once mayor of the famous municipality of Petrópolis, in the state of Rio de Janeiro. "Márcio Moreira

more easily accepted overseas, even though it was often curated so as to avoid inciting the revolt of some targets of his criticism (Americans, most often). Boal, in turn, based much of his activism on the rawness of authoritarian violence, frequently prioritizing image to word and managing to reach an overall younger, less economically established share of American urban society. This difference may have been decisive to the fact that, despite his first contact with drama theory at Columbia—to a large extent, a traditionally elite space—Boal rarely engaged with the University in its period of political effervescence in the 1970s, prioritizing alternative platforms and audiences in New York City.[42]

Alves and Boal were not the only Brazilians to visit Columbia in their exile. In September, 1971, Ana Cristina Angel Jones enrolled while in self-exile, after her brother Stuart's arrest and subsequent death at the hands of military agents. While at Columbia, Jones and her mother, the internationally acclaimed fashion stylist Zuleika "Zuzu" Angel, exchanged correspondence with members of the US Congress and Amnesty International in pursuit of justice for Stuart[43]. Jones eventually returned to Brazil after her mother's death in a car accident which many have claimed to have been orchestrated by the military regime[44]. Other exiled thinkers and Brazilian public personalities also visited Columbia in the ten years of AI-5 maintenance. When Elio Gaspari visited on duty for Veja in 1971, the commotion generated by the Brazilianists' political activism was very fresh. From academic professors such as Florestan Fernandes and Milton Santos to politicians such as Leonel Brizola and Juscelino Kubitschek, other visitors, whether they stayed around for an evening, a week, or a semester, reaffirmed Columbia's role as an indispensable center for Brazilian studies at a time when institutional censorship systematically shut them down in Brazil[45].

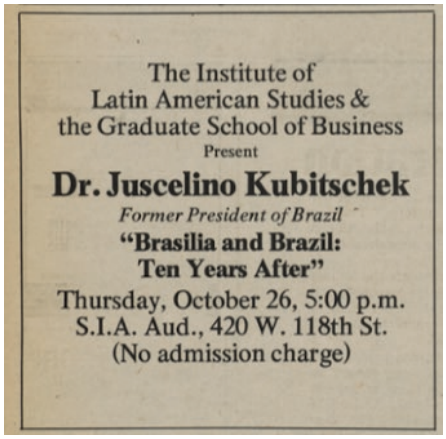

The Institute of
Latin American Studies &
the Graduate School of Business
Present
Dr. Juscelino Kubitschek
Former President of Brazil
"Brasilia and Brazil:
Ten Years After"
Thursday, October 26, 5:00 p.m.
S.I.A. Aud., 420 W. 118th St.
(No admission charge)

Image VIII. Advertisement in the Columbia Daily Spectator for a lecture by Juscelino Kubitschek. [46]

After the suspension of the AI-5 at the end of 1978, a gradual opening of academic activities in Brazil further stimulated exchanges between Brazilian and American intellectuals. In the first semester of 1979, Elio Gaspari

Alves," CPDOC - FGV, accessed August 23, 2020; "Márcio Moreira Alves," Memórias da ditadura, accessed August 23, 2020; Hélio Rocha, "O Grande Erro Do Jornalista e Deputado Federal Márcio Moreira Alves," Jornal Opção, July 12, 2020. Crahan, interview by James Naylor Green.

42 Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, pp. 300-1, 306-8; Patricia Freitas, interview by author, online video-conferencing, July 29, 2020.

43 The decision to write to American Congress members can be explained by the fact that all of Zuzu's children (including Stuart) were American citizens on their father's side. Ana Cristina Angel Jones, telephone interview by author, July 30, 2020. See "Department of State: Case of Stuart Angel Jones ," "Background Information on Stuart Edgar Angel Jones," Arquivo Nacional (Arquivo Nacional, n.d.); "Carta De Zuzu Angel a Thomas Dine (Secretário Do Senador Frank Church)," Acervo Digital Zuzu Angel (Instituto Zuzu Angel); Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, pp. 304-5.

44 At the time of Angel's death in 1976, speculation abounded regarding the real conditions that had led her car to overturn several times and fall off the road. For some, Angel's fight for accountability for her son's death validated the hypothesis of her assassination by the government; for others, it fueled a conspiracy theory in a case that might be better explained by some external factor such as inebriation or drowsiness on Angel's part, for example. However, in an investigation of the case in 1996, under a redemocratized government, witnesses testified to Angel's sobriety on the night of her death, to her being persecuted by presumed government agents in the days leading to her death, and finally to the odd presence of many police agents and press officials at the scene of the accident as early as three minutes after its occurrence. In June, 2020, a judicial decision ruled Angel's death a homicide perpetrated by state agents, setting a 500-thousand-real indemnity to be paid by the state to Angel's daughters. See "Certidão Emitida Pela 15ª Delegacia Distrital Transcrevendo o Acidente Que Resultou Na Morte De Zuzu Angel," "Conjunto De Três Depoimentos Sobre o Falecimento De Zuzu Angel," "Declaração De Amigos De Zuzu Angel Sobre o Dia Do Acidente," Acervo Digital Zuzu Angel (Instituto Zuzu Angel); "Ditadura Militar: Justiça Reconhece Que Zuzu Angel Foi Assassinada Pelo Estado," CLAUDIA (Grupo Abril, June 16, 2020).

45 Crahan and Joan Dassin recall Brizola's visits to Columbia during the 1970s. Crahan described meetings that happened in her New York apartment with Brizola, Wagley, and other individuals from Columbia and neighboring areas. Dassin affirms that Brizola stayed at the iconic Roosevelt Hotel on East 45th Street, Manhattan, for at least one of his visits to the city. Crahan, interview by author; Joan Dassin, interview by author, online video-conferencing, August 11, 2020. Bela Feldman-Bianco affirms that, while at Columbia, Florestan Fernandes recommended her to Charles Wagley—who was not just a colleague but also a close friend of his—for a position in the graduate course in anthropology. Feldman-Bianco, interview by author; ———, interview by James Naylor Green, July 24, 2003, São Paulo, Brazil. See Alejandro Blanco and Antonio Brasil Jr., "A Circulação Internacional De Florestan Fernandes," Sociologia & Antropologia 8, no. 1 (2018); "ATIVIDADES DE LEONEL DE MOURA BRIZOLA.," Arquivo Nacional (Arquivo Nacional): p. 10; "Milton Santos – Biografia," Site Milton Santos (Site Milton Santos).

