

FIELD STATION BAHIA

Brazil in the Work of Lorenzo Dow Turner,
E. Franklin Frazier and Frances and
Melville Herskovits, 1935-1967



Livio Sansone

Field Station Bahia

Africa Multiple

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF AFRICA AND ITS DIASPORAS

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E. Franklin Frazier and Frances and
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By

Livio Sansone



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Editors' Preface

The present monograph is the first in the new book series *Africa Multiple: Studies of Africa and its Diasporas*. Launched by the Africa Multiple Cluster of Excellence with Brill Academic Publishers, the overarching aim of the peer-reviewed series is to advance the study of Africa and its diasporas through offering a forum for multidisciplinary research. Encouraging critical reflections on area studies, it seeks to set new standards for collaborative research in the field, informed by an understanding of Africa as multiple that emphasizes relationality and reflexivity as its main conceptual approaches.

These approaches take center stage in the Africa Multiple Cluster, which was established as a large collaborative research structure in 2019 with the aim of reconfiguring African Studies in structural and conceptual terms. The Cluster is a transcontinental network comprising five locations, namely the University of Bayreuth and African Cluster Centers at Moi University (Eldoret, Kenya), Rhodes University (Makhanda, South Africa), the University of Lagos (Nigeria), and Joseph Ki-Zerbo University (Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso).

The series is designed to overcome existing power imbalances in the production and transmission of knowledge in African Studies. As such, it pursues an open access policy and is particularly open to submissions from researchers in the Global South working in diverse fields and disciplines, which may range from social sciences, cultural studies and humanities to law, geography and beyond. As part of the programmatic objective of reconfiguring African Studies, we include publications in English as well as other academic languages relevant for African and African diasporic contexts, such as French, German, Kiswahili, Arabic, and Portuguese.

We are especially pleased to have *Field Station Bahia* by Livio Sansone as our inaugural volume, as it opens a window on key questions of academic knowledge production and is emblematic of the inclusion of African diasporic contexts into the purview of our series.

Our gratitude goes to Brill Academic Publishers, to the author, and to you as the readers, who will hopefully find the new series a timely addition to the ever-growing African Studies library.

Enocent Msindo and Rüdiger Seesemann

Makhanda, South Africa & Bayreuth, Germany, December 2022

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Thanks also to Scot French of the Carter Woodson Institute of the University of Virginia for his assistance on digital history and archives, and to the splendid archivists of the Melville Herskovits African Library at Northwestern University, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Rockefeller Archive Center and the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University. A special thank you goes to Mike Hanchard, Stefania Capone, Chris Dunn, Stephen Small, John Collins, Paul Gilroy, Vron Ware, Dmitri van den Bersselaar and Peter Geschiere. In Brazil, I am incredibly grateful to Jeferson Bacelar, Maria Rosario de Carvalho, Omar Thomaz, Luis Gustavo Rossi, Aldrin Castellucci, Elisa Morinaka, Felipe Fernandes, Felipe Fernandes, Peter Fry, Marcos Chor Maio and the late Carlos Hasenbalg for the good conversations and suggestions. Peter Fry and Marcos Chor Maio for the good conversations and suggestions.

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Last, but not least, to my sons Giulio and Pedro and my life companion Sueli Borges I owe an apology for having been so often away from home. My grateful thanks for your patience with me. I dedicate this book to them.

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Abbreviations

AAA	American Anthropological Association
ABA	Associação Brasileira de Antropologia
ABL	Academia Brasileira de Letras
ACLS	American Council of Learned Societies
AEL	Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth (UNICAMP)
AI-5	Ato Institucional Numero 5 (1968)
ANPOCS	Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais
APS	American Philosophical Society
ASA	American Sociological Association
ATM	Archives of Traditional Music (Indiana University)
CC	Carnegie Corporation
CCNY	Carnegie Corporation of New York
CEAA	Centro de Estudos Afro-Asiaticos (UCAM)
CEAO	Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais (UFBA)
CUNY	City University of New York
ELS	Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política
FDCB	Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Ciência na Bahia
FF	Ford Foundation
FFCH	Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas (UFBA)
FFLCH	Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas (USP)
FSH	Frances Shapiro Herskovits
FUNDAJ	Fundação Joaquim Nabuco
GI Act	Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944
GNP	Good Neighbor Policy
IEB	Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros
IFAN	Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire
IHGB	Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro
IIE	Institute of International Education
LDT	Lorenzo Dow Turner
LOC	Library of Congress
MAE	Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia (UFBA)
MJH	Melville J. Herskovits
MN	Museu Nacional
MS	Moorland-Spangarn Research Center
NAA	National Anthropological Archives
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NU	Northwestern University
NYT	New York Times

