FEMINISM, WOMEN'S RIGHTS, AND THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN BRAZIL, 1850–1932

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For too many years, women have been missing from or misrepresented in Latin American history. Like women elsewhere, they have not received proper credit for the role they played in their nations' development. Even with the increasingly scholarly attention now focused on women in Latin America, historical research lags far behind that on their counterparts in the United States or Western Europe. Many questions of approach, methodology, and sources, among others, remain to be answered and much labor must be expended before we can know the history of women in Latin America.[1] But if we wish to have the necessary monographs and accumulated data before attempting to write syntheses, we must explore diverse aspects of women's lives, roles, and experiences, often concentrating on women in a single country or time frame.

The question of women's rights, one of the earliest and most frequently treated in women's history of the United States and Western Europe, lends itself well both to comparisons and to in-depth studies.[2] The case of Brazil may prove a major one in point. The very existence of a women's rights movement in nineteenth-century Brazil may surprise readers who are familiar with the traditional view that women there, to an extent even greater than their sisters in Spanish America, still suffered from centuries of Moorish seclusion and obscurity. How could some Brazilian women have advanced arguments and undertaken activities similar to those of better-known feminists in the United States and England? The development of both feminism and a women's rights movement in Brazil deserves careful study.

Feminism embraces all aspects of the emancipation of women and includes any struggle designed to elevate their status socially, politically, or economically; it concerns women's self-concepts as well as their position in society. In contrast, women's rights movements tend to de-

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fine, more narrowly, the emancipation of women as the winning of legal rights, as occurred in the United States by the end of the nineteenth century. In early twentieth-century Brazil, as in the United States, the women's rights movement generally overlapped the suffrage movement, a specific aspect of what should be seen as a broader struggle.[3] Women's rights movements all over the world are dependent on a class of educated women with some leisure. But the nature of each movement depends on historic circumstances. While we may attempt to draw certain parallels between the rise of feminism and the women's rights movements in Brazil and the United States, the Brazilian case merits attention in its own right.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a small band of pioneer Brazilian feminists voiced their dissatisfaction with the traditional male-determined roles assigned women. Primarily through their newspapers, they endeavored to awaken other women to their potential for self-advancement and to raise their level of aspirations. They attempted to spur changes in the economic, social, and legal status of women in Brazil. Believers in progress, they drew inspiration and promises of future successes from women's achievements in other countries. Well aware of male opposition, female indifference, and the limited acceptance of their own ideas, these brave women remained convinced of the importance of their cause and its eventual success. Unlike many of their male detractors, who assumed women to be easily corruptible should they step outside the home and the family to be weak and in need of defense, these feminists displayed their confidence in women and their abilities.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, increasing numbers of Brazilian women advocated female suffrage, a demand first voiced in the late nineteenth century but denied by the Constituent Congress of 1891. Formal women's rights organizations appeared as the suffrage cause gained limited acceptance among sectors of the Brazilian elite who noted the achievement of the vote by women in Western Europe and the United States. In analyzing the evolving nature of feminist thought and the women's rights movement in Brazil, we must determine how the movement became more conservative and respectable as it broadened its appeal and widened its basis of support among the upper classes. What happened in Brazil as questions of women's emancipation and rights moved from a fringe position to an acceptable form of elite activity?

The now forgotten newspapers edited by women, which appeared in the cities of south-central Brazil during the last half of the nineteenth century, may provide a key to answering such questions.[4] Not only do these periodicals illuminate the attitudes and actions of the early Brazilian

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feminists, but they also comprise an unknown body of source materials for the investigation of the status and roles of urban, literate Brazilian women. Knowledge of the early Brazilian feminist press should stimulate the search for similar periodicals in other Latin American countries, which, if found, could provide the basis for comparative studies.[5] Without such sources, the world of women in nineteenth-century Latin America will remain even less known than that of the colonial period, and the vast disparity between the amount of research conducted on women in Latin America and in other parts of the world will only increase.

MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY CONDITIONS

According to the common stereotype of the Brazilian patriarchal family, the authoritarian husband, surrounded by slave concubines, dominated his children and his submissive wife. She developed into an indolent, passive creature, kept at home, who bore numerous children and abused the Negro slaves. Various foreign travelers' accounts support this image. For example, John Luccock, a British merchant, in 1808, caustically commented on the premature aging and increasing bad temper and fatness of Rio de Janeiro's upper-class women, which he attributed to habits of reclusion and indolence.[6] Nevertheless, the stereotype of the guarded, pure female was not universally valid. Actual behavior varied according to class. Lower-class women knew greater personal freedom as well as harsh physical labor. Even among the elite, not all women were confined to the private sphere of the home and excluded from the public sphere assigned to men, as in the case of the active widows running *fazendas*.[7] In the cities, elite women who remained largely secluded in their homes often managed large establishments full of relatives, retainers, and slaves. Such women could exercise influence indirectly, behind the scenes, on men occupying formal positions in the public sphere. However, the authority of the husband and father remained paramount, and the wife was subject to him.[8]

Nineteenth-century foreign visitors reported changes occurring slowly in the lives of women of the urban elite. After the arrival of the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro in 1808, Brazilian upper-class women began to follow more European modes of behavior. According to two Bavarian scientists, Johann B. von Spix and Karl F. P. von Martius, women participated "in the change which the removal of the court hither has occasioned and are now more frequently seen in the theatre, and in the open air."[9] By mid-century, Daniel Paris Kidder and James C. Fletcher, two American Protestant missionaries, noted an increased ten-

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dency of upper-class women in Rio de Janeiro to venture out to parties, church, and the theater. But, like John Luccock decades earlier, they contended that these women quickly grew stout from a lack of outdoor exercise and were constantly surrounded by slaves.[10] An American naturalist, Herbert H. Smith, traveling in the Amazon, reported the decreasing seclusion of upper-class women in the city of Belem, but not in the smaller towns of the area.[11]

Few signs of feminist thought or activities appeared among Brazil's women during the first half of the nineteenth century. Nísia Floresta Brasileira Augusta, perhaps the most outstanding Brazilian woman intellectual of the period and one of the country's first feminists, proved the marked exception. Born in Rio Grande do Norte in 1809, Nísia Floresta, like so many Brazilian girls, was forced to marry young. She soon separated from her husband and moved to the city of Olinda, where she formed a new alliance. The death of her companion left her alone in Pôrto Alegre at the age of twenty-four with two children and an aged mother to support. Like some later feminists and a variety of other Brazilian women, she turned to school teaching, settling in Rio de Janeiro. Her free translation of Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* first appeared in 1832. Nísia Floresta continued to advocate increased education and a higher social position for women, as well as other reforms such as the abolition of slavery. In 1856, she moved to Europe, where she met French intellectuals, converted to positivism, traveled extensively, and published several more books. Except for the period from 1872 to 1875, she remained in the Old World, enjoying its more congenial intellectual atmosphere, until her death in 1885 at the age of seventy-six.[12]

The mid-nineteenth century Brazil Nísia Floresta abandoned was a backward nation in many respects, with a highly stratified society and an economy dependent on a slave labor system. The seven million inhabitants of this sparsely settled country of three million square miles were concentrated on the coast. Most of the population lived on the land, farming with crude techniques. Through the first half of the nineteenth century, most of the towns remained sleepy places, with muddy streets frequented by pack mules, pigs, and chickens, although they also served as social, religious, and market centers for nearby areas. Methods of transportation were rudimentary and manufacturing industries practically nonexistent.[13]

Changes of all kinds, including those that would affect the lives of upper-class urban women and bring increasing opportunities for less exceptional women than Nísia Floresta to expand their horizons, came more quickly in the second half of the century. European technological

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advances were exported to Brazil as to many other countries. The advent of the railroad, the steamboat, and the telegraph stimulated the rapid growth of many urban centers, both in physical area and in population. Regional disequilibrium within Brazil increased. The balance of income and population shifted more decisively to the south. Social organization in the south underwent rapid changes, with increasing numbers of wage-earning laborers both on the coffee plantations and in the cities, growing European immigration, and agriculture based on small farms in the southern-most states. Rio de Janeiro, and then São Paulo, served as centers of coffee exportation and benefited financially and politically, as well as in size and population, from the growing coffee economy. The seat of national power and by far the largest city in Brazil, Rio remained the country's economic, cultural, and intellectual leader.[14] More than any other Brazilian city, Rio served as a center for the early manifestations of feminist sentiments among some educated upper- and middle-class women.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

While educational opportunities for girls generally remained limited, even in the cities, some improvements occurred during the last half of the nineteenth century.[15] But only a small proportion of Brazil's population ever became literate. Education was largely the prerogative of those entitled to its benefits by birth or position. According to the Brazilian census of 1872, Brazil had a total population of 10,112,061. But only 1,012,097 free men, 550,981 free women, and 958 slave men and 445 slave women were able to read and write.[16] In 1873, the empire contained merely 5,077 primary schools, public and private. These schools had a total of 114,014 male and 46,246 female pupils.[17] In wealthier families children were often educated at home rather than in the frequently poorly run schools.

Girls' education remained backward compared to boys'. Even women's reading, according to Luccock, "was not to extend beyond the prayerbooks, because it would be useless to a woman, nor were they to write lest, as was sagely remarked, they should make a bad use of the art."[18] But slowly the idea of schooling for girls was added to the older idea of domestic education, although not an education identical to that given boys. With time, rich girls not only learned to prepare cakes and sweets and to sew and embroider, but they also could study French and piano, so as to provide more charming and agreeable company on social occasions. While Kidder and Fletcher in the mid-nineteeth century believed the number of schools for girls was increasing, they held that "in

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eight cases out of ten, the Brazilian father thinks that he has done his duty when he has sent his daughter for a few years to a fashionable school kept by some foreigner: at thirteen or fourteen he withdraws her, believing that her education is finished."[19] As Elizabeth Agassiz, wife of the American naturalist, observed with dismay, "the next step in [the Brazilian girl's] life is marriage."[20]

The first legislation concerning women's education came in 1827, but the law admitted girls only to elementary schools, not to institutes of advanced learning. The stress remained on the needle, not the pen. Relatively few public schools for girls were ever set up, and the low salaries offered teachers proved generally unattractive. The women teaching girls were even less trained and far lower paid than the men instructing boys. The inadequacies of both public and private school teachers prompted the creation of normal schools to train primary school teachers. Although the first school appeared in Niterói in 1835, followed by Bahia in 1836, normal schools remained few in number, small in enrollment, and precarious in position until the last years of the empire. For example, the São Paulo normal school established for boys in 1846 added a section for girls thirty years later. By the end of the nineteenth century, these few available urban professional schools were generally coeducational, and not only prepared girls for teaching careers, but also provided one of the few available opportunities for them to continue their education.[21] However, many girls still received their scanty education at home or in private schools, some religiously oriented and some run by foreign women.

In the relative proximity of urban life, some members of this growing minority of literate women might attempt to move in new directions. Out of their ranks rose both the early advocates of the emancipation of women in Brazil and the audience for these pioneers' published efforts and exhortations.

THE EARLY FEMINIST PRESS

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a few daring periodicals edited by women appeared in Brazil's cities, beginning with *O Jornal das Senhoras* (*OJS*) whose first issue appeared in Rio de Janeiro on 1 January 1852. This journal was edited by Joana Paula Manso de Noronha, an Argentine living apart from her husband, a Portuguese violinist and composer, in Rio where she taught school, collaborated on Brazilian newspapers, and published several literary works. In the introductory editorial she stated her intention to work for "social betterment and the moral emancipation of women." God had given woman a soul and

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made her "equal to man" and "his companion." Women were not inferior to men in intelligence. Moreover, the nineteenth century was the "century of knowledge," and South America should not remain apart and stationary. Like later feminist newspaper editors in Brazil, Joana Manso believed strongly in progress, and looked to the examples set by European nations and by the United States, which she had visited in 1846. Since many members of the Brazilian elite favored progress in theory and responded to foreign leadership in other matters, she argued that Brazil must not remain apart "when the entire world marches toward progress and moves toward the moral and material improvement of society."[22]

The picture that emerges from the pages of *OJS* as to how Brazilian men regarded women is not dissimilar to that painted by foreign travelers. Decades earlier John Luccock also had perceived Brazilian women as "regarded by the men as dolls, or spoiled children."[23] Like women in other countries during the nineteenth century, including the United States and Great Britain, Brazilian women might resent the so-called Victorian image of themselves as doll-like, one-dimensional figures, and complain that they were not taken seriously. A woman in Brazil was considered modest and proper only when "always looking at the ground and responding in monosyllables." Many Brazilian men thought women came into the world "only to serve as a *propagation machine*." For the feminist *OJS*, the moral emancipation of women must include "the just enjoyment of their rights, of which they have been robbed and disinherited by *brutal male egoism*, because men have physical force and because they are still not convinced that an angel will be more useful to them than a doll."[24]

Through its entreaties and arguments, *OJS* attempted to persuade Brazilian men of the mid-nineteenth century to elevate their woman to that position which later writers often stated they actually had occupied. The image of the secluded, passive female has often been accompanied by that of the glorification of the woman as the mother of Brazil's sons; and it has been argued that even though she was denied economic and political influence outside the home, she was very influential within the confines of the family circle. The fervent pleas of the outspoken, determined editor of *OJS* that men see their wives as the focal personality around whom all the members of the family should group themselves spiritually, bound by sentiment, are evidence that their "unknown mission" often went unrecognized.[25] Again, image did not match reality.

The pathway to becoming an angel rather than a doll led through the family, with an assist from Jesus of Nazareth. He "was the first who raised you from your ignominy! He was the first who revealed your

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mission to the world." While some later women might think the Virgin Mary cast too deep a shadow across their lives, *OJS* attempted to enlist her assistance and that of her son in its efforts to improve women's lot. But perhaps of more immediate importance was the continued appeal to male self-interest as a means of ameliorating the position of women. After all, men were concerned for the future of their sons, and that must include their education. The way in which women could "have any influence other than that over pots" or "a mission beyond needlework" was through "the education of their children," for these learned their first lessons and their morality from their mothers. This noble task of educating children gave women value. Moreover, one way to change men's minds was by molding those of boys. Mothers could help women by "eradicating this fatal prejudice in their sons' souls, this idea of an unwarranted superiority." To fulfill their duties, women had to be educated and treated with respect.[26]

Although impossible to gauge fully, the response to the entreaties of *OJS* seems to have included both male hostility and female timidity and indifference. Collaborators had to be promised anonymity in publication. One reader, who had learned of the journal through an announcement in a major Rio newspaper and who had to ask her father to order the paper, expressed her "gratitude" to the editor. It was as if "I were very thirsty and hot, and you offered me ice cream." She complained that women in Brazil were "almost passive," but *OJS* "came to open a field of activity for us" in which women could exercise their talents and "escape our state of vegetation." However, like other readers who offered to contribute to the journal, she wished to remain anonymous. Even the author of the section on fashions showed herself very much afraid of possible ridicule, and, admitting she lacked the editor's courage, requested that her anonymity be maintained.[27] Within four years some changes came, and a few women signed their initials to their writings. Some male contributors also appeared, who gave their full names.