46 "Dr. Juscelino Kubitschek, Former President of Brazil: 'Brasilia and Brazil: Ten Years After' Lecture," Columbia Daily Spectator, October 26, 1972, p. 13.

returned to Columbia after his 1971 visit, this time to teach as a Tinker Visiting Professor. Much like in past decades with grants from the Ford Foundation, the National Defense fellowships, and Columbia's own scholarships (among others), the Tinker Foundation brought to Columbia senior Brazilian scholars who enriched the initiatives of the Institute of Latin American Studies, as well as University Seminar discussions and other platforms for intellectual exchange at the university[47]. At the same time, the re-democratization wave that swept across Latin America accelerated the Institute's expansion far beyond "Brazilianism." In time, Latin American studies at Columbia would less often be associated with Brazilian studies, even as strong initiatives were still carried out between the university and Brazil. [48]

In sum, Columbia's history of "Brazilianism," that is, the development of Brazilian studies, despite its earliest stages with Gilberto Freyre and the Anthropology Department in the 1930s-50s[49], found cross-departmental robustness in the 1960s. Charles Wagley's leadership in this process is undisputed. Wagley promoted a vision of Brazilianism beyond anthropological study, reaching across departments to recruit some of the brightest minds in and outside of Columbia to "discover" Brazilian society[50]. He deeply influenced the works of his colleagues—Ralph Della Cava and Maxine Margolis claim to have been persuaded of their doctoral thesis topics by Wagley[51]. Because he understood local aspects of Brazil perhaps like no other American, as can be attested by his Introduction to Brazil, he invested in Columbia's potential to aid the advancement of the country's most unique features through intellectual production. Several of his students—and here I must note Ralph Della Cava's essential role and extensive efforts—transposed this potential to the political sphere, demanding justice for Brazilians whose rights to physical, psychological, and intellectual freedoms had been stripped away. Although Wagley's political work may seem secondary and confined to the background five decades later, his involvement in activism is heightened by the realization that, to a great extent, he created the environment that made all of it possible. Without Wagley, there might not have been pro-democracy organized action by Brazilianists at Columbia, because there might not have been such a great development of Brazilianism at Columbia beyond the Anthropology Department[52]. A case can even be made for a relative decline of Brazilian studies at Columbia—if not in other areas, certainly in history and anthropology—after the 1970s partly due to

47 Gaspari, telephone interview by author; Dassin, interview by author; Crahan, interview by James Naylor Green; Meihy, "Entrevista: Charles Wagley," p. 124. For a list of Tinker visiting professors at Columbia (and other universities) since 1970, see "Tinker Visiting Professors," Tinker Foundation, November 2019. Note that the list may not be exhaustive and is listed as "current as of November 2019."
Columbia's University Seminars are a series of groups, composed of professors and other specialists, that hold monthly meetings to discuss specific themes. The Seminars' themes can be geographically based—in the case of country or region-specific Seminars—or related to a variety of areas of research (e.g. human rights, the city, and even the Renaissance). The University Seminars were created in 1944 and modeled after Frank Tannenbaum's encouragement of out-of-classroom debate between scholars. Tannenbaum was the architect of the Seminars' idea and the founder of its Latin America-specific section, which started out as a graduate course. In 1976, the Seminar on Brazil was created (also from a graduate course) and, through the rest of the 1970s, the group's meetings would be frequented by Columbia professors such as Nathaniel Leff, Herbert Klein, Douglas Chalmers, and Kempton Webb (who replaced Wagley as ILAS director in 1969); scholars from other universities, such as Warren Dean, Robert Levine, and Alfred Stepan (who later joined the Columbia faculty); among others, as well as visiting scholars, visiting politicians, journalists, and other public figures related to Brazil. The University Seminar on Brazil is still active to this day. See Maier and Weatherhead, Frank Tannenbaum; Roberta Delson, Frances Elizabeth Rand, and Irwin Stern, REPORT ON THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SEMINAR ON BRAZIL (1968-1990); "The University Seminars: Directory of Seminars, Speakers, and Topics (2007-2008)," Columbia University Seminars (Columbia University).

48 Crahan, interview by author.

49 For more on Gilberto Freyre, see chapter 1 and chapter 2 contains a thorough investigation of the connections between Columbia's anthropology department and Brazil in the 20th century up to the 1960s.

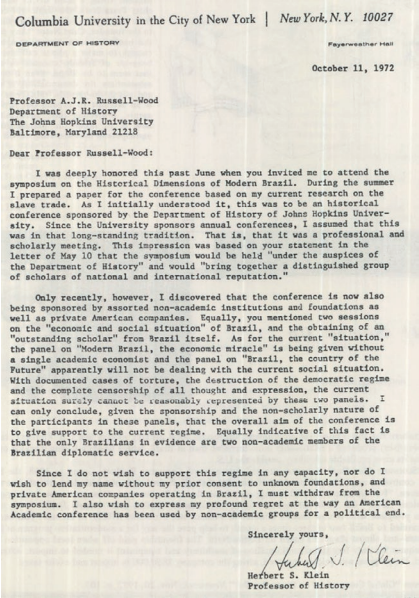
50 The use of "discover" here is not unwarranted: in his chapter "If I Were a Brazilian," Wagley refers to a certain ignorance by the average American regarding Brazilian cultures, lifestyles, social configurations, and the country's relevance in international relations—in fact, one of the main purposes of the book that contains that chapter is to offer a broad (rather than in-depth) analysis of Brazilian society to interested Americans. In this sense, Wagley's work—wherein we can include the stimulus to the growth of Brazilianism at Columbia—largely helped younger generations of American intellectuals to "discover" aspects of Brazil with which they had never come into contact before. See Wagley, An Introduction to Brazil.

51 Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, p. 66 ; Margolis, interview by author; ———, interview by "Columbia and Brazil" research team, online video-conferencing, July 30, 2020; Della Cava, email correspondence with author.