OCIAA	Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs
RAC	Rockefeller Archive Center
RBA	Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia
RF	Rockefeller Foundation
RFR	Rockefeller Foundation Records
RL	Ruth Landes
RR	René Ribeiro
SC	Schomburg Center, New York Public Library
SI	Smithsonian Institute
SP	São Paulo
SPHAN	Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
UC	University of California
UCAM	Universidade Candido Mendes
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles
UFBA	Universidade Federal da Bahia
UFMG	Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICAMP	Universidade de Campinas
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USD	United States dollar
USIS	United States Information Service
USP	Universidade de São Paulo
UVA	Universiteit van Amsterdam
WKBK	WKBK Radio Channel
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War

Repositories

Melville and Frances Herskovits

The Melville and Frances Herskovits Papers: Melville Herskovits Library, Northwestern University (NU) – <https://findingaids.library.northwestern.edu/repositories/6/resources/20> – and

Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture (SC) – <https://archives.nypl.org/scm/21226>.

The Brazil fieldnotes and Frances' Bahia notebook: Schomburg Center.

Photographs: Schomburg Center and Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution (NMAfA, SI) – <https://africa.si.edu/research/eliot-elisofon-photographic-archives/>.

Correspondence and reports relating to grant applications for Brazil: Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) – <https://rockarch.org/> – and the Book and Manuscript Library (especially the CC archive) of Columbia University (CU) – <https://library.columbia.edu/libraries/rbml.html>.

Franklin Frazier

E. F. Frazier's Papers: Moorland-Spangarn Research Center for Research, Howard University (MS) – <https://msrc.howard.edu/>

There are scattered documents on Frazier also at the Schomburg Center (SC).

The UNESCO Archive in Paris is the repository of the correspondence and reports relating to Frazier's engagement with UNESCO – <https://atom.archives.unesco.org/>

Lorenzo Dow Turner

Lorenzo Dow Turner's Papers: Melville Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern University (NU) – <https://findingaids.library.northwestern.edu/repositories/4/resources/851> and the Anacostia Community Museum – <https://anacostia.si.edu/collection/archives/sova-acma-06-017>, which also has his photographs and part of his recordings.

Complete collection of Turner's recordings: Archive of Traditional Music, University of Indiana at Bloomington (IN) – <https://libraries.indiana.edu/dow-turner>.

Some documents are also at the Schomburg Center (SC).

The research also includes material from the Museu da Astronomia e Ciências Afrins (MAST), Rio de Janeiro – www.mast.br; the Arthur Ramos

archive at the Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro; the Archives of the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro – <https://antigo.bn.gov.br/explore/colecoes/arquivo-arthur-ramos>; the archive of the Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences (FFCH) at UFBA, Bahia; and the archives of the Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros at USP, São Paulo – <https://www.ieb.usp.br/>.

Introduction: The Making of Different Research Agendas

Between 1935 and 1943, the city of Salvador, Bahia, received the attention of numerous foreign scholars and intellectuals, all of them impressed – if not seduced – by its “magic”, largely the result of its black popular culture. They included Donald Pierson (1900–1995), Robert Park¹ (1864–1944), Ruth Landes (1908–1991), Lorenzo Dow Turner (1890–1972), E. Franklin Frazier (1894–1962), Stefan Zweig² (1881–1942), Frances Shapiro Herskovits (1897–1975) and Melville J. Herskovits (1895–1963). Frazier, Turner, Melville Herskovits and Frances Shapiro Herskovits carried out fieldwork there from 1940 to 1942. Frances was an anthropologist in her own right, but in those days her scholarship was not recognized as such and she was seen as Melville’s assistant.³ Somewhat hiding in her husband’s shadow throughout this book, she will come to the fore in Chapter 3.