The weaknesses of this small, incipient feminist movement were also demonstrated by the financial problems faced by *OJS*. Its first editor, Joana Manso, who lacked a private fortune, felt obliged to leave the editorship after six months. In order to save the newspaper, she turned it over to Violante Atabalipa Ximenes de Bivar e Vellasco, the widow of João Antonio Boaventure and the well-educated daughter of Diogo Soares da Silva de Bivar, member of the Imperial Council and founder and director of the Brazilian Dramatic Conservatory in Rio de Janeiro. Before collaborating on *OJS*, Violante Bivar e Vellasco had translated French and Italian comedies, only one of which appeared in print, and had

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reviewed some plays for the Dramatic Conservatory, which had the power to license and censure them. Moreover, she probably was the hesitant author of the fashions section in *OJS*, who learned to be more resolute and courageous.[28] As editor, D. Violante stressed the emotional superiority of women and their numerous spiritual qualities, for which they should be venerated. She also appealed to male self-interest, arguing that when men deny women education they are endangering society and their own existence. But D. Violante left the editorship after one year, turning it over to Gervasia Nunezia Pires dos Santos, a contributor who had been signing herself just Gervasia P., and whose husband was able to aid the newspaper. *OJS* could not survive on exhortations or feminine literary attempts alone.[29]

As ideas such as those advocated by *OJS* gained wider acceptance, they could be used to help improve the position of women. Subsequent editors of feminist newspapers did not call so insistently for a place on the pedestal. They assumed that womanhood, especially motherhood, was respected and enjoyed a somewhat elevated position. They employed this esteem in their efforts to help women move beyond a restricted family circle and to improve their position in the outside world. Perhaps it would be easier for an angel than for a doll to become an active, equal human being. But the pathway remained a difficult one for either to tread.

While the contributors to *OJS* had demonstrated great timidity, they had taken a small step toward overcoming their fears and had become more conscious of the problems they faced. A further awakening, and a different method for facilitating it, became evident with the publication of *O Bello Sexo* (*OBS*) in Rio de Janeiro in 1862, less than a decade after the demise of *O Jornal das Senhoras*. No longer would contributors, women who had acquired a secondary education, feel the need for complete anonymity, although they seemed reluctant to sign their full names despite the insistence of the editor, Julia de Albuquerque Sandy Aguiar, that no unsigned articles would be published. And, more importantly, they actively sought out each other. In fact, a group of women met once a week to discuss items to print in *OBS*. Their numbers increased steadily, from ten at the first session to thirty-seven by the fifth. Through their discussions, new viewpoints and ideas could emerge, and women could express themselves more freely.[30]

WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS AND THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT

Women's associations can play a large role in creating feminist ideology and sparking a demand for women's rights, as in the United States

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during the 1830s. Unlike urban men, who could pursue community and personal fulfillment in a variety of ways in addition to joining voluntary associations, middle-class women in the United States had virtually no alternatives but such societies. Boredom, loneliness, and a craving for identity and for worthy activity all helped lead to a network of women's organizations.[31]

While the female voluntary and reform associations of the second quarter of the nineteenth century that did much to free middle-class women in the United States found no exact parallel in Brazil, some upper-class Brazilian women in the 1860s also proposed benevolence as an antidote for a tedious, useless existence. Among the Brazilian elite, slaves and servants carried out domestic chores, including much of the work of child raising. While some upper-class women liked being idle, others abhorred it and voiced their discontent. As one contributor to the short-lived *OBS* stated, they wanted to become useful members of society. They opposed a world that kept them busy inventing new fashions or that provided them "with so many gatherings to tire us out gossiping instead of working for others," or that expelled them from secondary schools when they had "barely begun to read, scribble, add, subtract, and multiply," in order to attend parties and look out windows and "sleep until ten or eleven o'clock in the morning." Such women did not want to let society "always distract us from what is more useful, though more difficult." While they still wished to marry well and be happy, they also saw the need to "regenerate" their sex and to assure all its members "moral and physical liberty." They could help remedy society's imperfections, a slow, difficult task necessitating patience and goodness, not excesses. For at least a few Brazilian women, boredom helped stimulate a desire for change, as in the United States several decades earlier. For these women, charity work outside the home would constitute a step forward. Choosing a motto of "Religion, Work, Literature, and Charity," the women publishing *OBS* assigned the hoped-for profits from their newspaper to be given in the name of their sex to the Imperial Sociedade Amante da Instrucção, a charity for orphans.[32]

While increasing numbers of voluntary associations appeared in Brazilian cities during the nineteenth century, they were never as pervasive as in the United States.[33] Nor did Brazilian women's groups attract public attention. Only a few small female abolitionist societies received brief, sporadic notice in the press.

Although their assistance has since been largely forgotten, some Brazilian women contributed to the movement for the abolition of slavery, but not in policymaking positions. By the 1880s, abolition had become a praiseworthy goal, the object of a broad-based movement in

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various urban circles.[34] Like charity work, this noble cause could safely evoke certain female efforts, seen as an extension of traditional female benevolence.

Women's roles and activities in the abolition campaign reflected their subordinate situation in society. They helped raise funds to free slaves rather than participate in public debate over emancipation. Piano performances or arias by daughters and wives of male abolition leaders graced their meetings. Since elite women had long entertained at private social gatherings, few Brazilians would think it improper for the talented Luiza Regadas of Rio de Janeiro to lend her lovely voice to numerous abolitionist fund-raising meetings. Like other abolitionist women, she also sold flowers and dainty handmade objects for the cause. Some women were sent by male members of abolitionist clubs to collect funds at the entrances to cemeteries and churches.[35] While these activities necessitated a certain resolve and a determination to undergo physical discomfort, such as standing in the rain all day, they could also reinforce the noble, self-sacrificing female image.

Some women established their own abolitionist societies, often sponsored or suggested by male abolitionists. The female organizations founded in different Brazilian cities included the Sociedade da Libertação installed in Rio de Janeiro on 27 March 1870, the Sociedade Redemptora in São Paulo on 10 July 1870, Avé Libertas in Recife on 20 April 1884, and the short-lived Club José do Patrocínio in Rio. The experiences that these women gained might have increased their ability to deal with the outside world and improve their organizational skills. But few Brazilian women ever spoke out publicly on the issues involved in abolition, although the president of Avé Libertas, Lenor Porto, published newspaper articles and pamphlets.[36] Only a rare woman like Maria Amélia de Queiroz of Pernambuco gave public lectures on abolition. Later she became a leading collaborator on the outspoken feminist newspaper *A Familia* as well as continuing to travel and lecture.[37] However, she did not present as startling a sight to her contemporaries as had a group of American women advocates of dress reform who had traveled to Brazil over thirty years earlier to promote the use of bloomers.[38] But those women, active in the abolition movement in the United States, had experience in public speaking and debating issues, which Brazilian women were much slower to acquire. Perhaps only in the classroom did many Brazilian women have an opportunity to address an audience, albeit a less demanding or voluntary one.

Unlike the women's rights movement in the United States, virtually born in the abolition movement, nineteenth-century Brazilian feminists had not received their early training and stimulation from the

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struggle to free the slaves. They began their work long before abolitionism gathered strength. Moreover, women remained in subordinate and auxiliary positions in that movement. While some women aided the abolition campaign in Brazil, their contributions proved far less significant than those of their sisters in the United States. Not only did major Brazilian abolition associations remain male-dominated but their membership also included only the exceptional woman. Although male abolitionists in the United States had not welcomed women into their newly formed organizations in the 1830s, and suggested the formation of auxiliary ladies' societies, some of the major groups soon accepted women members. Women even served on the executive committees of such leading bodies as the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society. However, women in the United States probably made greater contributions to the abolitionist cause through the numerous, vigorous female antislavery societies they organized.[39] Unlike the United States, Brazil never served as a home for major nonhierarchical and egalitarian religious groups like the Quakers, who helped shape and carry on the American abolition movement, or Protestant evangelical groups, with their perfectionist aspirations and activist creed. Brazilian feminists remained isolated for many years and never benefited from full participation in anything like the ferment of social movements found in mid-nineteenth century United States. Like male members of the Brazilian elite, they placed less emphasis on social reforms.

FEMINISM AND THE GROWTH OF THE FEMINIST PRESS

While their involvement in the abolition movement helped some Brazilian women take another step beyond the home, feminist newspapers might have played at least as large a role in stimulating and disseminating new views among women. Newspapers served as a major medium for the exchange of ideas and information among Brazil's literate classes. In the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth, both ephemeral and longer-lived newspapers proliferated, and many Brazilians resorted to journalism for the propagation of a wide range of beliefs and activities.[40] Feminists too considered the press a major means of diffusing knowledge, and urged women to read newspapers so as to know their rights and obligations.[41]

In the 1870s, new journals founded by women appeared in Brazil's growing cities, where educational opportunities for women surpassed those in rural areas or small towns. The proportion of literates among the women of Rio de Janeiro stood at 29.3 percent in 1872, as compared to 11.5 percent for Brazil's entire female population.[42] In 1873,

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a forthright and outspoken school teacher, Francisca Senhorinha da Motta Diniz, published her first newspaper, *O Sexo Feminino*, (*OSF*), in Campanha da Princeza, Minas Gerais. The next year both *O Domingo*, edited and owned by Violante de Bivar e Vellasco, and *Jornal das Damas* appeared in Rio de Janeiro, followed by Maria Heraclia's *Myosotis* in Recife in 1875, and Amélia Carolina de Silva Couto's incisive *Echo das Damas* in Rio de Janeiro in 1879. Although several women were now publishing feminist journals, an increase over the previous decade, they remained relatively isolated. While each newspaper might have its own circle of like-minded women, the editors often lacked not only personal contact with one another, but also knowledge of all their predecessors and contemporaries.[43]

From the beginning, feminist newspaper publishers like Francisca Diniz stressed the importance of education for women, both to benefit them and to improve the world. She dedicated *OSF* to "the education, instruction, and emancipation of women"; in it she would "continually fight for the rights of our sex, which up to now have been trampled under foot by the opposite sex." Instead of directing herself to men, pleading with them to change their attitudes and behavior toward women in their own interests, or repeatedly appealing to the image of the Virgin Mary, as had *O Jornal das Senhoras* two decades earlier, she strove to awaken women to their conditions, needs, and potential. She saw the enemy they were fighting as hiding in the "ignorance of women," which "is determined by the body of knowledge of men." Now these "meek lambs" must "cease being subjugated," and "always manacled, oppressed, and dominated" by men. They must open their eyes "to the injustices, the control, and the neglect of their rights" of which they were "victims." With education they could recuperate lost rights, raise their children properly, understand their families' business and finances, and be their husbands' companions, not slaves. "With instruction we will attain everything, and we will also break the chains that have choked us since the remote centuries of obscurantism."[44]

One of the most fervent feminist newspaper publishers, Francisca Diniz expressed no doubts as to the abilities and potential achievements of women. They were "endowed with the same mental powers as men, with intellects and minds apt for the cultivation of the arts and sciences, so that they could be useful to the nation and fulfill their mission in society." Not only did she argue that women have "the necessary capacity to learn all sciences," but she also contended that they would surpass men in this area as they had more of "the needed patience for such disciplines as physics, pharmacy, and medicine."[45]

Just as D. Francisca inverted traditional beliefs as to the differ-

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ences between men and women in order to assert female superiority in new areas like the sciences, she also utilized the old notion of separate spheres of activities for men and women, long employed to keep upper- and middle-class women in the home, to carve out additional realms for them. The nurturing and maternal functions could easily be extended beyond the home into the classroom. She not only declared that women made superior primary school teachers, but also that this field should be exclusively theirs, thus opening the door to more jobs for women. In turn, some fields, especially those involving brute force or violence, like soldiering, would be left exclusively to men. But D. Francisca insisted that all other careers be open to women, since they were not inferior to men. Through work and the right education, girls could "acquire the ways and means of obtaining what was necessary for their subsistence and even for their fortune," and could be independent of men."[46] D. Francisca had grasped the essential idea that economic dependence promoted female subjugation and that improved education could help raise women's status.