52 In the November 26, 1991 edition of The New York Times, an obituary of Charles Wagley included the following statement by historian Stuart Schwartz: "[Dr. Wagley] trained a whole generation of specialists on Brazil, and the study of Brazil in the United States owes a tremendous debt to him." Maxine Margolis suggests that a similar process happened at the University of Florida-Gainesville after Wagley's move there from Columbia in the early 1970s. According to her, Wagley's presence and research efforts at the new university brought to campus more academics with a substantial interest in Brazilian studies, as well as projects in anthropology and ecology. Margolis, interview by author; John Noble Wilford, "Charles Wagley, 78, Early Leader In Anthropology of Amazon Basin," The New York Times (The New York Times, November 26, 1991).

Wagley's move to Florida in 1971[53].

In a 2011 article presented in a congress in Ceará, Della Cava—whom Wagley remembered, with much consideration, as a former advisee—discusses the meaning of the term “Brazilianist." He transcribes a statement ascribed to Brazilian philosopher Nilo Odália and found in José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy's book "A Colônia Brasilianista": "[...] Brazilianists do not belong to the Brazilian historiography, but to the North American historiography on Brazil.[54]" The claim embodies a decolonial, anti-imperialist approach supported by several Brazilian academics of the 1970s and 1980s. According to them, the increased presence of American Brazilianists in Brazilian educational institutions and in the formation of Brazilian intellectual thought was not to be encouraged, as it invariably represented yet another facet of the American imperialist structure largely denounced through the Cold War years. Several Brazilianists from Columbia's 1960s generation would challenge this idea, as the history of political activism discussed here would suggest. Besides that, with regards to the question of Brazilianists' "belonging to the Brazilian historiography" or not, the answer might not be so clear. Maxine Margolis' works are far more widely known in Brazil than in the United States[55]; the same goes for Ralph Della Cava, whose "Miracle at Joaseiro" has become a widely-revered classic on Padre Cícero[56]. Wagley, their mentor and friend, with his connections to figures such as Florestan Fernandes, Darcy Ribeiro, and Anísio Teixeira, besides extensive anthropological work on Amazon indigenous communities and over twenty years lived in Brazil, would at the very least also cast doubt on that statement[57]. But perhaps two other figures, also Wagley's students, would best counter Odália's point: Michael Hall and Peter Eisenberg.



Columbia University in the City of New York | New York, N.Y. 10027

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Fayerweather Hall

October 11, 1972

Professor A.J.R. Russell-Wood
Department of History
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland 21218

Dear Professor Russell-Wood:

I was deeply honored this past June when you invited me to attend the symposium on the Historical Dimensions of Modern Brazil. During the summer I prepared a paper for the conference based on my current research on the slave trade. As I initially understood it, this was to be an historical conference sponsored by the Department of History of Johns Hopkins University. Since the University sponsors annual conferences, I assumed that this was in that long-standing tradition. That is, that it was a professional and scholarly meeting. This impression was based on your statement in the letter of May 10 that the symposium would be held "under the auspices of the Department of History" and would "bring together a distinguished group of scholars of national and international reputation."

Only recently, however, I discovered that the conference is now also being sponsored by assorted non-academic institutions and foundations as well as private American companies. Equally, you mentioned two sessions on the "economic and social situation" of Brazil, and the obtaining of an "outstanding scholar" from Brazil itself. As for the current "situation," the panel on "Modern Brazil, the economic miracle" is being given without a single academic economist and the panel on "Brazil, the country of the Future" apparently will not be dealing with the current social situation. With documented cases of torture, the destruction of the democratic regime and the complete censorship of all thought and expression, the current situation surely cannot be reasonably represented by these two panels. I can only conclude, given the sponsorship and the non-scholarly nature of the participants in these panels, that the overall aim of the conference is to give support to the current regime. Equally indicative of this fact is that the only Brazilians in evidence are two non-academic members of the Brazilian diplomatic service.

Since I do not wish to support this regime in any capacity, nor do I wish to lend my name without my prior consent to unknown foundations, and private American companies operating in Brazil, I must withdraw from the symposium. I also wish to express my profound regret at the way an American Academic conference has been used by non-academic groups for a political end.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert S. Klein
Professor of History

Image IX. History professor Herbert Klein's letter refusing an invitation to attend a symposium on Brazil. [58]

In the 1970s, with the AI-5 still in place and the dictatorship at least half a decade away from ending, Hall and Eisenberg left the United States for Brazil. Hall was a labor historian of Brazilian immigration, Eisenberg, a slavery historian with major production on the Brazilian sugar industry. Both settled in the state of São Paulo, where they worked on establishing the history division of the University of Campinas' humanities department (IFCH-Unicamp)[59]. The IFCH contains today one of the two most respected history departments in

53 After Herbert Klein (appointed associate professor in 1969), Columbia did not have a hired Brazilianist historian until 2018, when Amy Chazkel joined the faculty. Even so, Chazkel was hired as associate professor of urban studies rather than Latin American history. Regarding the anthropology department, Maxine Margolis (alumna) argues that there has been a significant shift of focus since the 1970s, which included the departure from the study of Brazil. Margolis, interview by author; Herbert S. Klein, interview by author, online video-conferencing, July 22, 2020. See also Paul Starr, “Trustees Appoint Six Professors,” Columbia Daily Spectator, March 4, 1969, p. 4; Kaza, “Wagley Will Leave Columbia In June For Florida Post,” pp. 1,10.

54 My translation. According to Meihy, Odália's statement was a nod to historian José Honório Rodrigues, who, in an article from 1976, defended that "the North American vision of the history of Brazil is not the Brazilian vision [of its own history]" (my translation). See Meihy, A Colônia Brasilianista: História Oral De Vida Acadêmica (São Paulo, SP: Nova Stella, 1990): p. 41; José Honório Rodrigues, “Os Estudos Brasileiros e Os 'Brazilianists'," Revista De História 54, no. 107 (1976): pp. 189-219; Della Cava, “'Brasilianista' – Que é Isso?”.