This book is a reading of the making of Afro-Brazilian studies and, to a lesser extent, African studies and African-American studies, through the interrelated and transnational trajectories mainly of four scholars – Turner, Frazier and Melville and Frances Herskovits. If there is originality in this piece of work, it sits in the comparison of the journey, style and agenda of these four different and yet somehow converging scholars, and in the attempt to relate them to the Brazilian intellectual context, which in those days was much smaller and less organized than the US equivalent. It is, therefore, a double comparison: between four Americans, and between Americans and scholars based in Brazil.

The research for this book was spread out over two decades, from 2000 to 2020, in the archives that host the papers of these four outstanding intellectuals.

-
- 1 On the important role of Robert Park, then professor at Fisk, in attracting American scholars to Bahia, see Valladares (2010) and Maggie (2015).
 - 2 Jewish Austrian writer Zweig was extremely popular in Brazil (Dines 2009; Davis and Marshall 2010). His classic celebration of Brazil, *Brazil Country of the Future*, included a chapter on his visit to Bahia in 1941 in which Zweig expands on the popular Bonfim feast (Zweig 1941).
 - 3 Frazier and Herskovits were two of the contributors to the anthology *The New Negro* (1925), edited by Alain Locke: Frazier, with the chapter “Durham: capital of the black middle class” (pp. 333–340) and Herskovits, the only white contributor to the book, with the chapter “The Negro’s Americanism” (pp. 353–360). Lorenzo Turner was not included, his proximity to the spirit of the book notwithstanding. I believe this had to do mostly with the fact that Turner’s career as a linguist developed only in the 1930s.

They were rivals and yet good colleagues or even friends.⁴ Even so, as we shall see throughout the book, in those years Salvador became the site of a battle between two different perceptions of black integration in the United States and the place of Africa in this process, between Frazier and the Herskovitses. Turner and Frazier were friends for life (Wade-Lewis 2007:129); Frazier and Herskovits were colleagues and, towards the end of their life, friends;⁵ and Turner and Herskovits had a cordial and mutually beneficial, though unequal, professional relationship (Wade-Lewis 2007:191).

Frazier and Turner trailed the path already laid by Donald Pierson and Ruth Landes from 1935 to 1938. Herskovits and his wife Frances relied on a different and somewhat more conventional network, interwoven with the local political and intellectual elites. Each of the researchers had a memorable encounter with Bahia, and this experience would be relevant for the rest of their careers, even though none of them returned to the field as they had planned. Franklin Frazier, the most famous black sociologist of the time, who had already published *The Negro Family in the United States* in 1939, was locked into an argument with the equally renowned anthropologist, Melville Herskovits,⁶ on the “origins” of the so-called black family and the weight of African heritage on black cultures in the Americas in general (see Mintz and Price 1992 [1976]).⁷

4 See List of Repositories. My research, furthermore, attempted a careful reading of footnotes, introductions, book reviews and acknowledgements relating to anything Brazilian in the work of Lorenzo Turner (Lorenzo), Melville Herskovits (Mel, his nickname, or MJH) and E. Franklin Frazier (Frazier). I conducted a number of personal interviews with the late Jean Herskovits, the late Lois Turner and her son Lorenzo Jr., Josildeth Consorte, Waldir Freitas and Julio Braga (the last two on Frances Herskovits).

5 The following two letters are evidence of it: “I am sorry to hear, in a letter from Njisane, that you have been in the hospital. He says that you were only in for a short stay and were getting along in good shape. This is just to hope, therefore, that the word is correct and that you are now quite yourself again” (MJH to Frazier, January 28, 1959); “I don’t get to Washington too often these days, but one of these times when I do, I’ll give you a ring. I hope things go well with you and that you are feeling yourself” (MJH to Frazier, March 28, 1961).

6 Herskovits, who had been a student of Franz Boas, was of Jewish background and his biographers argue that this made him particularly sensitive to racial discrimination against African Americans. In the 30s and 40s, many Jewish intellectuals militated against racism against blacks and other minorities in the US. See Kevin Yelvington, “Herskovits’ Jewishness” (2000).

7 This debate would be revamped from the late 60s in the US, especially after the creation of various departments of Black studies and the move of black activists to make the African Studies Association more open to their presence and priorities, starting from the tumultuous Montreal annual conference in 1968. Standing witness to the influence of the search for Africanism at the heart of the social sciences and Afro-American studies were several publications: the editions of *The Myth of the Negro Past* and especially that of 1990, with a powerful introduction by Sidney Mintz (1990); the milestone compilation *Afro-American Anthropology*, by Whitten and Szwed (1969), which centralizes Herskovits’ oeuvre; and the little but seminal book, *Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective*,

To complicate things further, they shared some informants in the *povo de santo* (the members) of the identical Candomblé houses of worship (*terreiros*) in Salvador – mostly the prestigious and “traditional” Gantois *terreiro* of the Ketu/Yoruba nation.