Francisca Diniz's faith in the power of education was closely related to her belief in progress. Continually affirming her century to be that of "knowledge," as had Joana Manso, she noted "gigantic steps of progress." Those opposed to the "rational emancipation of women" would find themselves "isolated before the progress of the present time." Seeing "a new era of prosperity and justice for our humiliated sex" dawning in different countries, D. Francisca eagerly reported specific examples of female achievements in *OSF*. In the United States, her preferred country, which had "sounded the cry of the independence of women," females are "free from the ridiculous prejudices that vex them in older societies, and they are an active element of progress, zealous co-participants in social improvement and prosperity."[47] While Brazil's women faced a more difficult struggle for their freedom, D. Francisca remained confident of eventual success. Violante de Bivar e Vellasco (*O Domingo*) and Amélia da Silva Couto (*Echo das Damas*) also drew inspiration and evidence of women's capacities from female accomplishments in other countries, as well as from famous women in history. The United States, *Echo das Damas* asserted, provided "examples of the moral and material improvements" reaped by a nation which not only progressed in technology and industry, but also cultivated women's intelligence.[48]

Judging the nature of the response to feminist newspapers and their message is no easier than measuring the direct influence of other new ideas. Some readers wrote in to express their agreement with the mind-expanding notions presented in a periodical like *OSF*, as they had to *OJS*, and to urge others to publish their thoughts, for it was time that

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Brazilian women "imitate, if not exceed their contemporaries" in other countries. Francisca Diniz expressed satisfaction and pride that important personages like Emperor D. Pedro II and his daughter Princess Isabel were subscribers. Perhaps some members of the elite who wished to keep abreast of the latest intellectual developments—such as the Emperor with his cherished reputation as a scholar—felt obliged to purchase and possibly read *OSF* and other feminist newspapers. At other times, however, D. Francisca felt discouraged, for most women in Rio de Janeiro seemed never to have heard of her journal.[49]

She had moved *OSF* from Campanha, Minas Gerais, where it had proved successful, to the nation's capital in 1875, with high hopes of extending her work among the people of Rio, "always enthusiastic for ideas of progress." During its year in Campanha, the journal had attained a circulation of eight hundred, with some subscriptions from various parts of the Brazilian empire.[50] Since only 1,458 women out of a total population of 20,071 in Campanha could read and write in 1872,[51] *OSF* probably reached a sizeable percentage of the local literate female population, as well as an audience beyond the town's limits. In fact, reader response led D. Francisca to reprint four thousand copies of the first ten issues to satisfy new subscribers and to sell in Rio de Janeiro. But publishing in Rio proved more costly and difficult than in Campanha. Only by increasing the number of subscriptions could her journal survive, for D. Francisca lacked a private fortune and refused to go to the "extreme of depriving my family of bread" in order to propagate her ideas and aid women. Indifference, as she knew, can be more deadly than hostility. Not all women responded to ideas of "liberty" or "emancipation"; many preferred to spend their time on their physical appearance rather than cultivate their minds.[52]

For almost three years *OSF* survived without diluting its message or compromising its standards in a Brazil replete with ephemeral newspapers often enduring only one or two issues. Then a yellow fever epidemic forced D. Francisca to leave Rio de Janeiro and to suspend publishing in 1876. Four years passed before she could begin another journal in Rio de Janeiro. *Primaveira* appeared in 1880, but did not survive the year, to be followed by the short-lived *Voz da Verdade* in 1885. In 1889, *O Sexo Feminino* reappeared, and encountered more success than before, achieving a circulation of 2,400.[53]

By 1890, the number of women editing or writing for such newspapers was sufficiently large for mutual support and intellectual interchange. The increase in literate women in major cities provided a larger audience for this and other feminist journals, but an audience still limited to upper- and middle-class women. The proportion of literates among

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the total female population in Rio de Janeiro, for example, rose from 29.3 percent in 1872 to 43.8 percent in 1890.[54] In the 1880s and 1890s, more feminist newspapers, both new and old, appeared. *O Domingo* had ceased publication in 1875 with Violante de Bivar e Vellasco's death at the age of fifty-seven. The number of subscriptions had not been sufficient to cover expenses.[55] Amélia da Silva Couto's *Echo das Damas*, suspended in 1880, returned in 1885, defending women's equality and right to education more strongly than before. New feminist journals appeared: Idalina d'Alcanatara Costa's *O Direito das Damas*, in Rio de Janeiro in 1882; Josefina Alvares de Azevedo's *A Familia*, begun in São Paulo in 1888 and moved to Rio the following year; and *A Mensageira*, directed by Presciliana Duarte de Almeida in São Paulo in 1897. Rio, the nation's largest city and political and intellectual center, continued to provide the most fertile ground for feminist newspapers; very few appeared elsewhere. Through their journals, Brazilian feminists demonstrated concern with a number of major issues, including the legal status of women, family relationships, access to higher education and careers, and, finally, the vote for women.

In *O Sexo Feminino*, Francisca Diniz urged wives to become aware of their property and other rights; women suffered from their status of perpetual minors under the law. Unlike women in advanced countries like the United States, who enjoyed "greater privileges," Brazilian women endured "the yoke despotically exercised through the husband's authority." Although she felt obliged to speak indirectly about certain matters occurring within some families, she strongly advocated legal changes making penalties for these misdeeds equal for both sexes.[56] Yet women had made small gains. Single women could administer their own property. The commercial code of 1850 permitted women owning businesses to marry without disturbing their commercial rights and obligations. In addition, married women could engage in commerce with their husband's permission. These rights, according to D. Francisca, marked "a beginning of practical emancipation."[57]

In matters of family relationships, Josefina Alvares de Azevedo, member of a well-placed family and one of the most forceful of the new feminist voices appearing in the 1880s and 1890s, favored more changes than had her predecessors. In the 1850s Joana Manso had contended that "every family needs a head [*chefe*], and that the head of the family is the man."[58] D. Josefina thought otherwise, even envisioning, in some cases, the dominance of the woman within a family. She found man "always a despot," attempting to exercise whatever dominion over "the other individuals of the species" he could. When forced by circumstances to yield power to other men, he increased his preponderance within the

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home in proportion to his losses outside. Against this D. Josefina rebelled, opposing "every idea of the preeminence of the masculine sex." She found absurd the idea that the "principle of authority" within a family should "always reside in the man," as under the "current organization of society." If a woman were superior to a man in intelligence, education, or other ways, "if the superiority of the couple resides in the woman, why should a simple question of sex give him the attributes of authority?"[59]

Unlike most Brazilians, feminists or not, Josefina de Azevedo favored divorce laws, permitting the dissolution of marriage ties already broken by mutual consent. Otherwise, she said, the law was tyrannical. If a woman "could repudiate the husband whom her parents chose without consulting her desires," she would control "her destiny" more than the woman who "sacrifices her entire existence so as not to disobey parental authority."[60] But even Francisca Diniz considered the marriage contract indissoluble.[61] Some changes outside the home would come more quickly than others within the family or the legal structure.

As part of her "propaganda for the emancipation" of women, Josefina de Azevedo published a collection of biographies of eminent women, utilizing the traditional format of books on noteworthy men. The active, individualized roles she envisioned for Brazil's women become apparent from her choices. Not only queens and political figures from Isabel of Spain to Joan of Arc, but also less proper women like Cleopatra and George Sand served as "heroines."[62] Her selections may be contrasted with the charitable ladies, virtuous wives, and dutiful daughters who fill the pages of an earlier work by Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, a history teacher and educator, which was adopted by the imperial government for use in female public primary schools in Rio de Janeiro. Only one writer and few forceful women enter the ranks of these "excellent examples" for Brazilian girls to emulate. But Joan of Arc was "exceptional, beyond ordinary circumstances"; and vain Elizabeth of England, "one of the greatest *men* of her day," suffered from typical female weaknesses, and decapitated Mary Stuart out of jealousy of her reputation for beauty.[63]

HIGHER EDUCATION AND CAREERS FOR WOMEN

Both younger and older feminists agreed in their emphasis on instruction for women. With improved education, some Brazilian women might secure better forms of paid employment. A few might even attempt to enter the professions.

In the mid-1870s, Violante de Bivar e Vellasco protested the bar-

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ring of women from Brazilian institutions of higher education in *O Domingo*, as did Francisca Diniz in *O Sexo Feminino* and Amélia da Silva Couto in *Echo das Damas*.[64] When a group of young Brazilians studying at Cornell University took the same position in their student newspaper, D. Violante hastened to reprint their article in *O Domingo*.[65] These engineering students had observed the people of the United States "advance with giant strides toward their perfectibility, as they have an inexhaustible treasure of benefits in their women." They opposed the ignorance, pride, and egoism that led men to consider women "inferior in intelligence and discernment."[66] Such male support for the "intellectual emancipation of women" might well please and encourage D. Violante and other feminists, especially those stressing the need to persuade men, as well as to awaken women, and might give them more hope for the future when such young men would play leading roles in Brazil.

Like later feminists, Francisca Diniz argued that if women in other countries could attend institutions of higher education, they should be permitted to do the same in Brazil. She rhetorically questioned "why our Brazilian empire which prides itself in being the submissive imitator of Europe and the United States in every advancement does not pass legislation permitting women to graduate in the fields of knowledge most indispensable in life?" "Can it be," she sarcastically inquired, "that the government fears some revolution resulting from feminine knowledge?" D. Francisca stressed the economic and moral benefits accruing to a country whose women became active participants in national life, an argument that might interest those Brazilians hoping to modernize and develop their homeland.[67] Nevertheless, until the 1880s, any Brazilian girl wishing medical training had to go abroad to pursue her studies. And several did.

In 1874, a fourteen-year-old Brazilian girl, Maria Augusta Generosa Estrella, left Rio de Janeiro to study medicine in the United States. Three years later, following some preparatory work, she secured special permission—she was under age—to enter the New York Medical College and Hospital for Women. Before she obtained her degree in 1881 and became the first Brazilian woman doctor, she was joined by a second young Brazilian girl, Josefa Agueda Felisbella Mercedes de Oliveira. They saw themselves as "two Brazilians who abandoned our homeland and left the bosom of our dear families to make the great sacrifice of coming to study medicine in order to be useful to our country and to serve suffering humanity." Two "great ideas" burned in their hearts—"love of country and defense of our sex, so attacked as incapable of receiving higher education."[68]

These two medical students, "fervent partisans of human prog-

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ress," published a newspaper, *A Mulher*, designed to convince Brazilian women of their latent abilities, and to show that "women like men can dedicate themselves to the study of the sciences." They cited evidence from history and science and the "evolution of modern civilization" to prove that "women are intelligent and capable of great undertakings." But for them, as for other Brazilian feminists, the United States, the "country favored by God to be the cradle of female emancipation," provided the best examples. Through *A Mulher* they attempted to inform their compatriots of American women's achievements and activities in fields ranging from law to medicine to philanthropy to the temperance movement.[69]

Like the older Brazilian feminists, these two women were "convinced that without working one does not achieve a more or less independent life." Any "woman who believes that because she is a woman she has no need to study, learn, and work commits an irreparable error." Through "work, the perennial source of human well-being," women could support themselves and "live free and independently." They hoped other Brazilian women would follow their example, "demanding higher education," and they expected to be followed by a "phalanx" of women doctors in Brazil.[70]

Even after the Brazilian government opened the nation's institutions of higher learning to women in 1879, thereby enabling them to enter the professions, only a small number of women could follow this path to prestigious employment. In addition to overcoming social pressures and disapproval, girls had to secure the necessary and often costly secondary education enabling them to proceed. Never easy for nonmembers of the elite to obtain, secondary education remained elusive even for women with influential parents. Some elementary and normal schools enrolled both boys and girls, but such "mixed schools" generally gained acceptance only in cases of economic necessity, particularly in smaller towns where separate facilities for both sexes proved too expensive. In these, as in all-girl schools, women might be employed as school teachers; they were willing to teach for markedly lower salaries than men received, as virtually no other jobs existed for women with some education and status. But coeducation remained suspect, or, at least, distasteful to the elite. Even the progress-minded Brazilian students at Cornell University in the mid-1870s who favored the "emancipation of women" equivocated on this subject, although they described the success of coeducation in the United States.[71]

It would prove very difficult for girls to pry open the doors of the best schools, such as the Colégio Dom Pedro II in Rio de Janeiro, the nation's model public secondary school, although girls did briefly gain

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admittance in the mid-1880s. However, a subsequent ministry refused to appropriate funds for the woman engaged to accompany the girls to class and chaperon them in an otherwise all-male institution. As an opposition newspaper lamented, this was the equivalent of expelling these girls, who had done well in their examinations. However, this journal did not disagree with the government contention that female students, "as all authorities on education have recognized, could not remain except under appropriate vigilance." While the government suggested the girls go to "suitably organized schools in which they could continue their education," none equivalent to the Colégio Dom Pedro II existed.[72] Private secondary schools for girls were frequently inadequate and costly, and their choice of free or public education in Rio de Janeiro was limited to the normal school and the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios, which in 1881 added specialized oversubscribed courses for girls in music, drawing, and Portuguese, not in philosophy, algebra, or rhetoric, as at the Colégio D. Pedro II.[73] Not until the twentieth century would coeducation come to the Colégio D. Pedro II, several decades after women had breached the walls of institutions of higher education in Brazil.

Despite the obstacles, a few Brazilian women followed Dra. Maria Estrella's lead. In 1887, Rita Lobato Velho Lopes became the first woman to receive a medical degree in Brazil. The *Echo das Damas* jubilantly proclaimed her an "example for young Brazilian girls, who only through education can hope to aspire to independence and personal dignity."[74] In 1888, Ermelinda Lopes de Vasconcelos earned her degree, and others followed shortly afterwards.[75] Just as *Echo das Damas* praised Maria Estrella's and Rita Lobato's accomplishments as living proof of Brazilian women's capabilities, so did *A Familia* claim Antonieta Dias' graduation from the Rio de Janeiro medical school in 1889 as "one more victory for the sex she represents over the brutal prejudices of a limited education, still unfortunately in effect." Her accomplishment reinforced "the most vehement protests against opinions contrary to our emancipation."[76] But such opinions persisted, as did overt male hostility to women's practicing medicine.

Many male members of the elite expected lower-class women to enter the work force, but not their own relatives. Whether Brazilian-born or newly arrived immigrants, "every man and woman, of whatever color or nationality," should have "an honest means of livelihood by which they can obtain their daily bread." For lower-class women, this "honest work" would be performed in "family homes," that is, within the homes of wealthier Brazilians.[77] Upper-class women should remain in their own houses, supervising the work of poorer women, and not attempt to enter the professions pursued by men of their own class.

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The field of health services serves to illustrate some of these male attitudes, as well as to illuminate problems different groups of women faced. For years, the so-called profession of nursing had been open to women, its ranks laden with low-paid women with limited training. Only a nurse like Ana Justina Ferreira Neri, a volunteer during the Paraguayan War, clothed with the aura of patriotism, received recognition. Most women who earned their living by their nursing skills did not. Their lives of renunciation were not chosen voluntarily. While the position of midwives may have been somewhat better, only an exceptional woman like the French-born Maria Josefina Matilde Durocher, with her distinctive dress and sixty years of service in Rio de Janeiro, could command any respect from the medical profession.[78] But if upper-class women wanted to become doctors, they met with opposition from men of their class. While one might conceive of medicine as an extension of the traditional nurturing role, many male Brazilians did not. Opposition to women entering this profession was far greater than had been true with less prestigious and skilled fields like nursing and education.