55 Margolis, interview by author. See Sidney Antonio Da Silva, “Margolis, Maxine L. Little Brazil: Imigrantes Brasileiros Em Nova York," Revista Do Instituto De Estudos Brasileiros 0, no. 41 (1996): pp. 263-265.

56 See Raquel Dos Santos Sousa Lima, “'O Livro Que Quase Não Foi Escrito': Revisitando o Milagre Em Joaseiro," Revista De História, no. 172 (2015): pp. 427-436.

57 Kottak, “Charles Wagley;" Pace, “O Legado De Charles Wagley"; Wagley, An Introduction to Brazil, pp. vii-xi. On Wagley's work in the Amazon, see also Heraldo Maués et al., “Outros Depoimentos Sobre Charles Wagley," Jornal Beira do Rio, 2016.

58 “Caught at the Conference," Brazilian Information Bulletin, January 1973, 9 edition, p. 17.

59 After spending a semester as a visiting professor at Unicamp in 1971, Hall returned to the university in 1975; Eisenberg was hired shortly thereafter. Hall was actively involved in the reformation and expansion of the IFCH's library, which resulted in its transformation into one of the main university research libraries in Brazil. Eisenberg had an important role in building the post-graduate program in History at Unicamp. See Fontes and Macedo, “Entrevista Com Michael Hall," pp. 814, 818-9, 828-9, 843, n. 14; Robert W. Slenes, “Dizendo Adeus a Peter L. Eisenberg," Revista Brasileira De História 8, no. 16 (August 1988): pp. 285-290.

Brazil, which has formed hundreds of Brazilian—and non-Brazilian—historians. Hall is still a collaborator and researcher at the university. Eisenberg passed away in Brazil in 1988. On his passing, Eisenberg's colleague at Unicamp Robert Slenes wrote:

For the last eight years, Peter's health had been precarious, and he had an uncertain life expectancy. Despite that, I never saw him complain about his fate, much less use his cardiac condition—although a very serious one—as a pretext to reduce his activities at the university. He faced life with optimism and grit. And he researched. He did not give up the intellectual work. In this affirmation of life and the importance of the vocation of professor and historian, Peter leaves to us an example of dignity and courage. He thought it was worth it. Indeed, it was.[60]

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60 Slenes, "Dizendo Adeus a Peter L. Eisenberg," p. 289. My translation.

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EPILOGUE

This study of Columbia and Brazil came together under challenging research conditions during the pandemic summer of 2020. Despite limitations, the six Columbia students, whose individual chapters are the core of this study, covered much more ground that the two co-editors could have ever imagined at the outset. Our research group never met in person, with all interaction being "virtual" over the three-month period. Moreover, the student researchers were unable to access any physical archives or visit libraries or museums. All research venues were closed during the period of research.

Fortunately for the research team, the digital resources of the Columbia University Libraries were available, thanks to the dedication and guidance of a team of Columbia librarians led by Socrates Silva Reyes, the head of the Latin American collections. Oral interviews with a large number of academics affiliated, in one way or another, with Columbia University were also of enormous importance, giving us much insight about the past, pointing to research directions for the future, and urging us on through their recollections and by sharing some of their own unpublished work.

As might be expected, our team's research uncovered a large number of stories about Columbia and Brazil that we could not report upon in this brief study. In these few concluding pages, we would like to touch upon a few of these general areas, in the hope that these unexplored aspects of the story will suggest paths for future research.

Prior to 1920: The Early Columbians and Brazil

Brazilian citizens (or foreign residents of Brazil) did not begin to appear on student registers at Columbia until the early decades of the twentieth century, and particularly from 1920 on, following the disruption caused by World War I. But of the dozens who did find their way to Columbia prior to the early 1920s, a number of stories stand out. One of these, Romaine Dillon, appears to have been an American citizen who attended Columbia in the early part of the nineteenth century. What is known is that, by 1835, Dillon was posted to the United States legation to a newly independent Brazil and the Court of Dom Pedro II in Rio de Janeiro. Decades later, but prior to the formation of the Brazilian Republic in 1889, other American citizens and graduates of Columbia also took up diplomatic positions in Rio.

In terms of other diplomatic connections, the great figure of abolitionism in Brazil, Joaquim Nabuco, received an honorary degree from Columbia in 1906 at a time when he held the post as the first ambassador of the new Republic of Brazil to the United States. Some years later, in 1919, President-elect Epitácio Pessoa of Brazil, engaged in an official visit to Columbia, meeting on the occasion with students enrolled in the University's noted summer programs which proved surprisingly popular with Brazilians in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The first record of a Brazilian student to graduate from Columbia was of one L.H.F. D'Aguiar, son of the Brazilian Consul General in New York, who graduated with two degrees in medicine from Columbia in the late 1860s. A certain Luiz de Souza Barros graduated from the School of Mines (later known as the School of Engineering) in 1877. At the time of graduation, the School of Mines mentioned Souza Barros as one of the first two persons of color ever to graduate from Columbia. Another Brazilian, José Nabor Pacheco, was a member of the same class of 1877. His graduation plans included writing up his class notes from Columbia to produce a textbook in Portuguese on chemical engineering.

Early Scientific Exchanges

We were unable to find many connections between faculty at Columbia and Brazil prior to the 1920s, but we believe that important links do exist. A notable early figure in the story was Professor William R. Shepherd of the history department and prominent Columbia faculty member during the first decades of the twentieth century. Shepherd frequently lectured and taught on Pan-American issues on the Columbia campus. His first visit to Brazil appears to have been in 1907, leading a mission organized by Columbia President Nicholas Murray Butler and intended to create contacts with leading Brazilian universities and to foster the spirit of Pan-Americanism at the time. Shepherd may have been one of the first academics at Columbia, or even anywhere else in the United States, whose career focused primarily on Latin American history which he sought to elevate in academic circles. In a notable address to the American Historical Association in 1909, he decried an excessive emphasis prior on Anglo-American history, to the neglect of the history of Spanish, Portuguese, and French influences.[1]

We came across indications of interest in areas of scientific exploration in Brazil, including anthropology, zoology, botany, and geography, the latter spurred by a global search for natural resources needed for industrial development.