The linguist Lorenzo Dow Turner had already had considerable experience in researching African survivals in black speech in the US. Turner would later publish his seminal book on African influences in Gullah (Turner 2003 [1949]), the language spoken by the people of the Sea Islands on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia in the US. Turner was a friend of Frazier, but his scholarly theories were closer to Herskovits'. Frazier came from Howard University, Turner from Fisk University and Herskovits from Northwestern. Frances had already co-written books with Melville and had accumulated considerable fieldwork experience in Suriname, Dahomey and Haiti.

This book is the story of, among other things, tensions between an American sociologist and an American anthropologist, both using the services of Brazilian intermediaries and gatekeepers, who were themselves interested parties in the contention. Frazier's and Herskovits' opposing visions reached a large readership through the *American Sociological Review*, which published an article by Frazier, followed by a response by Herskovits and a counter-response by Frazier. The debate highlighted exciting arguments about how anthropology defined itself as a discipline, different from sociology, and about the construction of Afro-Brazilian studies as an academic field.

This research also shows how, already at that time, the style and language of sociologists and anthropologists (and linguists) – drier or more sober for the former and emphatically romantic for the latter – related to radically different approaches to the same phenomenon, in this case, the “origins” and causality of black cultural forms in the New World. Were black culture and family structures the result of slavery and later the adjustment to poverty? Or were they Africanisms, the survival of traditional African forms of life and culture adapted to life in the New World? As we shall see throughout this book, beyond these two approaches there were different perspectives of the antiracist struggle, and this debate anticipated a critical issue that would come up again in the 1970s and, as part of the discussion about multiculturalism, in the 1990s: the political use of cultural diversity and ethnic essentialism in the struggle for emancipation from anti-black racism. Moreover, with Julio Simões, I argue that:

Bringing this debate to the fore helps one understand what soon becomes a keynote of Afro-Bahian studies (and even Afro-Brazilian studies): the

by Sidney Mintz and Richard Price (1976), which was published again in 1992 with the more militant title, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*.

outsider views benefit from the empirical relevance of the field but hardly engage the local debate. For Frazier and Herskovits, the dispute over Bahia was a ‘proxy battle.’ Consolidating a perspective on the black question in such place, one of America’s most recognizably Africanized regions, represented the ultimate test of their theories – the continental generalization of their US-made models on black heritage.

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The choice of Brazil and Bahia as the “ideal” site for such large-scale and politically relevant research on black culture and race relations in the New World was the result of a long process that began in the 1930s (Romo 2010). It corresponded to the synergy between the cultural politics of the *Estado Novo* (the name given to the populist dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas) and the introduction of sociology and anthropology as academic disciplines in Brazilian universities. It was also the period in which, for the first time, the African origins of much of Brazilian popular culture and religion were, to a degree, symbolically incorporated into the official cultural representation of the nation by the Vargas regime. This development made Brazil an even more exciting place to come to and research the Afro-Brazilian population.

As we shall see, the debate already had an early winner. Herskovits’ views were more than welcome for the Brazilian elite who yearned for cultural modernization. While the visits of Frazier and Turner were quickly forgotten, Herskovits’ fieldwork consolidated his legacy in Afro-Brazilian studies and the Brazilian social sciences in general. He played a prominent role in structuring the first social science courses in Brazil. Before his arrival, he accompanied and made recommendations to the first chair of anthropology at the University of the Federal District (Rio de Janeiro), his correspondent, Gilberto Freyre.⁸ During his visit to Brazil, Herskovits was the opening patron of the Faculty of Philosophy of Bahia, headed by the young medical doctor and ethnographer, Thales de Azevedo. In São Paulo, he was in contact with the two main centres in the field of social sciences – the School of Sociology and Politics, through Donald Pierson, and the University of São Paulo, through Roger Bastide. He would be the most influential Boasian in Brazil, and his concepts of acculturation and Africanisms would become a primary reference for the cultural debate of a generation of social scientists.