Brazil's pioneer women doctors encountered hostility and were subject to ridicule. A challenge to exclusive male control of a prominent profession like medicine might well elicit more vocal criticism than would novel female activities that posed no direct threat to male dominance, as was generally the case. Male self-interest helped determine male attitudes and behavior. Some of the most visible manifestations of this male opposition occurred on the stage. In his 1889 comedy *As Doutoras*, Joaquim José da França Júnior, a lawyer and government official and leading playwright of the late empire, voiced some of the most measured opposition to women in medicine. This play's plot concerns two medical classmates who marry on graduation day and set up a joint practice. But the wife's insistence on equality within the marriage and her successful competition with her husband for patients endangers their union. Both she and her father, a believer in progress and a pursuer of crackpot money-making schemes, argue for women's individuality and emancipation. Like some other feminists, she specifically objects to women being transformed through love into mere "procreation machines" (act 2, scene 2). Her mother far prefers the old days when women did not think of being doctors and "limited themselves to their noble and true role as the mothers of families" (act 1, scene 2). Finally, this woman doctor succumbs, not to argument but to jealousy of another woman and to love for her husband who has insisted on being the "head of the family"—"or else." She renounces her career and has a baby. As her mother says, the laws of nature must win out. The play ends with the former doctor proclaiming that the child is sufficient to fill her life.[79]

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The successful run—fifty performances—of *As Doutoras* seems to have generated an imitation even less sympathetic to women's practicing medicine, penned by a lesser known author, L. T. da Silva Nunes. Later that year he felt obliged to defend his comedy, *A Doutora*, against feminist criticism. He explained that he merely sought to demonstrate that "a girl ought not to get a university degree because the very profession of medicine at times can place her in situations inappropriate for an honest woman," as when making house calls. Medicine remained "an improper profession" for the female sex.[80]

As a leading magazine of political satire, commenting on the increasing debate generated by the question of the "emancipation of women," observed that same year: while some men might concede "social equality" to women, "others combated this point of view by every means and with every possible weapon, including ridicule."[81] But the question of female emancipation did not disappear, and more women attempted to enter prestigious fields of activity, finally raising the issue of political equality as well.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE CONSTITUENT CONGRESS OF 1891

The further women moved from their traditional domestic, nonassertive roles, stepping out of the home in ways not easily viewed as extensions of their maternal functions, the more male opposition they encountered. If some men objected to female school teachers and doctors, they would find the thought of female lawyers and politicians much more upsetting. Women performing charity-like tasks outside the home were more easily accepted than women breaching the male preserve of public affairs.

In Brazil, law had long served men as a path to political success. The first women law graduates in the late 1880s encountered difficulties in practicing law, to the chagrin of feminist newspapers like *O Sexo Feminino* and *A Familia*. However, by the end of the century, a woman gained admittance to the bar, to the applause and rejoicing of a less fervently feminist newspaper like *A Mensageira*. The São Paulo based journal followed the events in Rio de Janeiro with great interest. Following consideration of the question by various legal bodies and decisive action by one judge, Myrthes de Campos was permitted to defend a client in court in 1899. For *A Mensageira*, "Brazilian women had obtained a great triumph in the struggle for their undeniable and just demands."[82]

In the late 1880s, some feminists carried their desire for equal rights to the point of demanding the vote, horrifying many other Brazilians, male and female. Suffrage did not lie within women's world of sentiments and the home, but marked a definite breach of the active

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male sphere. Many feared that if the purest and noblest of the sexes stepped down from the pedestal and out of the isolation of the home, she might be soiled or corrupted and society disrupted.

Not only the troubling thought of women voters but also the specter of female politicians roused the male imagination. França Júnior's play *As Doutoras* also featured a well-dressed woman lawyer who attracted newspaper attention and secured triumphs in court, proclaiming that everywhere women could "gradually conquer masculine redoubts" (act 1, scene 6). She even ran for federal deputy so as to reform the nation's legislation and further the cause of feminine emancipation. But she, too, succumbed to marriage and motherhood, gladly giving up her career.

The early feminists had not advocated the vote for women. In the mid-1870s, Violante de Bivar e Vellasco opposed women's admittance to either government or the army.[83] Like *O Domingo*, *Echo das Damas* denied wishing to provoke "pernicious aspirations to triumphs in politics" in women through education.[84] Even *OSF* did not demand the vote in the mid-1870s; however, unlike the other two journals, it demonstrated sympathy for this proposal and expressed hope for its eventual achievement in Brazil.

At first, *OSF* saw little benefit to women's suffrage and less possibility of achieving it. Few men voted in Brazil, and an expanded suffrage was not a major issue. Changes in forms of government scarcely affected women. To opponents of the Brazilian monarchy, Francisca Diniz retorted that in no "great republic or so-called republic did women cease being slaves and enjoy *political rights*." But even before she moved from Campanha to the nation's capital, she responded favorably to the idea of women voting in municipal elections, for which foreign precedents could be cited.[85] In Brazil, as elsewhere, municipal concerns might be viewed as an extension of the domestic sphere. D. Francisca had seen the connection between complete equal rights and the vote. Although she did not stress suffrage as an immediate goal, she viewed it as a logical extension of women's rights.

The ferment of the republican agitation of the late 1880s not only strengthened feminist desires for political rights, but also furnished women with additional prosuffrage arguments and with opportunities to seek the vote. The declaration of the republic of 15 November 1889 provided the possibility of a slightly more open, fluid political structure at first. With the extension of the vote in theory to all literate men, the suffrage question might well become a vital issue to well-educated feminists experiencing a sense of political frustration and deprivation. Various groups, such as the skilled urban workers whose self-confidence

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and assertiveness had been stimulated by the abolition campaign, attempted to mobilize and unify themselves, and entered the political arena. Would the establishment of a republic open a new world of possibilities for women also?

Immediately after the declaration of the republic, Francisca Diniz changed the title of *O Sexo Feminino* to *O Quinze de Novembro do Sexo Feminino* (The Fifteenth of November of the Female Sex), symbolizing her determination to gain full political rights and freedom for women, as well as her hope for success. Now her newspaper devoted its columns to the women's suffrage issue above all others. No longer would a limited vote, as advocated by many in England or as once envisioned by D. Francisca herself, be sufficient. Women had the right to a voice on the national scene, including election to congress, although nowhere in the world had they yet achieved this.[86] D. Francisca surpassed many of her old feminist colleagues in her advocacy of effective suffrage. While *Echo das Damas* proved more sympathetic toward the vote in the 1880s than previously, its editor still believed it to be "very soon in our country for women to vote in political elections." All she wanted them to do was to study public affairs.[87]

The "emancipation of women" was acquiring an ever broader significance. By the late nineteenth century, some women no longer wanted merely respect and favorable treatment within the family or the right to education, even university education, but the full development of all women's abilities, both within and outside the home. Like Josefina Alvares de Azevedo, they envisioned women working on an equal footing with men in all spheres, occupying "all positions, performing all functions; in everything we should compete with men—in governing the family as in directing the nation."[88] They tied the case for suffrage to women's equality and general human rights.

Francisca Diniz no longer placed the same stress on educating and freeing women so that they could serve their families or even society. Now self-fulfillment was important. Women could not continue being "mutilated in our personalities." When men treated them as queens, it was only to give them "the scepter of the kitchen, or the procreation machine."[89] Now they must have full freedom and equality of rights. And the right to vote formed an intrinsic part of their rights. Without suffrage women could not be truly equal.

Josefina de Azevedo bitterly opposed "the ancient, stupid prejudices" that ruled Brazilian society and kept women "always in such an atrophied state that we were not even permitted to have aspirations." She urged Brazilian women to escape "the restricted sphere in which they were maintained," and to act "as complete human beings, intel-

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lectually, morally, and materially." Beyond "the domestic hearth," they would find "a vast field of opportunities which has been forbidden them up to now," including those in the political arena. Both in print and in public discourse, in Rio de Janeiro and on an 1889 speaking tour of northern Brazil, she blamed the "natural egoism of the so-called stronger sex" for preventing women from "entering directly into our titanic political battles." Women "also have rights to defend," and with the vote they could improve their position within and beyond the home. Aware that she could not cite foreign precedents for full women's suffrage, she appealed to Brazilian patriotism, contending that "some nation will have to be the first to initiate this great improvement; why not Brazil?"[90]

Not only Josefina de Azevedo and Francisca Diniz sought the vote. Hoping to take advantage of the vagueness of various electoral regulations, some Brazilian women strove to enter their names on voter's lists. Under the empire, Isabel de Matos Dilon, a law graduate, attempted to vote. Later she collaborated on Josefina de Azevedo's *A Familia*. When the republic was declared, five women in the far western state of Goiás requested inclusion on the electoral lists, but were refused. In Minas Gerais two other women attempted to register and vote.[91] Josefina de Azevedo saw their actions as a sign that women now intended to "affect social destinies, to escape from the complete nothingness in which we hitherto have lived." Despite setbacks, she affirmed that "with resolution and constancy we will obtain everything that society owes us and the law does not approve."[92]

Both she and Francisca Diniz directed many of their arguments to the nation's male leaders. Since the new Brazilian republic was attempting to reconstruct government and society on a basis of "full liberty and fraternal equality," men should not work against the emancipation of women. D. Francisca charged "men who proclaim equality" to "put it into practice."[93] As D. Josefina reminded men, since women have to obey the law, they should have a voice in making it. No longer should men "with impunity deny women one of the most sacred individual rights." D. Josefina considered the vote crucial for women; on it depended their "elevation in society." She too turned playwright to present her views, publishing and staging at the Recreio Dramático theater in Rio de Janeiro a comedy entitled *O Voto Feminino* to help persuade the nation's leaders to act.[94]

Male resistance to women's suffrage proved difficult to counter. Much of the opposition centered on men's conception of the family and female duties. As one of Josefina de Azevedo's collaborators on *A Familia*, Maria Clara Vilhena da Cunha, recognized, many men believed a woman should not deal with public affairs or even show interest in them

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because "she has the domestic hearth, where she is queen, able to exercise her domain there." But, as D. Maria Clara retorted, not only was this "such a limited domain," but men also ruled there, making all the basic decisions.[95] D. Josefina, in response to male arguments that women should dedicate themselves to motherhood alone, contended that "a woman who is a mother does not forfeit anything in being a citizen"; she can both educate her children and fulfill civil duties, just as a man assumes family duties and those of a citizen.[96]

In the Constituent Congress, which met in 1891 to frame a republican constitution for Brazil, men debated women's suffrage as well as other political issues that most thought far more important. Congressional halls did not reverberate endlessly with the Spencerian arguments of a Tito Livio de Castro on women's child-size brains, mental inferiority, and evolutionary retardation.[97] Few congressmen admitted believing, as did Lacerda Coutinho, that women were physically and mentally incapable of withstanding the excitement of struggles in the outside world.[98] Rather, they conceded women's intellectual capacities, but opposed suffrage in the name of the conservation of the family, fearing the consequences of any female departure from the home. For Moniz Freire, women's suffrage was "immoral and anarchic." He held that "the day Congress passes such a law we will have decreed the dissolution of the Brazilian family."[99]

In Brazil as elsewhere, a sentimental vision of home and mother lay close to the heart of antisuffrage orators. They viewed each woman's vocation as determined not by her individual capacities, requirements, or wishes, but by her sex. And the entire sex was one, whose duties, privileges, and needs never changed, because they flowed from an interior and particular feminine nature. While men might expect to have a variety of ambitions and skills, women were destined from birth to be full-time wives and mothers. However, many men seemed to need the concept of a peaceful, stable abode providing a respite from their varied activities more than they did the actual dwelling, for they spent far less time in the home than did women. Marriage and the home were glorified for women, not for men.[100]

The opposition to women's suffrage in Brazil based on the supposed nobility, purity, and domesticity of women was carried to its extremes by the positivists, both within and without Congress. They had elevated the old belief in separate spheres of male and female activities to the level of religious dogma. Unlike man, the woman lived primarily through sentiments. Her unique nature determined her activities, which should be limited to home and family. Within the family structure, she could form future generations. Woman should be a comforting

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angel, man's loving companion, and the goddess of the home, but never his adversary or rival in life's daily struggle. For the positivists, the woman formed the moral part of society, the basis of the family, which in turn was the cornerstone of the nation. Womankind as a whole was to be worshipped and set apart from an evil world.[101] In Congress, Lauro Sodré, proclaiming his adherence to positivist doctrine, denounced women's suffrage as an "anarchic, disastrous, fatal" idea. While Sodré advocated giving women "complete, solid encyclopedic, and integral education" for the sake of increased morality,[102] another positivist and member of the provisional republican government, Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães, closed Brazil's institutions of higher education to women. In her angry and scornful denunciation of this temporary restriction on women, Josefina de Azevedo attacked the "wild and tormented positivist philosophy" for viewing women as "brainless beings, underdeveloped animals."[103]

Foreign examples, which served many purposes among the elite, as feminist newspaper publishers had long recognized, could also be employed to limit women to a subservient position in Brazil. Congressmen like Lacerda Coutinho cited the lack of foreign precedents for suffrage. Without regard to complete accuracy, he proclaimed that "in no part of the world does one find women enjoying voting rights." But César Zama, who chastised his colleagues for not always taking the subject seriously, knew "it will be sufficient that any important European country confer political rights on [women] and we will imitate this," without weakening the family.[104]

Despite support from some radical Republicans in Congress, such as Lopes Trovão, who favored divorce as well as women's suffrage, the advocates of the vote for women remained a decided minority. Even a proposal in favor of limited suffrage, for highly qualified women with university or teaching degrees or property who were not under a husband's or parent's authority, failed. Congress also refused to enfranchise illiterate men, a proposal favored by the positivists, but opposed by most of the political elite. The constitutional article on voter eligibility stood as originally drafted. Electors were "citizens over twenty-one years of age," properly registered, except for paupers, illiterates, soldiers, and members of religious orders.[105] For decades to come this article would be interpreted as excluding women, since they were not specifically included.

The rising expectations of the small band of Brazilian feminists had met with frustration at the Constituent Congress. But the issue of women's suffrage could no longer be ignored. Now more men and women viewed it as part of women's rights.

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CHANGING ATTITUDES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the early twentieth century, writings both by and about women appeared in print more frequently. And the strongest demands for female emancipation as well as for the subordination of women tended to be obscured by more moderate expressions. Nonfeminist periodicals directed toward women as well as feminist journals had long provided an outlet for some of the creations of well-educated women in Brazil. By the end of the century, the ranks of both feminists and literary ladies had grown, and some women could be found among both groups. A number of women from prominent families, like Júlia Lopes de Almeida, Inéz Sabino Pinho Maia, and Maria Clara Vilhena da Cuna contributed to various feminist and nonfeminist periodicals. Some overcame prejudices against writing for the general press as well, no doubt aided by French examples.[106] Júlia Lopes de Almeida, one of the best known feminine authors and novelists in Brazil, tended to stress the need for women to be good housewives in addition to being well educated. Writing at home, "in a warm corner of her garden," surrounded by her loving children, she placed the family at the center of her arguments. Once more, the need for well-educated mothers who could awaken the intellectual curiosity of their children justified feminine endeavors.[107] Unlike earlier and more fervent feminists such as Francisca Diniz, these women were not obliged to support themselves and their families, which no doubt influenced their views on women's rightful place and pursuits.