For example, Columbia-trained botanists were among the early foreign visitors to the Amazon basin. News accounts tell of a trip by Dr. Henry H. Rusby, Director of the School of Pharmacy at Columbia, who led what is described as a "1,600 jungle trip" to the Amazon in 1922, along with researchers from the Brooklyn Botanical Gardens. At about the same time, other Columbia researchers, in particular, Frederick S. Lee of the Medical School, were active in research on Brazilian plants and flowers, notably curating an exhibition on this subject in 1925 at the New York Botanical Garden.

Henry Edward Crampton was a noted zoologist who was on the faculty at Columbia and Barnard for almost forty years during the first half of the twentieth century[2]. Crampton was a major figure as well at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where he was curator of invertebrate zoology. While his major fieldwork was in the Pacific islands, Crampton made at least two noteworthy trips to Brazil in the area of Mount Roraima, at the time little known to the outside world. His trip in 1907 was reported on in somewhat sensationalist terms in the press at the time, but Crampton assembled valuable specimens during the four-month journey "through the almost impassable Brazilian jungle"[3]. Crampton returned for a follow-up visit in 1917.

Columbia's role in promoting a broader Pan Americanism in scientific inquiry in the early decades of the twentieth century is worthy of further attention, in the spirit of the noteworthy work already being done by Roberta Delson of the American Museum of Natural History on the history of scientific cooperation in the Americas[4]. According to Delson, the Second Pan American Scientific Conference held in Washington in December 1915 was "the defining moment in the creation of a 'scientific/intellectual Pan Americanism', a movement which not only recognized equality among scientists in the Americas, but was an important component of inter-American cooperation during World War I."[5]

Columbia played at least some role at the time of this Second Pan American Conference, perhaps an important role, in encouraging this new spirit of scientific collaboration with Brazil and with Latin America. News reports from the time relate that President Nicholas Murray Butler organized a large reception for all the conference delegates at Columbia in January 1916. The events of the day included an address to the entire Columbia community by Rodrigo Octavio of the Brazilian delegation to the Congress, followed by a large reception at the University.[6] The

1 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Robert_Shepherd. Shepherd's papers are in a collection at the Columbia University Libraries.

2 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Crampton.

3 "Close Call in Jungle: Scientist Fired on by Indians on Exploring Trips to Brazil", The Washington Post, September 21, 1911.

4 Robert Marx Delson: "Some Brief Reflections on the Centennial of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress of 1915-1916", Revista de Historia Iberoamericana, Volume 9 (2016), Number 1, pp. 90-102

5 Ibid., p. 90.

visit of the Latin American scientists to New York was organized jointly by Columbia and the American Museum of Natural History which had its own strong links to Columbia faculty and to Brazil.

The University Seminars and the University Seminar on Brazil

We know that Frank Tannenbaum was a transformational figure in Latin American studies at Columbia. A true academic entrepreneur, his interests went well beyond the region itself to an embrace of vigorous and free-flowing intellectual debates on many subject matters. One of Tannenbaum's enduring contributions to Columbia, perhaps his major contribution, was the University Seminars, founded in the mid-1940s with financial support from Tannenbaum himself. The now justly renowned University Seminars at Columbia arose around a very democratic concept of free-flowing debates among members attracted from the Columbia faculty, other universities, and invited guests, all committed to the study of issues of practical or theoretical importance through spontaneous intellectual initiatives. More than 90 Seminars still flourish at the University today.[7]

It will come as no surprise given Tannenbaum's interests in the region that one of the very first University Seminars was dedicated to Latin America. Formed in 1942, the Latin America Seminar lays claim to the longest-running conversation at Columbia on the great issues affecting the region. It is an institution that is worth a closer look at how issues were selected, discussed, and, perhaps, influenced by these deliberations over so many years.[8] For many years, Brazil was included as an integral part of this original Seminar, but, due to increased focus on Brazil during the anxiety-ridden years of the 1960s, a separate University Seminar on Brazil was founded by Tannenbaum himself in 1968, very shortly before he died. The Brazil Seminar also continues to thrive until the present day.

The Directors of the University Seminars were careful to preserve presentations made in the different sessions and to produce written summaries of the discussion. These materials, unavailable to us during the summer of 2020 because of the pandemic, are a treasure trove of information and intellectual debate on the major Brazilian issues of the day, as seen through the eyes of Columbia academics, invited lecturers from Latin America, and members of the Seminar usually drawn from the greater metropolitan area of New York.

Here we can only suggest the importance of the University Seminar archives by recounting just a few of the many Brazil-specific issues and guest speakers from the earliest days to the period ending in 1990.[9]

In the earliest days, prior to the formation of the University Seminar on Brazil, distinguished Columbia economics professors, including Albert O. Hirschman and William S. Vickrey (later awarded a Nobel prize), addressed the Seminar. Anthropology was represented on numerous occasions by Charles Wagley (and other faculty). Wagley provided a report to the Seminar on his Amazon studies in 1948. Political Scientist Robert J. Alexander addressed the seminar on labor issues in Brazil and in Latin America. Richard Morse, an outspoken proponent of the social and cultural originality of Brazil and Mexico, in particular, was awarded the Order of the Southern Cross from Brazil in 1992, cited for his contributions to Brazilian culture.[10]

The humanities were well represented in the early days of the Seminar. Guest speakers included novelist Clodomir Vianna Moog who spoke often in the 1940s and 1950s.[11] Brazilian writers, artists, and museum

6 "Columbia Receives the Pan-Americans", New York Times, January 14, 1916.

7 For more on the contemporary face of the University Seminars: https://universityseminars.columbia.edu/

8 Tannenbaum himself wrote an unpublished report on the first twenty years of the University Seminar on Latin America entitled "A Report on the First Twenty Years of the Latin American Seminar (1963)" . It can be accessed via the Columbia University Library Archives (Hathi Trust).

9 We benefited from this unpublished document on the history of the Brazil Seminar: Roberta Marx Delson, Frances Elizabeth Rand, and Irwin Stern: "Report on the Columbia University Seminar on Brazil (1968-1990)" (1990). It can be accessed via the Columbia University Library Archives (Hathi Trust).