Herskovits’ influence was undoubtedly also due to his long commitment to Brazil and several Brazil-based scholars. As we will see later on, the

8 See MJH to Freyre, Herskovits Papers, Box 7, Folder 40.

correspondence between him and Brazilian graduate students shows that he was an excellent supervisor. He maintained an extensive exchange of letters and insisted that each student developed their thesis on African survivals in the New World. If you were an MJH student, especially if you had received a grant as a result of Herskovits' assistance, you had to believe firmly in such a thesis. The influence of MJH in the years 1960 and 1970, on the Brazilian social sciences and even on well-known intellectuals connected with the government, such as Darcy Ribeiro and Celso Furtado, can also be explained by the popularity of two of his notions among Brazilian anthropologists: acculturation and cultural focus. A few years after the Herskovitses, Pierre Verger developed a methodology to awaken the memory of Africa among descendants of Africa in the New World. If Verger was not precisely a disciple of Herskovits, he shared the same interest in African survivals in the New World and a particular predilection for Yoruba culture in his search for such survivals. Being able to commute memories and heritage across the Atlantic must have yielded for him, as well as for the Herskovitses, a great sense of excitement and even power.

Reconstructing the research of the Herskovitses, Frazier and Turner in Brazil, especially on the city of Salvador in Bahia, drew on very different archives. As we will see, Herskovits left a substantial and detailed record of his research in Brazil, a country with which he kept in touch for approximately twenty years, from 1935 to at least the mid-1950s, through a sustained exchange of correspondence with pivotal Brazilian scholars. For Frazier and, even more so, Turner, the archive is much poorer and replete with absences and losses. Investigating the Brazilian research of these two scholars requires quite a degree of imagination, if only to bridge the several gaps in the documentation.

The reconstruction was essential to understand the period that preceded the choice of Bahia, and Brazil in general, as the site for the first extensive research project by UNESCO in the early fifties and, soon afterward, its transformation into a critical "field station" for US social scientists, primarily anthropologists. To many North American (and European) observers, Brazil was made even more enticing by the US's Good Neighbor Policy (GNP), which undoubtedly contributed to the fact that many foreign scholars, especially Americans and Germans who were escaping either racial segregation or Nazism, bought into the official depiction of Brazil as a colour-free and class-centred democracy. As the book edited by David Hellwig in 1992 demonstrated, starting from the 1920s, many scholars (even black intellectuals based in the US) represented Brazil as an alter ego of the segregationist United States. Apart from reading Hellwig's book, one can browse the letters addressed by W.E.B. Du Bois

to Brazilian presidents,⁹ and articles by Ralph Bunche, Richard Pattee and Alain Locke and others in several American journals, such as the *Journal of Negro History*, *Journal of Negro Education*, *Crisis* and *Phylon*. For these African-American scholars, Brazil was a positive model for the future of race relations in the United States.

In the US, Rüdiger Bilden (1929) was the first great propagator of the notion of Brazil's exceptional racial status and its relative cordiality (Pallares-Burke 2005, 2012; Borges 1995). Such a notion, of course, had existed before, and it was the core of Gina Lombroso's report on Brazil in 1908 (Sansone 2020 and 2022). But it was formulated for the social sciences only later on, with Bilden and, a few years later, Freyre, who was a friend of Bilden. The notion also found favour with the growing Latin American modernism and its relatively generous and antiracist (when compared to the past) representation of "the people", no longer as a problem but rather a "solution" to the dilemmas of the future nation.¹⁰ From the correspondence between Bilden and MJH at Northwestern, one can see that Bilden was the scholar who put Herskovits in touch with Freyre and later Arthur Ramos and Édison Carneiro, and who, more generally, especially in his position at Fisk, became the hub for scholars interested in Brazil, like Donald Pierson (Pereira da Silva 2012). Pierson became a close colleague at Fisk, along with Richard Pattee, Lorenzo Turner and Ruth Landes.¹¹

Since the beginning of my research about twenty years ago, scholarship on race relations, the making and reinterpreting of Afro-Bahian culture, the tension between tradition and innovation (or is it Atlantic modernity?), and Afro-Brazilian religious systems has come a long way, and much for the better (Sansi 2007; Parés 2020; Romo 2010; Ickes 2013, 2013a; Castillo 2008). Herskovits' trajectory as organizer (and gatekeeper) of Negro studies in the 1930s and 1940s, and of African studies afterwards, has been critically scrutinized, sometimes in vitriolic fashion (Gershenhorn 2004; Allman 2020), and even the quality of his and Frances' fieldwork has been questioned (Price and Price 2003). New

9 W.E.B. Du Bois Papers, 1868–1963, Special Collections and University Archives, W.E.B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.