Literary activities that could be pursued at home provided an acceptable outlet for female energies, and one increasingly used by some upper-class women. The less controversial women writers who praised home and family could be viewed as proof of female intellectual abilities by men sympathetic to moderate female emancipation. Furthermore, neither their persons nor their views made men of their own class uncomfortable. Unlike lower-class women, they could still be seen as delicate and gentle creatures. Their benign literary manifestations caused no one great concern.

The cultural and technological innovations coming to Brazil's urban centers affected women as well as men. In the cities, those areas inhabited by the elite were "beautified" and "modernized," with transformations in lighting, transportation, and sanitation. By the beginning of the twentieth century, foreigners who had first visited large cities like Rio de Janeiro decades earlier commented on the increasing numbers of "proper" women shopping alone or promenading on major thoroughfares like the Rua do Ouvidor and then the broad, impressive Avenida Central, opened in 1905. Like their male kin, women of the "finest

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families" met and passed their time at tea houses and theaters. Soon they were traveling in automobiles and attending movie houses, exposed to foreign images of new attitudes and activities for women.[108]

As in Western Europe and the United States, the "woman question" became a fit subject for discussion by the nation's opinion makers. In glossy fashionable reviews and magazines like *Kosmos*, Brazilian men pondered solutions to this problem. For positivists it ranked in importance with the "proletarian question." They continued to argue women's moral superiority, intellectual equality, but physical inferiority, and advocated a purely domestic existence for women. Women should function as the "soul of the family," which was the keystone of civilization, and as the educators of men, but not as their equals.[109] Another magazine contributor stressed the improvement Christianity had brought "the amiable sex," maltreated for millenia. In a patronizing fashion, he questioned whether women had ever meditated upon the role they had played during the course of human evolution and progress. And he reassured his readers that women would serve as "faithful and dedicated priestesses" of modern liberty when they turned their attention to politics, the only area to which they had not yet contributed.[110] The Church did not occupy as central a position in Brazilian society as in many other Latin American countries, and mounted no effective opposition to increasing rights for women.

Although resistance to changes in women's status continued, even the franchise received more sympathetic discussion. It could now be freely contested, both informally and formally, as at a debate held at the YMCA in São Paulo in 1912. In theoretical discourse, and perhaps in reality also, the "cult of womanhood" could be combined with suffrage. The "angel who prays for our peace and happiness" might yet cast her ballot. Some Brazilian men, as well as women, argued that this superior individual should have the same rights as man, and should be permitted to vote and run for office.[111]

Would the incipient women's rights movement now be patronized by certain members of the elite as another worthy cause or charity? Would this now be a fashionable one to champion? It may seem so. As Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho, a popular Portuguese writer and longtime contributor to feminist newspapers in Brazil, had shrewdly noted in the Brazilian press at the turn of the century, feminism was no longer *déclassé*. Women's rights movements had become stronger and more respectable in many nations, with ladies of high social standing participating in international women's congresses. Elites, such as the Brazilian, liked "novelties," as long as these did "not dislodge them from the comfortable position in which they were solidly established."[112]

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Events abroad could reassure upper-class Brazilians that an increase in women's rights, especially suffrage, would not upset or alter societal or familial structures. As the press noted, women in New Zealand had not abused their suffrage victory, and no great changes occurred in the composition of the legislature.[113] What women voters might be expected to do was clean up government—in keeping with their image of nobility and purity.

As the twentieth century progressed, more upper- and middle-class women requested rights similar to those exercised by their husbands and brothers, concentrating on access to professional positions and on the vote. Their brand of feminism was socially acceptable. Unlike a few earlier feminists, they advocated no major changes in family relations. Neither ballot nor university degree would hinder a woman from attending to her household duties.

Some school teachers and other middle-class women also felt a need for the vote. Closely linked to the government bureaucracy, either as primary school teachers or as the wives of public functionaries, they feared that the economic difficulties and inflation of the World War I period might lead to cuts in public expenditures and in government positions. This was the audience addressed by Leolinda de Figuereido Daltro, a school teacher and president of the Partido Republicano Feminino, founded in 1910. She called for the "emancipation of Brazilian women" in general terms, as well as specifically advocating that public service positions be open to all Brazilians regardless of sex. Economic need and women's rights had combined with middle-class patriotism and national politics to give rise to a party tied to the family of President Hermes da Fonseca. His first wife, Orsina da Fonseca, served as the party's honorary president.[114]

In the early twentieth century, the increasing patriotism of the urban middle class and the campaign for a well-trained modern army, supported by Marshal Hermes da Fonseca, led to a new draft law in 1908 and to the creation of shooting clubs, or *linhas de tiro*, whose members would form the army's reserve. The war in Europe only added to Brazilian patriotic fervor, and prominent Brazilian statesmen and writers aided the prodefense campaign. While women's contributions to the national effort were generally expected to be limited to nursing and Red Cross work, a token female shooting club could also receive official patronage. Leolinda de Figuereido Daltro helped create the Linha de Tiro Feminino Orsina da Fonseca.[115]

Unlike the "social question," which commanded more attention and engendered more alarm among Brazilians fearful of anarchism and socialism, the "woman question" apparently posed little danger for the

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existing structure of the nation. The Hermes government had sponsored a moderate workers' congress in 1912, and sought to capture sections of the emerging labor movement. Why not organize women also? Potential political profit might be reaped. Such actions might also suggest that the inclusion of women was now needed to demonstrate national unity on some issues.

ORGANIZING FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

By the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, a moderate women's rights movement had become acceptable in Brazil. The achievement of the vote by women in several major European countries following the conclusion of World War I aided the cause in Brazil, and the advocacy of female suffrage became almost fashionable in some elite circles. Not only the examples given by certain "advanced" nations, but also the personal links established between Brazilian feminists and international suffrage leaders spurred the formation of formal women's rights organizations in Brazil. The nation's rulers would feel more comfortable with the energetic but polite women leading those associations than with women like some of the outspoken nineteenth-century feminists, whom they had felt little obligation to listen to, let alone heed.[116] In the process of broadening its appeal and widening its base of support among the upper classes, the women's rights movement in Brazil grew more conservative.

In the United States, too, by the early twentieth century the women's rights movement tended to stress legal and constitutional reform rather than more radical changes. As has been argued, the drive for the vote may have distorted feminist thinking in the United States, as more women and men came to see suffrage as a panacea for various problems, and many women invested all their energies in the crusade. But the U.S. suffrage struggle was in the mainstream of other American reform movements and national events, and reformers tended to stress the importance of the ballot. Enfranchisement in Brazil seemed less likely to be equated with the end of oppression, for any group.

In Brazil, as in the United States, professional women supplied much of the leadership for the twentieth-century suffrage movement, which would attain its stated goal in 1932. Rather than lead the campaign, primary school teachers and other middle-class women entered the ranks. Male members of the growing urban middle class had long sought economic refuge in public employment, and understood that benefits could be derived from political activity. Like the men, some of these working women might also see advantages to the vote.

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The Brazilian women occupying high level government service positions possessed the necessary organizational skills and determination—as well as the personal contacts—to lead a successful women's suffrage campaign. By 1920, a few women not only managed to enter the professions but also finally to secure important public appointments. In 1917, following a favorable legal ruling, Maria José de Castro Rebelo was permitted to enter the competition for a position in the Foreign Ministry and she secured first place. In 1919, Bertha Lutz, a biologist who had recently returned to Brazil with a degree from the Sorbonne, successfully competed for a high position in the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro. She became the leader of the Brazilian women's suffrage movement. Other women were nominated to such positions as inspector of municipal schools in Rio de Janeiro. Myrthes de Campos, the first woman lawyer admitted to the Brazilian bar and the second woman to hold that inspectorship, would continue to press for women's right to vote, in print and through the association of Brazilian lawyers. Ever more women obtained higher education. Besides law and medicine, they moved into civil engineering, pharmacy, and dentistry. In the 1920s and 1930s Lutz's lieutenants included lawyers, doctors, and engineers, both in and outside government service.[117]

These professional women, tied to the elite, advocated less drastic change in women's roles and attitudes than had school teachers like Francisca Diniz or Josefina de Azevedo in the late nineteenth century.[118] To survive economically, Francisca Diniz and her daughters had to supplement school teaching and newspaper publishing with the proceeds from everything from giving piano lessons to doing translations.[119] Unlike sheltered literary ladies, they needed the income to be derived from writing for various newspapers.

In contrast, twentieth-century women's newspaper publishers like Cassilda Martins, widow of politician and diplomat Eneas Martins and president of the Protective Association to Shelter the Wretched of Petrópolis, did not need to fear economic hardship, any more than did her collaborator the noted novelist Júlia Lopes de Almeida. Their newspaper, *Nosso Jornal*, resembled a stylish society magazine like *Kosmos* far more than it did the nineteenth-century *O Sexo Feminino*. In the glossy pages of *Nosso Jornal*, the wife of Brazil's president expressed her views as to how Brazilian women could reconcile their social duties with those as daughters, wives, and mothers. Articles appeared on everything from Lady Nancy Astor's activities in the British Parliament to how Mary Pickford fixed her hair. While *Nosso Jornal* lauded many of the opportunities opening to Brazil's women and favored women's suffrage, it sought to harmonize the old with the new. It opposed the "radical

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feminism" found in other countries that would subvert the "classical molds of woman's existence." Like much of the regular press, these women expressed pride in a Brazilian feminist movement achieving its goals without the violence and antimale hostility seen in the United States and Great Britain, and they felt superior to "aggressive, intolerant" bomb-throwing English suffragettes.[120]

In 1918, Bertha Lutz returned from seven years of study in Europe, where she had followed closely the English suffrage campaign. Shortly afterwards, in response to a Rio newspaper columnist's contention that recent feminist achievements in the United States and Great Britain would exercise little influence in Brazil, she issued a formal call for the "establishment of a league of Brazilian women"—not "an association of *suffragettes* who would break windows along the street," but rather of Brazilians who understood that "woman ought not to live parasitically based on her sex," but, instead, "be useful," and capable of assuming future "political responsibilities." Thus women would "become valuable instruments in the progress of Brazil." Like earlier Brazilian feminists, she objected to the indulgent treatment of women as toys or "spoiled children," and expressed her faith in the power of education to remedy this, for Brazil still lagged "far behind compared to the peoples who dominate the world today."[121]

Although the projected organization could not be formed immediately, several women's associations appeared in the next few years. The Legião da Mulher Brasileira, a social service organization created in Rio de Janeiro in 1919, with the motto "Aid and Elevate Women," viewed women's interests and rights as best served through mutual self-help and improved organization. This society, headed by Alice Rego Monteiro, with Júlia Lopes as honorary president, and ties to *Nosso Jornal*, reflected a not uncommon paternalistic attitude toward lower-class women. While Bertha Lutz served as director of the Legion's administrative commission, her own priorities would be better advanced by the Liga para a Emancipação Intellectual da Mulher, which she established in Rio in 1920 together with Maria Lacerda de Moura, a school teacher and author. This small league concentrated on achieving political equality for women. Few Brazilian feminists took radical positions like Maria Lacerda de Moura, who opposed the Church, capitalism, and militarism. Bertha Lutz's major concern lay not with the mass of the nation's working women, but with those like herself, although others too would benefit if equal pay for equal work were ever attained. The vote would not only be a tool for achieving feminine progress, but also a symbol of the rights of citizenship.[122]

The Brazilian suffrage movement established close ties with for-

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eign suffragists and organizations that could serve as additional sources of support and legitimacy. In the nineteenth century, foreign influences upon Brazilian feminists had taken the form of useful ideas and examples. Now the international movement would provide organizational techniques and personal contacts as well. In August 1920, *Nosso Jornal* reported overtures by the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance to its director, Cassilda Martins. However, the firmest connections between the Brazilian and international struggles would be established by Bertha Lutz several years later.

The women's suffrage movement in the United States had long demonstrated its concern with the status of women elsewhere. In 1883, Susan B. Anthony proposed an international suffrage conference, and visited England to invite the British suffragists' cooperation, but the conference could not be held. Five years later, she sponsored the formation of the International Council of Women, a collection of women's groups, not a suffrage association like the National American Women's Suffrage Association. After Carrie Chapman Catt assumed the presidency of the NAWSA, she sponsored an international conference in Washington in 1902. That conference voted to form a permanent organization, the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, launched at a congress in Berlin in 1904. Following her resignation from the presidency of the NAWSA in 1904, in part due to her role in the growing international suffrage struggle, Carrie Chapman Catt devoted herself to that cause for ten years. Even after she resumed leadership of the U.S. movement in 1916, she continued to serve as president of the Alliance.[123]

During its first ten years, the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance grew from the original eight affiliates, seven European plus the United States, to twenty-five. One Chilean woman had traveled to the 1902 Washington conference attending as a visitor, as had over a dozen Latin American women residing in the U.S. But the first Latin American branches, Argentina and Uruguay, did not enter the Alliance until the post-World War I congress at Geneva, by which time women had achieved the franchise in twenty-two countries. The link between the Brazilian and international movements was forged at the first Pan American Conference of Women, held in Baltimore in April 1922, in connection with the National League of Women Voters' convention. Here Bertha Lutz made her debut on the international suffrage scene, as Brazil's official delegate, chosen, like other representatives, by her country's government.[124] Her visit to the United States, where she remained three months, altered her vision of a woman's movement previously based on her European experiences; the U.S. model seemed more appropriate to Brazil than some of the violent European activities.[125]

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The Pan American Conference of Women in Baltimore led to the formation of a Pan American Association for the Advancement of Women by the Latin American delegates and to the establishment of additional national societies to comprise that association. Late in 1922, Carrie Chapman Catt, a veteran of years of world tours and international congresses, embarked on a visit to South America to foster the movement for equal suffrage. Her first stop was Brazil. There she found encouraging activity. Several months earlier, immediately following the return of Bertha Lutz from the United States, the Liga para a Emancipacão Intellectual da Mulher had been transformed from a small local group into the Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino (FBPF), affiliated with the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance. Branches would soon be established in several states. The Federation's constitution had been drawn up during a weekend visit by Bertha Lutz to Carrie Chapman Catt's home following the Baltimore conference. Now the Federation scheduled a well-publicized women's congress in Rio de Janeiro to coincide with the distinguished American suffragist's December 1922 visit. An Alliança Brasileira pelo Suffragio Feminino was inaugurated, with Bertha Lutz as general secretary, and the wife of Senator Justo Chermont, who had introduced a women's suffrage bill into the Senate in 1919, as president. Carrie Chapman Catt addressed the conference in Rio, and then traveled to São Paulo in January with Bertha Lutz and several other women for another meeting. Paulista "society" turned out to hear her. In São Paulo, such women as Diva Nolf Nazario, a writer, and Wakyria Moreira da Silva, a lawyer and the daughter of a women's suffrage supporter in the 1891 Constituent Congress, formed their own suffrage association, which affiliated with the national suffrage alliance. Cassilda Martins, who had edited *Nosso Jornal*, headed the Petrópolis branch.[126] While the FBPF and Bertha Lutz dominated the suffrage movement, other individuals and associations, now largely forgotten, also contributed. As with male organizations, the Brazilian women's suffrage movement would not be immune to problems of individual differences and rivalries.