10 https://www.nytimes.com/2001/04/28/world/richard-mc-gee-morse-78-latin-america-expert.html

11 https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viana_Moog

directors were among the invited guests. Anisio Teixeira spoke on educational philosophy, San Thiago Dantas spoke on the role of the university in Brazilian culture, and so on. (Fidel Castro himself spoke to the Seminar in 1959, though we have no indication that his remarks touched upon Brazil.)

It was after the formation of the University Seminar on Brazil in 1968 that Brazilian matters became even more prominent at Columbia. As Gabriel Franco's chapter in this volume well recounts, Columbia University faculty from the 1960s onward were among the leading specialists on Brazil in the United States. These included individuals such as Wagley, Kempton Webb, E. Bradford Burns, Stuart Schwartz, Nathaniel Leff, Riordan Roett, Alfred Stepan, Nancy Leys Stepan, Ralph Della Cava, Kenneth Maxwell, Herbert Klein, and Douglas Chalmers. Columbia was a "mecca for Brazilian studies" at the time, and, in those fraught political times of the 1960s and 1970s in Brazil, the "preferred destination" for such eminent Brazilian thinkers as Florestan Fernandes, Octavio Ianni, Fernando Gasparian, Elio Gaspari, and others.[12] Almost all of these at one point or another during their passage through Columbia addressed the University Seminar on Brazil.

The Columbia School of Journalism and the Maria Moors Cabot Awards

Across the Columbia campus, another long-standing conversation with Brazil and Latin America has been taking place. This one has concerned exchanges between Columbia and Brazil on freedom of the press, protection of journalists, promotion of inter-American understanding, and freedom of expression. The Columbia School of Journalism, the oldest such school in the United States and founded by Joseph Pulitzer himself, received an endowment in 1938 from Godfrey Lowell Cabot to establish a prize for "distinguished journalistic contributions to the advancement of inter-American understanding.[13] The prize, known as the Maria Moors Cabot Awards in memory of Cabot's wife, has been awarded to a small group of Latin American journalists in every year since that time, each year usually (although not always) including at least one Brazilian honoree. For example, a 2020 Cabot prize was awarded to Patricia Campos Mello of the Folha de São Paulo, cited for journalistic excellence in the face of government criticism of her work and vicious attacks through social media.

One can see in the mere listing of the names of the Brazilian Cabot awardees and the reasons behind their selection must reveal much about the evolution of Brazilian journalism and journalistic standards, about how Brazilian journalists viewed their own impact in the world beyond Brazil, and how the role and importance of a free press in Brazil was recognized and encouraged from abroad. It is worth recalling that many of these "Latin American Pulitizers" were awarded to Brazilian journalists in the midst of very long stretches of dictatorial rule in Brazil, times when the role of the press was under extreme pressure. Did the Columbia award serve to protect a free press in Brazil at such times? Did it protect journalists and publishers from government oppression? Did it effectively shine a global spotlight on Brazilian journalism?

One of the first two Brazilian Cabot winners was Sylvia Bettencourt, a columnist with the Correio da Manhã in Rio, who was honored in 1941. She was also the first woman journalist to win a Cabot prize. Over the years, the list of Brazilian honorees reads like a Who's Who of distinguished Brazilian journalists, editors, and publishers. Some of the noteworthy names from the earlier years would include Francisco de Assis Chateaubriand, Carlos Lacerda, Roberto Marinho (twice awarded a Cabot), Herbert Moses, Juan de Onis, Manoel Francisco Nascimento Brito, and Alberto Dines. In more recent years, distinguished Brazilian journalists who have received the award include Merval Pereira, Lucas Mendes, Mauri Konig, Dorrit Harazim, and Miriam Leitão.

Finally, a deeper dive into the historical record may shed light on Columbia's historical role in launching journalism education in Brazil. One figure stands out.

12 Delson et al. Op. cit.

13 For more on the Cabot Prize and its history: Cabot Awards

Dean Carl Ackerman of the School of Journalism was a transformational dean of the School for decades prior to his retirement in 1956.[14] He played a key role in the institution of the Cabot awards in the late 1930s and traveled the world to modernize the field of journalism education. We know that Ackerman spent a period of time in Brazil in 1950-51, possibly to help the University of Brazil (now known as the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) to establish a program in journalism. While this fact in itself may seem unremarkable, it did not go unnoticed in Brazil. Ackerman was decorated by the Brazilian government with the Order of the Southern Cross, the highest award given by Brazil to foreigners, in recognition of contributions to Brazilian culture. The reasons behind the award remain unclear, but seem worthy of further exploration, as do Columbia Journalism's links to the modernization of journalistic education in Brazil.

The Study of Brazilian Literature at Columbia: The Early Days

Our work with Columbia's digital archives revealed a growing Brazilian influence in language and literature studies at the University from an early date. For example, Portuguese was first taught as part of the University's popular Extension Program as early as 1914 and from then on more or less continuously as fluctuating enrollments permitted. With the onset of World War II and Brazil's strategic role in the conflict, interest in Brazil and in the Portuguese language mushroomed.

The World War II era brought a heightened interest in Brazil and this was reflected in a remarkable intensification of Portuguese instruction at the University. Enrollments in Portuguese language instruction increased from just one student in 1939-1940 to 98 in 1942-43. All three levels of instruction (elementary, intermediate, and advanced) were offered in the University Extension where an advanced graduate course in Brazilian literature was also offered for the first time. One student was enrolled in a Ph.D. track on Brazilian literature.

Toward the end of 1943, Department of Hispanic Languages Chair Federico de Onis, another transformational figure at Columbia, penned a letter on administrative matters to President Nicholas Murray Butler.[15] The letter allows us to trace a bit of the early history of Portuguese instruction at the University.

De Onis was himself a committed Hispanic scholar who quite strongly believed that the study of Brazilian and Portuguese literature should be studied apart from the literature of Spain and Spanish-speaking South America. Frankly, de Onis appears to have thought that the study of Brazilian literature had lesser value as it displayed, in his view, "none of the extraordinary harmony and synthesis of European literary movements" typical of South American authors.[16]

Undoubtedly, this professional bias must have limited Columbia's ability early on to build a strong basis for studies of Brazilian literature and culture in the Department of Romance Languages. At the same time, de Onis himself offered a research seminar yearly on Portuguese and Brazilian literature for the "occasional student". Three students were awarded Master's degrees and one a Ph.D. in the field even prior to 1940.