10 Such symbolic incorporation was not free from contradictions, of course, as Dain Borges correctly pointed out: "With the important exception of musicians, *Modernista* intellectuals rarely elaborated Afro-Brazilian concepts" (1995:72).

11 Bilden, a German immigrant, was very happy to get, at long last, a (temporary) position at Fisk because of the chances he had to work with black scholars and students there. He held all the colleagues mentioned above in high esteem, except for Landes. According to Bilden as well as his black colleagues at the university, Landes was considered "a disgrace" because of her sexual involvement with men of colour, which in Tennessee was severely condemned (Rüdiger Bilden to MJH, December 6, 1937).

light has been shed on Frazier's racial and class-conscious cosmopolitanism, and he has been rescued somehow from the heap of conservative thinking in which he had been unjustly dumped.¹² Turner's trajectory has attracted interest, primarily because of his superb photos and recordings (*The Black Scholar* 2011; Vatin 2017). Ruth Landes and her photos have also drawn attention (Anderson 2019). Even Herskovits' fieldnotes can lead to multiple readings (see Ickes 2013 and Gomes da Cunha 2020). This book makes no claims of uniqueness and completeness and is just one of the possible readings of this context and entanglement.

Let me conclude this introduction with a triple radical statement. Firstly, there is no history of anthropology and related disciplines outside the geopolitics of knowledge that includes studying the conditions for coloniality in academic life and practice (Quijano 2000) at the receiving end of global anthropological flows. Secondly, I believe that the success and continuity of a specific scientific paradigm in Afro-Brazilian, African-American and African studies is not the result of any intrinsic scientific correctness but depends on political convenience and the relationship of power it manages to establish and maintain (Yelvington 2007). Class, race, gender and region are, of course, the main variables through which such power is constituted. Both enmity and friendship have been, thus, part and parcel of the formation and consolidation of the scientific field of Afro-American and Afro-Brazilian studies (Oliveira 2019). The third point also suggests two tensions, in the intellectual exchange between the local and global and between a global North and a global South. Both strains come with giving and receiving ends, and the scholar's position in this exchange reveals their approach and agenda. However, as Sansi puts it (2007:8), "It is important to understand that this process of objectification of other cultures as 'Culture' has not been a unidirectional movement in which the West has produced 'Culture' and it has exported it to the Rest." The process is, of course, complex.

In the (too) long process of writing this book, I have little by little discovered that the relationship of South–North in our field of study is too complicated and, often, painful to be "resolved" by simple tricks of social and intellectual engineering, as I had somehow believed twenty years ago. For a start, there is a hierarchical entanglement (Seigel 2009) that is especially noticeable in Afro-American studies and transnational black identity formation. Therefore, while one must not deny agency on the part of Brazilian scholars at all levels (Merkel 2022) – from those with a formal degree to regional scholars and black

12 Olivia Gomes da Cunha's (2020) recent book makes a great contribution to a comparative reading of the trajectory of these scholars, to which she adds, correctly, Donald Pierson.

intellectuals and activists – one also has to seriously take into account the severe historical limitations of our archives in Brazil, combined with the international politics of storage and funding.¹³ To this, add the promotion of Brazil as an ideal “fieldwork territory” that is associated with the generally eschewed relationship established by our academic colleagues from the North when they come down South, who prioritize deep and accurate contact with “the people” but much less so sophisticated dialogue with colleagues and cadres, in a move that mostly disempowers the Brazilian intellectual enterprise.