Both upper-middle class professional women and female relatives of the political and social elite played prominent roles in the Brazilian women's rights movement. Bertha Lutz, the acknowledged leader of the suffrage campaign, was the daughter of a Swiss-Brazilian scientist father and an English mother. Other female scientists, lawyers, physicians, engineers, and government officials served with her in the struggle. While these women conducted much of the actual campaigning, through the FBPF, upper-class women also aided. Wives of leading politicians like Justo Chermont, Félix Pacheco, and Enéas Martins supported the

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cause, as did distinguished writers like Júlia Lopes and Maria Eugenia Affonso Celso.[127] In Brazil, perhaps more than in other Latin American countries, various members of the elite, especially in Rio and São Paulo, sent their daughters to the university and into the professions, and a number of those women became suffragists. Women's suffrage was not just a middle-class movement in Brazil. It may well be that the Brazilian suffragists enjoyed closer ties to the political elite, facilitating the enfranchisement of women in Brazil sooner than in most Latin American countries.[128]

Throughout the 1920s, Bertha Lutz and the FBPF employed tactics suitable to the position of the persistent upper-middle- and upper-class women leading the suffrage campaign, designed to influence political leaders and educate public opinion. Interviews, press releases, telegram and letter campaigns, and other publicity techniques, conferences, and the polite lobbying of congressmen all proved useful. The suffragists concentrated on Congress, where bills for women's suffrage only passed their first reading. Bertha Lutz continued to attend international women's conferences, maintaining close ties with the international movement as well as a good press abroad.[129]

The women's suffrage campaign in Brazil was not tied to any political party or other social movement. Coherent national parties occupied no prominent position on the contemporary political landscape. Hence, women could not be relegated to "women's sections" of competing parties, as in Chile, or form a branch of an inclusive national party, as in Mexico. Moreover, in Brazil the parliamentary supporters of women's suffrage followed no one political orientation, and ranged from Senator Adolfo Gordo, a Paulista businessman and arch conservative formulator of the "Gordo Laws" expelling troublesome foreigners, to Congressman Maurício de Lacerda, long associated with various labor and unpopular causes.[130] During the 1920s, political discontent and protests against the entrenched oligarchy mounted; perhaps women's suffrage could find a place among urban middle-class demands for electoral reform.

In 1927, Juvenal Lamartine, a long-time supporter of women's suffrage, became president of the state of Rio Grande do Norte. He had promised full political rights for women, and he secured the necessary changes in the state's constitution even before he assumed office.[131] Following this success, the FBPF stepped up its campaign using arguments based on the proven capacity and contributions of women in other areas of endeavor, on the substantial increase in the number of literate citizens contributing to governance that female enfranchisement would provide, and on events in Rio Grande do Norte as well as on

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international precedents. Although the 1928 Senate debate on the franchise generated optimism, legislation granting political rights to women languished. Then, in 1930, the "Old Republic" came to an abrupt end, and Getúlio Vargas assumed power. While oligarchical politics and the role of São Paulo and of coffee in the nation would change, little modification in the suffragists' tactics were required. Persuasion of leading political figures remained basic, even if different individuals now had to be approached.

As in most Latin American countries, no marked government opposition to women's suffrage existed. Some politicians were favorably inclined. But the actual legal changes enfranchising women depended to a large extent on conclusive action being taken by a country's chief executive. Male allies and decisive support were essential. Even if it had wished to, FBPF could not afford the position at which the militant Women's Social and Political Union of Great Britain had arrived by mid-1913: not to seek aid from male supporters. The Brazilian suffragists lacked the English suffragettes' numbers and discipline, and could not exert the same pressure on their government. Nor did they believe that women would become conscious of their worth only through independence of men and male movements.[132] Latin American feminists have rarely expressed a sense of competition with men, and they tend to pride themselves on this.

The drafting of a new Brazilian electoral code following the establishment of the Vargas regime provided the opportunity to secure the franchise for women. After the release of a provisional code protested by the suffragists as insufficient, Bertha Lutz and several other women met with Getúlio Vargas, and his agreement to full women's suffrage proved decisive. The new code enfranchised women under the same conditions as men. (Illiterates were still denied the vote.) This 1932 victory was confirmed by the Constitution of 1934. Brazil became the fourth country in the Western Hemisphere to grant women the vote, following distant Canada; the United States, the nation so often admired by Brazilian feminists; and tiny Ecuador, a country far removed from Brazilian concerns.[133]

While the women's suffrage campaign in Brazil never became a mass movement—few can be found in Brazilian history—it proved larger and better organized than most subsequent ones in Latin America. The enfranchisement of women in Brazil may have depended on men, as it did to one degree or another in all countries, but Brazilian women, unlike their sisters in some Latin American countries, were not simply handed the vote by conservative male leaders viewing them as a force for the preservation of the status quo.

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Not only political rights, but also questions of education, work, health, and civil status had occupied the Brazilian suffragists, as demonstrated by the series of resolutions passed at Brazilian feminist congresses from 1922 to 1934. Education remained basic. In 1922, the Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino secured the entrance of girls to the Colégio D. Pedro II. Upper-middle-class professional women spread the idea of women liberating themselves through work, and proclaimed "women's economic emancipation" as basic to the feminist movement. While their attitudes appeared less paternalistic than those of some members, male and female, of the old upper class, theirs was still a guiding and counseling approach, like that of most male reformers. At feminist congresses tackling problems of concern to the working class, such as salaries, shorter hours, working conditions, and maternity leaves—but conferences held at times and in places difficult of access for most working women—few lower-class women ever appeared. Associations of public employees and finally of typists and nurses, not just of professional women and university students, affiliated with the Federation, but never factory workers. Although the Federation paid increasing attention to obtaining protective labor legislation once the franchise was achieved, and Bertha Lutz helped draw up a Statute on Women during her tenure as federal deputy in the mid-1930s, class differences could never be overcome by their efforts alone. Lower-class women like lower-class men derived far less benefit from such guarantees than did the urban upper and middle classes. For many Brazilians, neither ballot boxes nor legal codes meant much.[134]

Through the persistence and bravery of a small band of nineteenth-century feminist pioneers, part of the groundwork had been laid for changes in the status of some women in Brazil. Their newspapers reflected the felt needs of many urban upper- and middle-class Brazilian women for education as well as for respect. They struggled to mount the pedestal, to improve their position within the family, and to gain approval for what they knew to be worthy tasks. But to reach beyond that position, to move from family-centered matters to issues of the outside world, would also prove a slow and difficult process.

As the nineteenth century progressed, some educated women demonstrated less timidity and hesitancy. More Brazilian women entered the public sphere traditionally assigned men, as the feminists urged. Increasing numbers of women received education, and the doors of Brazil's institutions of higher learning were finally opened to them. More middle-class women found employment outside the home, especially in the classrooms, government offices, and commercial estab-

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lishments. Some Brazilian women eventually sought, and achieved, the vote as well. Neither radical in their goals nor militant in their tactics, the women who led the successful twentieth-century suffrage campaign wished some of the rights exercised by men of their own class. They did not want to revolutionize society or restructure the family. The vote, too, would enhance the role of women as mothers. The Brazilian women's rights movement grew more conservative as it became more respectable and acceptable to the ruling elites.

The professional women who led the suffrage campaign to victory in 1932 comprised only a small segment of the nation's female population. The majority of women, like that of men, remained uneducated. Even among more comfortably situated Brazilians, most women still occupied a subordinate position, with their horizon limited to the home. For women, unlike men, family concerns were expected to rank above all others. Hesitant or indifferent, many women did not attempt to traverse the long, painful road to equality and independence. The vote proved useful to some but not to others, and many of the hopes once embodied in the promise of the franchise were not fulfilled. In Brazil, as elsewhere in Latin America, women remained largely absent from leadership and policy positions in movements or parties working for basic reforms. Nor did they play a directing role in conservative political parties. Even among socialists and communists, traditional ideas on womanly behavior seemed to prevail. Most women remained in auxiliary positions in a male-dominated society.

NOTES

1. The most complete bibliography on women in Spanish America is Meri Knaster, *Women in Spanish America: An Annotated Bibliography from Pre-Conquest to Contemporary Times* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1977). An extensive bibliography on women in Latin America appears in Ann Pescatello, ed., *Female and Male in Latin America: Essays* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973), and a selected bibliography in June E. Hahner, ed., *Women in Latin American History: Their Lives and Views* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 1976). In addition to Pescatello, other collections of articles on Latin American women can be found in the May 1973 issue of *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, the Spring 1977 issue of *Latin American Perspectives*, and the November 1975 issue of the *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*. The latter also contains a review essay by Susan Soeiro analyzing recent work on Latin American women. Pescatello has attempted a general history of women in the Iberian peninsula, the Iberian colonies in Asia and Africa, and in Latin America; *Power and Pawn: The Female in Iberian Families, Societies, and Cultures* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976). Asunción Lavrin and Susan Soeiro discuss questions concerning the history of Latin American women in "Approaches to the History of Women in Latin America," in E. Bradford Burns, Eduardo Hernández, and Mary Karasch, eds., *Teaching Latin American History* (Los Angeles: Office of Learning Resources, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), pp. 18–25.
2. Few comparative historical studies of women's rights movements have been at-

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tempted, such as the recent scholarly effort by Richard J. Evans, *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation Movements in Europe, America and Australasia, 1840–1920* (London and New York: Croom Helm; Barnes and Noble, 1977); the documentary reader with introductory essays by William L. O'Neill, ed., *The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969); and the well-illustrated essay by Trevor Lloyd, *Suffragettes International: The World-Wide Campaign for Women's Rights* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1971). But Latin America remains apart, and little work has been done on women's rights or suffrage movements. See, for example: Ward M. Morton, *Woman Suffrage in Mexico* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962); Elsa M. Chaney, "Old and New Feminists in Latin America: The Case of Peru and Chile," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35 (May 1973):331–43; Morris J. Blachman, "Eve in an Adamocracy: The Politics of Women in Brazil" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1976), chap. 4.

3. For a helpful discussion of feminism and women's rights, see Gerda Lerner, "Women's Rights and American Feminism," *The American Scholar* 40 (Spring 1971):235–48.
4. Information on individual nineteenth-century Brazilian feminist newspapers can be found in June E. Hahner, "The Nineteenth-Century Feminist Press and Women's Rights in Brazil," in Asunción Lavrin, ed., *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), pp. 254–85.

   Just as standard histories of Brazil basically ignore women, so do books on the Brazilian press overlook the nineteenth-century feminist press. Nelson Werneck Sodré, *A história da imprensa no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilisação Brasileira, 1966), the most complete study of the Brazilian press, mentions more than one thousand journals, but ignores all of the feminist periodicals considered in this paper. Fanny Tabak, "O Status da mulher no Brasil—Victorias e preconceitos," *Cadernos da PUC*, No. 7 (Aug. 1971):165–201, mistakenly claims as the "first feminist periodical" *Nosso Jornal*, founded in 1919 (p. 180). Nor does Heleieth Iara Bongiovani Saffioti, in *A mulher na sociedade de classes. Mito e realidade* (São Paulo: Quarto Artes, 1969), perhaps the best study of women in Brazilian society, refer to any of the feminist newspapers or cite any nineteenth-century feminists other than Nísia Floresta Brasileira Augusta, who is confined to a footnote. Saffioti holds that "feminist manifestations had their beginning in Brazil" with Bertha Lutz in the second decade of the twentieth century (p. 270).
5. While the nineteenth-century Brazilian feminist newspapers may well not be unique in Latin America, the known periodicals tended to be edited by men, not women, and were designed to provide entertainment or moral uplift, not to change women's lives. Although Latin American journals intended for women have received virtually no attention, Jane Herrick has described several "Periodicals for Women in Mexico during the Nineteenth Century" in *The Americas* 14 (Oct. 1957):135–44; however, with one exception, *El Album de la Mujer* (1883–1893), they were edited by men. Herrick does not indicate that this one periodical differed in any major respect from the general run of those concerned with home medicine, cooking, poetry, and pictures. Nor does she consider the fact that a woman owned and edited a journal to be a matter of interest.
6. John Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Southern Parts of Brazil taken during a residence of ten years . . . 1808–1818* (London: S. Leigh, 1820), p. 111.
7. The Reverend Robert Walsh, chaplain to the British ambassador, traveling through Minas Gerais in the late 1820s, observed that "the wives of fazendeiros are frequently left widows, manage by themselves, afterwards, the farms and slaves, and in all respects assume the part and bearing of their husbands." Robert Walsh, *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, 2 vols. (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1830), 2:28.
8. For a concise study of the family in Brazil, see Antônio Cândido, "The Brazilian Family," in T. Lynn Smith and Alexander Marchant, eds., *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 291–311. The history of an elite family is given by Darrell Erville Levi, "The Parados of São Paulo: An Elite Brazilian Family in a Changing Society, 1840–1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1974). Under the

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existing civil law structure, an extension of the Philippine Code of 1603, which basically remained in effect in Brazil until the Promulgation of the Civil Code of 1916, women were perpetual minors under the law. (See Tristão de Alencar Araipe, *Código Civil Brazileiro, ou Leis civil do Brazil dispostas por ordem de matérias em seu estado actual* [Rio de Janeiro: H. Laemmert & C., 1885]). Moreover, the new Civil Code of 1916 did not really change matters.