In his 1943 letter to President Butler, de Onis made the case to hire a full-time member of the faculty to continue the University's momentum in Portuguese language instruction and to prepare for future growth of interest in this field. In order "to establish the study of the Portuguese and Brazilian language, literature and civilization on a permanent basis", de Onis recommended hiring José Famadas, a Brazilian Ph.D. student at Columbia who was from Rio de Janeiro.[17] The subsequent evolution after the 1940s of Portuguese

14 Ackerman's 1970 obituary in the New York Times can be found here.

15 Letter from Federico de Onis to President Nicholas Murray Butler, dated November 29, 1943. We are grateful to Columbia Latin American Librarian Socrates Silva Reyes for making this available to us.

16 See chapter on Federico de Onis in this recent volume: Fernando Degiovanni: Vernacular Latin Americanisms : War, the Market, and the Making of a Discipline. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018.

17 For more on José Famadas who became known as a magician and an historian of magic: http://archives.nypl.org/the/18868.

studies and research and teaching on Brazilian literature and culture at Columbia seems most worthwhile for future research.

Conclusions: A Call for More Research

We have covered a lot of ground in this modest volume to understand the intertwined history of Brazil and Columbia University, hoping, in this way, to illustrate such important matters as how scholarly networks were established, how knowledge is created and shared, and how global society is benefited as a result. Ultimately, we wanted to understand how this interaction, occurring over at least 160 years, acted as a force for change both in Brazil and at Columbia University.

This was, from the outset, an ambitious undertaking. We, the editors and the authors, are conscious that we have covered only a limited number of topics and then only partially. Much in the way of research remains to be done to understand the fuller story and its importance. For this reason, we close by welcoming not only comments on the work here presented, but also by a call for further study. We are proposing to set up a website that will display these initial results, but also be open to “crowd-sourcing”, inviting others to contribute their findings or even just their impressions on the long arc of the shared history of Columbia and Brazil. Perhaps in a special way, we invite contributions from the many Brazilian scholars based in Brazil who can certainly flesh out the Brazil-Columbia story with more of its complexities and nuances. We continue to believe very strongly that it is a story worth recounting.

Thomas J Trebat
Laura Nora
Rio de Janeiro
November 2020

APPENDIX

A chronology of significant dates in the history of Brazil and Columbia University

EARLY DAYS

1835
Columbia graduate Romaine Dillon posted to the United States delegation in Rio de Janeiro

1866
First Brazilian graduates from Columbia University Medical School

1877
First Brazilians graduate from the then Columbia School of Mines

1887
Harry Havemeyer created the American Sugar Refining Company, commonly known as the Sugar Trust

1886
Winifred Edgerton is the first woman to be awarded a Ph.D. from Columbia

1888
Abolition of slavery in Brazil

1889
Foundation of Barnard College

1896
Franz Boas began to lecture at Columbia

1899
Boas became Columbia University's first professor of anthropology

PAN-AMERICANISM

1906
Abolitionist leader Joaquim Nabuco receives honorary doctoral degree

1907
Professor William R. Shepherd visits Brazil to establish connections for Columbia

1911
Professor Henry Crampton (Zoology) leads scientific mission to the Amazon

1912
Graduates of Teachers College hired to teach in Rio Grande do Sul

1914
Courses in Portuguese offered for the first time at Columbia

1915
Brazilian professors hired to teach in Columbia Summer Session

1916
Brazilian scientific delegation to the Second Pan-American Congress visits

1917
Dr. Helio Lobo, Secretary to President, lectures on U.S.-Brazil Relations

1919
President-elect Epitácio Pessoa of Brazil visits Columbia University

1922
Pharmacy Professor Henry H. Rusby leads Amazon scientific expedition

1922
Gilberto Freyre finishes his Master's at Columbia University under supervision of Franz Boas

1923
Professor Peter H. Goldsmith a U.S. delegate to Brazil's Centennial Exposition

BRAZIL-COLUMBIA TIES INTENSIFY

1924
Columbia first university in America to offer a course on Portuguese and Brazilian literature

1924
Institute of International Education founded at Teachers College

1926
Rockefeller family provides fellowships for travel and study in Brazil

1927
Otto Klineberg receives his doctorate in psychology from Columbia

1927
Alda Lodi, Amélia de Castro Monteiro, Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro, Ignácia Ferreira Guimarães, and Lúcia Schmidt Monteiro de Castro arrive at Teachers College

1929
Anisio Texeira receives Master's degree at Teachers College

1929
Foundation of the "Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Belo Horizonte" (or EABH)

1929
Significant number of Brazilians are enrolled in "Home Study Department" of Columbia

1929
TC Institute of International Education organizes a Summer School on Brazil in Rio de Janeiro in collaboration with Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute

1933
Casa grande e senzala (Masters and Slaves) is published by Gilberto Freyre

1935
Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies is publlished by Margaret Mead

1936
Charles Wagley earns his bachelor's degree from Columbia College

1937
Ruth Benedict becomes the first woman faculty to receive tenure at Columbia

1937
Implementation of the "Estado Novo" by Getúlio Vargas in Brazil

1937
Foreign Minister José Carlos de Macedo Soares visits Columbia at invitation of Columbia President Nicholas Murray Butler

1937
Franz Boas, Robert S. Lynd and other Columbia faculty warn in a public letter of rising fascism in Brazil and its threat to democracy worldwide.

1938
Heloisa Alberto Torres becomes the Director of the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro

1939
Charles Wagley makes his first trip to Brazil

1941
Brazilian Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha awarded honorary doctorate at Columbia

1941
Silvia Bettencourt of Correio da Manhã awarded Maria Moors Cabot Prize, first woman journalist and first Brazilian to be honored

1942
Frank Tannenbaum founds the University Seminar on Latin America

1942
Franz Boas dies

1943
José Famadas appointed first permanent professor of Brazilian literature at Columbia.

1943
Barnard College adds a course in Portuguese language and literature taught by Brazilian Maria de Lourdes Sa Pereira

1943
Columbia geneticist Theodosius Dobzhansky awarded honorary doctorate from USP for research on evolutionary biology conducted in Brazil.