Secondly, in the case of Brazil and more especially Bahia, the presence and gaze of foreign scholars and academic-political agendas established elsewhere not only influenced the world of Candomblé from the late 1930s and black activism from the 1970s, but even became part and parcel of these social phenomena as well as of the academic field of Afro-Brazilian studies more generally. On several occasions, social scientists, especially anthropologists, were mouthpieces for the Candomblé houses and associations, particularly those considered by in- and outsiders as purer and more authentically African. This entanglement between social scientists, Candomblé religion, black activism and the antiracist struggle has created a very specific, one could say very Brazilian, set of relations and tensions. It is as old as the field of Afro-Brazilian

13 In a recent and excellent study of the reception of ideas from abroad in Brazil, which goes beyond the obvious entanglement – the new magic word in the transnational history of the social sciences in Brazil – and focuses on the encounter of agendas, Merkel (2022) shows that cosmopolitan, nationalist, Brazilian intellectuals used French culture and its academics as a tool in their modernist project: French social sciences at some point became instrumental to the Brazilian project. Rather than being a one-way system, though, the exchange was (according to this author) based on a combination of entanglement and revolving doors. In return, “Brazilian ideas” and certain representations of Brazil as the country of almost unlimited possibility in terms of social engineering were important in France, especially before and during the Second World War and, albeit in a more selective fashion, in the period between the end of WWII and the independence of Algeria. Often it is unclear who was using who and whether it was a win-win relationship throughout. The (young) French scholars benefited in many ways (for example, with a status equal to low-ranking diplomats, their travel – first-class! – was paid for by the Brazilians). Another field of tension was in both imagining Brazil as a space of liberty and new possibilities, and placing Brazil in time. The French scholars often stated that they were travelling back into the past by visiting Brazil, which for them was the country of the past and the future. Lévi-Strauss remembered Brazil in *Tristes Tropiques* as a land of opportunity, professionally and experientially. Distanced from the country geographically, the French scholars nonetheless found Brazil a useful place to think with, or as Lévi-Strauss would later say, “*bon à penser*” – the ideal location for “Proustian ethnography”. It follows that theirs was not only an academic project but also an aesthetic one.

studies, which had its origin around 1900 and, as we shall see, started to be institutionalized and become transnational from the mid-1930s.

Thirdly, in the United States, African studies – as a proper field of academic research – originated within African-American studies. Brazil, and especially the state of Bahia, which has the highest percentage of people of African descent in the country, was crucial in this process. The style, jargon, priorities, fashions and methodology of African studies and African-American studies were therefore interrelated, especially in the period between 1930 and 1960.

Around the mid-1960s in the US, African studies and African-American studies parted in many ways. This had to do with a set of particular reasons: during the heyday of African decolonization new research agendas were set in the African countries themselves; the development of area studies in the midst of the Cold War was a process of increase in specialization and narrowing of focus in research, with much less emphasis on the progressive agenda of Pan-Africanism or the identity politics across the Black Atlantic; and the priorities of the civil rights and black power movements made inroads in the social sciences in the US and, to a certain extent, throughout the Black Atlantic, thoroughly influencing a new process of identity politics and raising black consciousness (Sansone 2019, 2022). Such a process, of course, brought into question the authority of non-black social scientists (such as myself) in speaking about black cultures in the New World and the scarce presence of black and African scholars in key positions in the field of African studies in the US. The following text, while limiting itself to the place of Brazil and especially Bahia in these processes, hopes to corroborate the above three statements or to shed light on some facets in the transnational making of African-American, Afro-Brazilian and African studies that have remained in the shadows thus far.

In Chapter 1, we follow the trajectory of the work of the four scholars in Brazil. In the second chapter, their fieldwork style and methodology are compared, exploring differences but also a few important similarities. If Frances remains relatively underlit in the first two chapters, the third chapter deals with what follows from their visit to Brazil and especially Bahia in the period until 1967, when Frances went back there. The book ends by drawing general conclusions while critically scrutinizing the styles, impact and tensions in the field. The postface deals, somewhat autobiographically, with a number of bottlenecks in the practice of the social sciences in a location such as Bahia, the conundrum of (digital) repatriation and the difficulty of subverting the established politics of the archive.

Trajectories: the Journey of Franklin, Lorenzo, Mel and Frances to Brazil

Let us start our journey by following the steps of our scholars from the moment they left the United States to their return. Their visit was preceded by planning, reading and corresponding with Brazilian scholars and specialists on Brazil. It was nurtured by expectations built on the social and racial context of the US and a genuine curiosity for Brazil – then a country described or perceived by many as the socioracial alter ego of the US. Their research would focus on the city of Salvador da Bahia. This place would have a lasting effect on their lives because of its reputedly cordial black popular culture, the vivacity of its street feasts and festivals, its Afro-Catholic religiosity, the vibrancy and “Africanity” of its popular music, the colourfulness of its street life and marketplaces and its seemingly relatively tolerant race relations and hierarchies.