9. Johann B. von Spix and Karl F. P. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil in the Years 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1824), 1:159.
10. James C. Fletcher and Daniel Paris Kidder, *Brazil and the Brazilians Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches*, 7th ed. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1867), pp. 163–70.
11. Herbert H. Smith, *Brazil. The Amazons and the Coast* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879), pp. 50, 122–23.
12. Lígia Lemos, "Pioneiras do intelectualismo feminino no Brasil," *Formação* (Nov. 1947):51–52; Ivan Lins, *História do positivismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editôra Nacional, 1967), pp. 19–26; Saffioti, *A mulher*, p. 270; Tancredo Moraes, *Pela emancipação integral da mulher* (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Pongetti, 1971), pp. 88–90; Ignez Sabino, *Mulheres illustres do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro and Paris: H. Garnier, [1899]), pp. 171–77.
13. For general studies of the empire see: Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda, ed., *História geral da civização brasileira*, vols. 2–7, *O Brasil monárquico* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1962–72); Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *O Império Brasileiro (1821–1889)*, 4th ed. (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1962); João Camillo de Oliveira Torres, *A democracia coroada. Teoria política do Império do Brasil*, 2nd ed. (Petrópolis: Editôra Vozes, 1964).
14. For discussions of social and economic changes during the last decades of the empire see: Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 23–50; Octávio Ianni, *Industrialização e desenvolvimento social no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilisação Brasileira, 1963), pp. 75–114; Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da senzala á côlonia* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1966), pp. 428–41.
15. For education under the empire see the studies by Primitivo Moacyr, *A instrução e as provincias*, 3 vols. (São Paulo: Companhia Editôra Nacional 1939–1940) and *A instrução e o império*, 3 vols. (São Paulo: Companhia Editôra Nacional, 1938). The best and only extensive study of women's education, but just for São Paulo, is Leda Maria Pereira Rodrigues, *A instrução feminina em São Paulo. Subsídios para sua história até a proclamação da república* (São Paulo: Faculdade de Filosofia "Sedes Sapientine," 1962).
16. Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatistica, *Recenseamento da população do Império do Brazil a que se procedeu no dia 1° de agosto de 1872*, 21 vols. in 22 (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Leuzinger, 1873–1876), 21 (Quadros gerais): 1–2; 61.
17. Rui Barbosa, *Reforma do ensino primario e varias instituições complementares da instrução pública*, vol. 10, tomo 1 of *Obras completas de Rui Barbosa* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1947), pp. 9–11.
18. Luccock, *Notes on Rio*, p. 111.
19. Fletcher and Kidder, *Brazil*, p. 164.
20. Louis Agassiz and Elizabeth C. Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868), p. 479.
21. Saffioti, *A mulher*, pp. 202–10; Reynaldo Kuntz Bush, *O ensino normal em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Livraria Record, 1935), pp. 41–43; Rodrigues, *A instrução feminina*, pp. 151–62.
22. *O Jornal das Senhoras* (Rio de Janeiro), 1 Jan. 1852, p. 1; 11 Jan. 1852, pp. 12, 14; 8 Feb. 1852, p. 42; César H. Guerrero, *Mujeres de Sarmiento* (Buenos Aires: Artes Gráficas Bartolomé U. Chiesivo, 1960), p. 79; Innocêncio Francisco da Silva, *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez*, 22 vols. (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1858–1923), 10: 144; 11:275. See also Jim Levy, "Juana Manso: Argentine Feminist," Occasional Paper No. 1 (Bundoora: La Trobe University, Institute of Latin American Studies, 1977).

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23. Luccock, *Notes on Rio*, p. 114.
24. *O Jornal das Senhoras*, 1 Jan. 1852, p. 5; 11 Jan. 1852, p. 12.
25. Ibid., 11 Jan. 1852, pp. 12, 14.
26. Ibid., 1 Jan. 1852, p. 6; 11 Jan. 1852, pp. 13–14.
27. Ibid., 1 Jan. 1852, pp. 1, 2; 11 Jan. 1852, p. 14; 8 Feb. 1852, p. 44.
28. Ibid., 4 July 1852, p. 1; da Silva, *Diccionario* 7:450; Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario bibliographico brazileiro*, 7 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1883–1902), 2:182–86; 7:386–87; First Secretary of Conservatório Dramático Brasileiro to Violante Atabalipa de Bivar e Vellasco, Rio de Janeiro, 3 July 1850, Biblioteca Nacional, Secção de Manuscritos, 1, 2, 725; Olímio Barros Vidal, *Precursoras brasileiras* (Rio de Janeiro: A Noite, 1955), pp. 121–31.

    Following a family crisis and the fall of the Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas in 1853, D. Joana and her two daughters returned to Argentina, where she achieved a distinguished but difficult career as an educator and follower of the educational principles of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. She also edited a periodical for women, *Album de Señoritas* (Guerrero, *Mujeres de Sarmiento*, pp. 81–101; Levy, "Juana Manso").
29. *O Jornal das Senhoras*, 19 Sept. 1852, pp. 89–90; 3 Oct. 1852, pp. 106–7; 5 June 1853, p. 177; Barros Vidal, *Precursoras brasileiras*, p. 131.
30. *O Bello Sexo* (Rio de Janeiro), 21 Aug. 1862, pp. 1–2; 12 Sept. 1862, p. 1.
31. Barbara J. Berg argues this position, perhaps to excess, in *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism. The Woman and the City, 1800–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
32. *O Bello Sexo*, 7 Sept. 1862, pp. 2–4; 21 Aug. 1862, p. 2; 7 Sept. 1862, p. 2.
33. A pioneering study of voluntary associations in Brazil is provided by Michael L. Conniff, "Voluntary Associations in Rio, 1870–1945. A New Approach to Urban Social Dynamics," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 17 (Feb. 1975):64–81.
34. For the abolition movement see Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972); and Robert Brent Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil* (New York: Atheneum, 1972).
35. Ignez Sabino, *Mulheres illustres do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro and Paris: H. Garnier, [1899]), pp. 251–57; *Jornal do Comércio* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 Oct. 1880, p. 2; *Gazeta da Tarde* (Rio de Janeiro), 3 Nov. 1880, p. 2; Evaristo de Moraes, *A campanha abolicionista (1879–1888)* (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Leite Ribeiro, 1924), p. 24.
36. José Jacintho Ribeiro, *Chronologia Paulista; ou Relação histórica dos factos mais importantes ocorridos em S. Paulo desde a chegada de Martim Affonso de Souza em S. Vicente até 1898*, 3 vols. (São Paulo: n.p. 1899–1901), 2, Part 1, 59; *Galeria Nacional. Vultos proeminentes da história brasileira. 6° Fascículo* (Rio de Janeiro: Jornal do Brasil, 1933), pp. 562–63; Mello Barreto Filho and Hermeto Lima, *História da polícia do Rio de Janeiro. Aspectos da cidade e da vida carioca*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra A Noite, 1944), 2: 148; Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis. A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958), p. 147; *Gazeta da Tarde*, 5 Oct. 1885, p. 1; Moraes, *A campanha abolicionista*, p. 41.
37. Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario bibliográphico brazileiro* 6:225; *A Familia* (Rio de Janeiro), Special Number 1889, p. 3; 31 Dec. 1889, p. 7.
38. *Novo Correio de Modas* (Rio de Janeiro), 1:3 (1852); p. 37.
39. Otelia Cromwell, *Lucretia Mott* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 47–49; 67–71; Alma Lutz, *Crusade for Freedom. Women of the Anti-Slavery Movement* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp. 21–22. An 1851 photograph of the Executive Committee of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society depicts five women and seven men (reproduced in Judith Papachristou, ed., *Women Together. A History in Documents of the Women's Movement in the United States. "A Ms. Book"* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976, p. 19). See also Blanche Glassman Hersh, *The Slavery of Sex. Feminist-Abolitionists in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), unavailable at time of writing.

    For the women's rights and suffrage movements in the United States see: Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle. The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*

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(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959); William L. O'Neil, *Everyone Was Brave. A History of Feminism in America* (Chicago: Quadrangel Books, 1969); Keith E. Melder, *Beginnings of Sisterhood. The American Woman's Rights Movement, 1800–1850* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977); Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage. The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848–1869* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1978); Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement 1890–1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

40. In *A história da imprensa no Brasil*, Nelson Werneck Sodré presents a wealth of detail on the role of the press in Brazil.
41. *O Sexo Feminino* (Campanha, Minas Gerais), 27 Sept. 1873, p. 1; 8 Nov. 1873, p. 2.
42. Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatistica, *Recenseamento do Brazil realizado em 1 de setembro de 1920*, 5 vols. in 18 (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. da Estatistica, 1922–30), 4, 4ª parte, pp. xii, xvi.
43. *O Sexo Feminino*, 27 Dec. 1873, p. 4; 28 Jan. 1874, p. 4; 25 Apr. 1874, p. 2; *O Domingo* (Rio de Janeiro), 18 Jan. 1874, p. 2; 19 Apr. 1874, p. 2.
44. *O Sexo Feminino*, 7 Sept. 1873, p. 1; 14 Sept. 1873, p. 2; 20 Sept. 1873, p. 1; 25 Oct. 1873, pp. 1–2.
45. Ibid., 14 Sept. 1873, p. 2; 14 Jan. 1874, p. 2.
46. Ibid., 8 Nov. 1873, p. 2; 29 Nov. 1873, p. 2; 14 Jan. 1874, p. 2; 22 July 1875, p. 2; 29 July 1875, p. 2; 5 Sept. 1875, pp. 1–2; 10 Oct. 1875, p. 3; 31 Oct. 1875, pp. 1–2; 12 Dec. 1875, p. 1.
47. Ibid., 7 Sept. 1873, p. 1; 20 Sept. 1873, p. 1; 18 Oct. 1873, p. 2; 8 Nov. 1873, p. 4; 7 Apr. 1874, p. 1; 2 May 1874, p. 2; 18 July 1874, p. 4; 22 July 1875, p. 2; 29 Aug. 1875, p. 3.
48. *O Domingo*, 14 Dec. 1873, p. 3; 21 Dec. 1873, p. 3; 28 Dec. 1873, p. 3; 18 Jan. 1874, p. 3; *Echo das Damas* (Rio de Janeiro), 18 Apr. 1879, p. 1.
49. *O Sexo Feminino*, 15 Nov. 1873, pp. 2–3; 29 July 1875, p. 3; 14 Aug. 1875, p. 2; 29 Aug. 1875, p. 3.
50. Ibid., 7 Sept. 1874, p. 1; 22 July 1875, p. 1.
51. *Recenseamento da populaçăo do Império do Brazil . . . 1872* 9 (Minas Gerais): 1070.
52. *O Sexo Feminino*, 15 Nov. 1873, p. 4; 8 Aug. 1875, p. 1; 21 Nov. 1875, p. 2.
53. Ibid., 2 Apr. 1876, p. 1; *Primaveira* (Rio de Janeiro), 29 Aug. 1880, p. 1; *O Quinze de Novembro do Sexo Feminino* (Rio do Janeiro), 15 Dec. 1889, pp. 3–4.
54. *Recenseamento do Brazil realizado em 1 de setembro de 1920* 4, 4ª parte, p. xiii.
55. *O Domingo*, 22 Mar. 1874, p. 1; Barros Vidal, *Precursoras brasileiras*, p. 138.
56. *O Sexo Feminino*, 9 June 1889, p. 1; *O Quinze de Novembro do Sexo Feminino*, 30 Sept. 1890, p. 2; 6 Dec. 1890, p. 1.
57. *O Quinze de Novembro do Sexo Feminino*, 6 Dec. 1890.
58. *O Jornal das Senhoras*, 11 Jan. 1852, p. 14. The man would remain the head [chefe] of the family according to Brazilian law until the 1962 modification of the Civil Code. See Ruth Bueno [Maria Barbosa Goulart], *Regime jurídica da mulher casada*, 3rd ed. (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo: Forense, 1972).
59. *A Familia*, 14 Nov. 1889, p. 4.
60. Josephina Alvares de Azevedo, *A Mulher moderna. Trabalhos de propaganda* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Montenegro, 1891), pp. 116–17. Many of her newspaper articles and speeches, and her prosuffrage play were reprinted in this volume.
61. *O Sexo Feminino*, 16 June 1889, p. 1.
62. Josephina Alvares de Azevedo, *Galeria illustre (Mulheres celebres)* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. A Vapor, 1897).
63. Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, *Mulheres celebres* (Rio de Janeiro: H. Garnier, 1878), pp. 18–19, 83–86, 93.
64. *O Domingo*, 30 Nov. 1873, p. 1; 14 Dec. 1873, p. 1. Efforts to expand education and to emancipate women were closely interwoven in upstate New York. The educational fate of women at Cornell University is surveyed by Charlotte Williams Conable, *Women at Cornell: The Myth of Equal Education* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977).
65. *O Domingo*, 1 Mar. 1874, pp. 1–2.
66. *Aurora Brasileira* (Ithaca, N.Y.), 20 Jan. 1874, p. 28.

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67. *O Sexo Feminino*, 28 Jan. 1874, pp. 3–4.
68. *A Mulher* (New York), Apr. 1881, p. 26.
69. Ibid., Jan. 1881, pp. 2, 6; Feb. 1881, p. 16; Mar. 1881, pp. 18, 22; Apr. 1881, pp. 26–30.
70. Ibid., Apr. 1881, p. 27; June 1881, pp. 43–46.
71. *Aurora Brasileira*, 20 May 1874, p. 57; 20 June 1874, pp. 66–67.
72. *Gazeta da Tarde*, 1 Oct. 1885, p. 1; 3 Oct. 1885, p. 2.
73. *A imprensa e o Lyceu de Artes e Officios. Aulas para o sexo feminino* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Hildebrandt, 1881), pp. iii, 5, 25.
74. *Echo das Damas*, 4 Jan. 1888, p. 1.
75. Alberto Silva, *A primeira médica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Irmãos Pongetti, 1954), pp. 51–52; Francisco Bruno Lobo, "Rita Lobato: A primeira médica formado no Brasil," *Revista de História* 42 (Apr.–June 1971): 483–85.
76. *A Familia*, 30 Nov. 1889, p. 6.
77. Brazil, *Informações apresentado pela Commisão Parlamentar de Inquerito ao corpo legislativo na terceira sessão da decima oitava legislatura* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Nacional, 1883), p. 138.
78. *O Domingo*, 30 Nov. 1873, p. 11; Barros Vidal, *Precursoras brasileiras*, pp. 69–74, 167–80.
79. Joaquim José da França Júnior, *As doutoras. Comedia em 4 actos* (Rio de Janeiro: Sociedade Brasileira de Autores Theatraes, 1932). Information on the play, its performance, and its author is given by Luis Gastão d'Escragnolle Doria, "Cousas do passado," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 71, pt. 2(1908): 295–97. Additional biographical information can be found in Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario bibliográphico brazileiro* 4: 163–65. The dramatic work of França Júnior is ably and engagingly analyzed by Roderick J. Barman, "Politics on the Stage: The Late Brazilian Empire as Dramatized by França Júnior," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 13 (Winter 1976): 244–60.