1945-1947
Otto Klineberg visits at the Universidade de São Paulo (USP) and conducts studies in Brazil to debunk racist theories associating intelligence with race.

1945
Adolf Berle resigns from his role of U.S. ambassador in Brazil

1945
Getulio Vargas voted out of office

SCHOLARLY COLLABORATIONS

1945
Tannenbaum publishes Slave and Citizen

1947
Ruth Landes publishes City of Women

1951-1952
Launching of State of Bahia-Columbia University Community Study Project, a pioneering study of socioeconomic conditions and race relations.

1952
Eduardo Galvão completes his dissertation at Columbia

1952
Betty Meggers earns her Ph.D. at Columbia for her study on “The Archaeological Sequence on Marajó Island, Brazil.

1952
Dean Carl Ackerman of School of Journalism awarded Brazilian decoration of “Ordem do Cruzeiro do Sul”

1952
Brazil Foreign Minister João Neves da Fontoura awarded honorary doctorate

1953
Columbia professors, led by Wagley, publish UNESCO study on Race and Class in Rural Brazil.

1953
Charles Wagley publishes Amazon Town: A Study of Man in the Tropics

1953
Carlos Lacerda, editor of Tribuna da Imprensa, awarded Cabot prize at Columbia

1954
Augusto Boal receives his PhD from the Department of Chemistry at Columbia University

1954
Gilberto Freyre awarded honorary doctorate from Columbia

1956
History Professor Richard Morse conducts research on Brazil’s global role and importance

1956
Columbia research vessel Vema maps ocean floor off coast of Brazil

1958
Otto Klineberg awarded honorary doctorate from University of Brazil in Rio for his work advancing racial equality

1961
Columbia Law School offers coursework on the legal system in Brazil.

1961
Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, and Illinois announce Summer Field Studies Program in Latin America, including a research station in Brazil.

YEARS OF TURMOIL

1962
Columbia launches Institute of Latin American Studies with Wagley as first Director

1962
Columbia receives grant to study economic development in Northeast Brazil

1963
Columbia University Press publishes Wagley's book "Introduction to Brazil"

1964
Marvin Harris publishes Patterns of Race in the Americas

1964-1985
Period of military dictatorship in Brazil

1965
Florestan Fernandes in residence at Columbia as a visiting scholar

1965
Retirement of Latin American History Chair Frank Tannenbaum

1966
Conrad Kottak receives a Ph.D. in Anthropology at Columbia

1967
E. Bradford Burns, prolific author on Brazilian history, appointed to faculty

1968
Brazilian military junta passes the Institutional Act Number Five (AI-5)

1968
University Seminar on Brazil created

1970
Maxine Margolis receives her Ph.D. in Anthropology from Columbia

1970
Ralph Della Cava and his partners release the pamphlet "Brazil: A Report on Terror"

1971
Alfred Stepan publishes his book The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil

1971
Ana Cristina Angel Jones enrolls at Columbia after her brother Stuart's arrest and subsequent death at the hands of military agents

1971
Elio Gaspari's visit to Columbia University and creation of term "Brazilianistas"

1971
Claude Lévi-Strauss awarded honorary doctorate by Columbia

1972
Judith R. Shapiro, former President of Barnard College, receives her Ph.D. in Anthropology from Columbia with a thesis entitled: "Sex Roles and Social Structure Among the Yanomami Indians of Northern Brazil"

1972
Former President Juscelino Kubitschek lectures at Columbia

1974
Diana Brown receives her Ph.D. in anthropology at Columbia

1976
Milton Santos is visiting Professor at Columbia University

1976
Zuzu Angel murdered in Brazil protesting death of her son, Stuart Angel

1977
Noted economist Celso Furtado appointed Tinker Visiting Professor at Columbia

1978
Columnist Carlos Castello Branco of Jornal do Brasil awarded Cabot prize for political coverage in the face of arrests and censorship.

1982
Columbia University becomes a coeducational institution

1983
Alfred Stepan and Nancy Leys Stepan appointed to the Columiba faculty

1988
Ruth Cardoso starts post-doctoral studies at Columbia University

1989
Alfred Stepan publishes Democratizing Brazil: Problems of Transition and Consolidation

1997
Judith Shapiro appointed President of Barnard College

2000
Center for Environmental Research and Conservation launches summer program of studies in Brazil focused on Atlantic Rainforest.

THE MODERN ERA

2001
Economist Albert Fishlow appointed to Columbia faculty

2001
Albert Fishlow and Alfred Stepan launch Center for Brazilian Studies, with financial support from Brazilian donors

2005
Thomas Trebat appointed first Executive Director of Center of Brazilian Studies

2008
Historian John C. Coatsworth appointed to Columbia faculty and named as Director of Institute of Latin American Studies

2009
ILAS launches its first ever Master's degree program in Latin American studies

2009
Lemann Foundation in Brazil begins multi-year program of funding of Brazilian studies and fellowships for Brazilian students at Columbia

2009
Center for Brazilian Studies announces creation of Ruth Cardoso Visiting Professorship at Columbia, in partnership with U.S.-Brazil Fulbright Commission.

2010
Graduate School of Architecture at Columbia launches Studio-X in Rio de Janeiro

2011
Lemann Dialogues on Brazil launched at Columbia in partnership with Harvard, Illinois, and Stanford

2012
Gustavo Azenha appointed Executive Director of Center for Brazilian Studies

2013
Columbia officially launches Columbia Global Center in Rio de Janeiro with Thomas Trebat as first Director

2013
Barnard convenes symposium in São Paulo on "Women Changing Brazil"

2015
Lemann Foundation endows Jorge Paulo Lemann Chair in Brazilian Public Policy, first chair dedicated to Brazil in Columbia history

2016
Economist Rodrigo Soares names first occupant of Lemann Chair

2017
Alfred Stepan dies at age 81

2018
Brazil Center at Columbia is renamed Lemann Center for Brazilian Studies

2019
More than 400 Brazilian students, faculty, and researchers are in residence at Columbia

2019
Columbia hosts Lemann Dialogue on Brazil for the third time

DESIGN Ingryd Calazans