    Some of the strongest opposition in the United States to women entering the professions also centered on medicine (Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, p. 119). The problems of women in medicine in the United States and the opposition to them are treated in Mary Roth Walsh, *"Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply." Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835–1975* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977). See also Judy Barrett Litoff, *American Midwives, 1860 to the Present* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978).
80. *A Familia*, 14 Nov. 1889, pp. 2–3.
81. *Revista Illustrada* (Rio de Janeiro), 9 Mar. 1889, p. 7.
82. *A Mensageira* (São Paulo), 15 Oct. 1899, pp. 169, 174; 15 Dec. 1899, pp. 201–4; 15 Jan. 1900, pp. 217–21; *O Sexo Feminino*, 16 June 1889, p. 2; *A Familia*, 30 Nov. 1889, p. 6.
83. *O Domingo*, 14 Dec. 1873, p. 1.
84. *Echo das Damas*, 18 Apr. 1879, p. 1.
85. *O Sexo Feminino*, 20 Dec. 1873, p. 3; 14 Jan. 1874, p. 2; 7 Mar. 1874, p. 4; 11 Apr. 1874, pp. 3–4.
86. *O Quinze de Novembro do Sexo Feminino*, 6 Apr. 1890, p. 2.
87. *Echo das Damas*, 7 Aug. 1886, p. 2.
88. Azevedo, *A mulher moderna*, pp. 28, 78.
89. *O Quinze de Novembro do Sexo Feminino*, 6 Apr. 1890, p. 1.
90. *A Familia*, 6 July 1889, pp. 1, 2, 8; 3 Oct. 1889, pp. 1, 3–4; 30 Nov. 1889, p. 1; 31 Dec. 1889, p. 1; Azevedo, *A mulher moderna*, p. 124.
91. Barros Vida, *Precursoras brasileiras*, p. 165; *A Familia*, 6 July 1889, p. 8; 23 Nov. 1889, p. 3; 31 Dec. 1889, p. 2; Azevedo, *A mulher moderna*, p. 14.
92. *A Familia*, 23 Nov. 1889, p. 3.
93. *O Quinze de Novembro do Sexo Feminino*, 6 Apr. 1890, p. 2.
94. Azevedo, *A mulher moderna*, pp. 23, 25, 30–73.
95. *A Familia*, 19 Oct. 1889, p. 1.
96. Azevedo, *A mulher moderna*, p. 20.
97. Tito Livio de Castro, *A mulher e a sociogenia. Obra posthuma* (Rio de Janeiro: Francisco

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Alves & C. [1894]). He believed in the possibility of future female mental evolution through education, which he favored, to benefit the species.

98. Brazil, Câmara dos Deputados, *Annaes do Congresso Constituinte da República*, 2d ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional 1924–1926) 2: 544. Session of 14 Jan. 1891.
99. *Annaes do Congresso Constituinte* 2: 456. Session of 12 Jan. 1891.
100. Similar antisuffrage arguments were employed in the United States. See: Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*; and Mara Mayor, "Fears and Fantasy of the Anti-Suffragists," *Connecticut Review* 7 (Apr. 1974): 64–74.
101. See Raimundo Teixeira Mendes, *A mulher. Sua preeminência social e moral, segundo os ensinos da verdadeira siencia pozitiva*, 4th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Igreja Pozitivista do Brazil, 1958). For studies of positivism in Brazil see: Ivan Lins, *História do positivismo no Brasil*; João Cruz Costa, *O positivismo na república. Notas sobre a história do positivismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editôra Nacional, 1956); João Camillo de Oliveira Torres, *O positivismo no Brasil* (Petrópolis: Editôra Vozes, 1943). Also useful is João Cruz Costa, *A History of Ideas in Brazil. The Development of Philosophy in Brazil and the Evolution of Natural History*, trans. Suzette Macedo (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964).
102. *Annaes do Congresso Constituinte* 2:478. Session of 13 Jan. 1891.
103. Azevedo, *A mulher moderna*, p. 109.
104. *Annaes do Congresso Constituinte* 2:543, session of 14 Jan. 1891; 3:356–57, session of 29 Jan. 1891.
105. Ibid., 1:276, 1:439, 1:438.
106. *A Familia*, 2 Feb. 1889, p. 4; 25 May 1889, p. 5; 6 July 1889, p. 4; 14 Nov. 1889, pp. 4, 6; *Echo das Damas*, 31 Jan. 1888, pp. 1–2; 26 Aug. 1888, p. 2; *O Quinze de Novembro do Sexo Feminino*, 6 Dec. 1890, p. 2; *A Mensageira*, 15 Oct. 1897, p. 3; 30 Nov. 1897, p. 58; Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario bibliographico brazileiro* 3: 279–80; 5: 241–42; 6: 231; José Brito Broca, *A vida literaria no Brasil: 1900* 2d ed. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1960), p. 252.
107. *A Mensageira*, 15 Oct. 1897, pp. 3–5; Júlia Lopes de Almeida, *Livro das noivas*, 3rd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Companhia Nacional Editôra, 1896), pp. 13, 38, 205. Addressed to prospective wives, this book combined the sentimental and the practical, with both household hints and moral exhortations.
108. Alice R. Humphrey, *A Summer Journey to Brazil* (New York: Boswell, Silver & Co., 1900), p. 46; Clayton Sedgwick Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1917), pp. 125, 276–77; Alured Gray Bell, *The Beautiful Rio de Janeiro* (London: William Heinnmann, 1914), p. 192.
109. Reis Carvalho (Oscar d'Alva), "A questão feminino," *Kosmos* (Rio de Janeiro), Jan., Feb., Mar., and Apr. 1904 (unpaged).
110. Eunapio Deiró, "A mulher perante as religiões antigas e o christianismo," *Kosmos*, Dec. 1904.
111. Salvador de Moya, *Culto á mulher (Tem a mulher, naturalmente, perante a sociedade, os mesmos direitos do homem?)* (São Paulo: Imprensa Methodista, 1912).
112. Article from *O Jornal do Comércio* reprinted in *A Mensageira*, 31 Aug. 1899, pp. 113, 137.
113. Article from *Gazeta de Petrópolis* cited in *A Mensageira*, 15 Dec. 1897, pp. 70–71.
114. *Tribuna Feminina* (Rio de Janeiro), 25 Nov. 1916, pp. 1–2.
115. Tabak, "O status da mulher no Brasil," p. 180. The most important statement of this nationalism is Olavo Bilac, *A defesa nacional (Discursos)* (Rio de Janeiro: Liga da Defesa Nacional, 1917).
116. The only part of the long history of feminist activities in Brazil during the second half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century to receive any scholarly scrutiny is the women's suffrage movement, covered in part by: Saffioti, *A mulher na sociedade de classes*, pp. 267–90; João Batista Cascudo Rodrigues, *A mulher brasileira. Direitos políticos e civis* (Fortaleza: Imprensa Universitária do Ceará, 1962), pp. 43–90; Blachman, "Eve in an Adamocracy," pp. 112–65; Rachel Soihet, "Bertha Lutz e a ascensão social da mulher, 1919–1937" (M.A. thesis, Universidade Federal

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Fluminense, 1974). Documents for the study of the movement are found in Diva Nolf Nazario, *Voto feminino e feminismo. Um anno de feminismo entre nós* (São Paulo: Monteiro Lombato & Comp., 1923), and Antônio Austregésilo, *Perfil da mulher brasileira (Esbôço acêrca do feminismo no Brasil)* (Paris and Lisbon: Livrarias Aillaud & Betrand, 1923).

117. Tabak, "O status da mulher no Brasil," p. 182; Brazil, Câmara dos Deputados, Commissão de Estatuto da Mulher, *O trabalho feminino. A mulher no ordem económico e social. Documentação organizada por Bertha Lutz, presidente da commissão* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1937), p. 20; "A mulher na bureaucracia e no magisterio," *Nosso Jornal* (Rio de Janeiro), 30 Apr. 1920 (unpaged); Lina Hirsh, "These New 'Amazons,'" *Independent Woman*, Feb. 1935, p. 72; Blachman, "Eve in an Adamocracy," p. 134.
118. School teachers and educators figure prominently in different women's rights movements throughout the Western Hemisphere, from Susan B. Anthony, perhaps the most famous suffragist in the United States, to María Jesús Alvarado Rivera of Peru, to Amanda Labarca Hubertson, who pioneered the suffrage movement in Chile. On the latter two women, see Chaney, "Old and New Feminists in Latin America: The Case of Peru and Chile," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35 (May 1973): 331–43.
119. *O Sexo Feminino*, 4 Oct. 1873, p. 3; 22 July 1875, p. 4; 7 Nov. 1875, p. 1; *Voz da Verdade* (Rio de Janeiro), 28 May 1885, p. 4; *O Quinze de Novembro do Sexo Feminino*, 15 Dec. 1889, p. 4; Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario bibliographico brazileiro* 2:371; Sabino, *Mulheres illustres do Brazil*, pp. 247–50; Adalzira Bittencourt, *Dicionário bio-biográfico de mulheres ilustres, notáveis e intelectuais* (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Pongetti, 1969), 1:116–17.
120. *Nosso Jornal*, 15 Oct. 1919; 30 Apr. 1920. The older general accounts of the British women's suffrage movement, such as Roger Fulford, *Votes for Women. The Story of a Struggle* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), do not attain the same level of scholarship as Andrew Rosen, *Rise Up, Women! The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, 1903–1914* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974). Well-edited selections from contemporary accounts and documents of the suffragettes together with abundant photographs are found in *Shoulder to Shoulder. A Documentary by Midge Mackenzie* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975).
121. *Revista da Semana* (Rio de Janeiro), 28 Dec. 1918.
122. *Nosso Jornal*, 15 Nov. 1919; Roy F. Nash, "The Brains of Brazil's Woman Movement," *The Woman Citizen*, 25 Mar. 1922, pp. 9, 16–17; Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt. A Biography* (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1944), p. 360; John W. F. Dulles, *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900–1935* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1973), p. 274. For views and statements of Bertha Lutz, see Blachman, "Eve in an Adamocracy," pp. 114–22; 137–38.
123. Carrie Chapman Catt, "The History of the Origin of the International Alliance of Women," unpublished typescript, New York Public Library, Carrie Chapman Catt Collection, Box 5; Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, pp. 121–23; 137–67; Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, pp. 235–38; Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, 3 vols. (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1908), 3: 1244–47; 1315–28. A brief discussion of the international movement is given by Edith F. Hurwitz, "The International Sisterhood," in Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., *Becoming Visible. Women in European History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), pp. 327–45.
124. Catt, "The History," New York Public Library, Carrie Chapman Catt Collection, Box 5; Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, pp. 347–61.
125. See the interview given by Bertha Lutz upon her return to Brazil, reprinted in Austregésilo, *Perfil da mulher brasileira*, pp. 130–42; and the statements she made in the United States, reported in "The Latin Point of View," *The Independent Woman*, Oct. 1922, p. 21.
126. Carrie Chapman Catt, "Busy Women in Brazil," *The Woman Citizen*, 24 Mar. 1923, pp. 9–10, and "Summing Up South America," *The Woman Citizen*, 2 June 1923, pp. 7–8, 26; Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, pp. 373–76; Nazario, *Voto feminino e feminismo*, pp.

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60–68; Austregésilo, *Perfil da mulher brasileira*, pp. 145–46; *Boletim da Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino*, 1 (Feb. 1935): 2; Blachman, "Eve in an Adamocracy," pp. 128–36.

127. Hirsh, "These New Amazons," *Independent Woman*, Feb. 1935, pp. 46, 72; Austregésilo, *Perfil da mulher brasileira*, p. 146; *Boletim da Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino* 1 (Feb. 1935): 2, 4; Nash, "The Brains of Brazil's Woman Movement," *The Woman Citizen*, 25 Mar. 1922, pp. 9, 16.
128. Before 1945, women gained national voting rights only in Uruguay, Cuba, El Salvador, and the Dominican Republic, in addition to Brazil and Ecuador. Paraguay, the last Latin American country to extend the franchise to women, did so only in 1962.
129. See, for example, articles by and about her in: *The Woman Citizen*, 25 Mar. 1922, pp. 9, 16–17; 5 May 1923, p. 8; *Equal Rights*, 22 Aug. 1931, pp. 230–31; *The Independent Woman*, Feb. 1935, pp. 46–47, 72.
130. Tabak, "O status da mulher," p. 181; Blachman, "Eve in an Adamocracy," p. 142.
131. Rodrigues, *A mulher brasileira*, pp. 55–91; Blachman, "Eve in an Adamocracy," pp. 139–65. In Mexico, too, action by one state governor could provide a striking contrast with events elsewhere. Salvador Alvarado, appointed governor of Yucatán in 1915, introduced important women's rights legislation during his three years in office (Anna Macías, "The Mexican Revolution Was No Revolution for Women," in Lewis Hanke, ed., *History of Latin American Civilization: Sources and Interpretations. Vol. II The Modern Age*, 2d ed. [Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973], 2:459–69).
132. See Rosen, *Rise Up, Women!*
133. The establishment of the Estado Nôvo in 1937 ended electoral politics, and women's participation in them, until 1945. For a discussion of the subsequent political behavior of women in Brazil, voting and the holding of political office and government service positions, see Blachman, "Eve in an Adamocracy," pp. 64–111, 166–82.
134. Brazil, *O trabalho feminino*, pp. 65–75; *Boletim da Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino* 1 (Feb. 1935): 4; *O Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 23 Dec. 1922; Hirsh, "These New 'Amazons,'" *Independent Woman*, Feb. 1935, p. 72; Saffioti, *A mulher na sociedade de classes*, pp. 271–81.

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