The year 1940 was a year of change in Salvador. There was a slow but steady recognition of the importance of black popular culture in the press, especially in the newspapers associated with the powerful conglomerate, Diarios Associados, which belonged to the magnate Assis Chateaubriand. WWII was on all the front pages but neutrality was still very present. *A Tarde* leaned towards the Allies, while the *Diario de Noticias* and *Estado da Bahia* leaned towards the Axis. The latter even published an ad on October 18 praising Mussolini and carried a regular column, “*Hoja Hispana*”, which staunchly supported Franco. Both the Allies and the Axis paid to have texts of their preference published. In October 1940, Salvador received many important visits: President Getúlio Vargas visited the first oil well in today’s Lobato neighbourhood, then Stefan Zweig, G. Freyre, Lorenzo Turner and E. Franklin Frazier went there. On October 9, 1940, the *Estado da Bahia* published a long text on the visit of the last two in three sections. Since this paper was among those put out by Diarios Associados, it must have been published in other newspapers, possibly with the support of the Good Neighbor Policy (GNP).

In January 1941, the highly popular Bonfim Feast was attended by more locals and outsiders than usual. Zweig visited the Bonfim Feast and described it in his book (1941). That day, he went to it twice: early in the morning to participate in the sacred part of the festivity, and in the late afternoon to join people’s celebration among the many open-air stalls that were selling food and drinks and where music was being played (see also *A Tarde*, January 12,

1942). That day, Frazier and Turner were there too and took many photographs. I can imagine Jorge Amado and Assis Valente being there as well.¹ In January 1942, the Herskovitses attended the festival. They shot 100 photographs and described it in their fieldnotes (Ickes 2013). It is impressive how the Bonfim brought together not only the lower classes and the local intellectual elites but also several individuals, white and black, who came to Brazil to escape from the racial tensions back home. According to Victor Turner (1969), the feast can create a sense of *communitas* – a feeling of kinship and community spirit – that was absent at other times of the year and in other places.

It is possible to imagine that these foreign intellectuals were affected by this spirit and that, experiencing it firsthand, it created an emotional bond with Bahia (especially its “magic” and people), which would last and, one way or another, influence their bond with Brazil and its memory when they left. In Bahia and especially in its popular culture, people of different origins, colour and social position could come together like nowhere else.² Then and now, Bahian street feasts and festivals gather different sections of the population, as well as outsiders and foreigners. These events could be interpreted as a metaphor for the society and both a political tool and a stage for the Candomblé community. Lately, they have also become platforms for local and state politicians and part and parcel of the routes and curious destinations listed by the State and Salvador Tourist Board.³ If, as I argue in this book, Bahia was constructed as a good location to dream with (to dream of a better and more just society), its popular street festivals are good moments for that daydreaming.⁴

1 Who knows? They all may have met and had a drink and food together in one of the several shacks (*barracas*) beside the large and impressive Senhor do Bonfim church.

2 Both *Zauberung* (enchantment) and *Entzauberung* (disenchantment), usually in this order, are states of mind that can be perceived in the biographies of most foreigners who decided, often as part of their soul-searching stage in life, to settle in Bahia, usually performing an activity quite different from that back home. Riserio (1995:122–123) speaks of the “dialectics of the encounter”: “*A realidade cultural baiana foi afetada, funda e profundamente, pela chuva de signos da modernidade estética e intelectual que a atingiu ... Em contrapartida, deve-se dizer que a Bahia afetou de modo igualmente intenso que se atreveu a toca-la assim tão de perto.*” That is, our four scholars influenced Bahia and in turn were influenced by it. Of course, such dialectics occur in many contexts, but in Bahia perhaps more extensively.

3 On the use of black popular culture and folklore in selling tourism and, more recently, on the making of “roots tourism” in Bahia, see Pinho (2018).

4 Riserio (1995) spells out one of the keys to understanding the complexity of racial hierarchies in Bahia: in its representation, black cultural expressions become hegemonic even though they were not dominant in terms of power. This occurred within the development of an embryo of a peculiar social pact based on the celebration and high visibility of black culture and the relative absence of claims to economic and political power – a domain, in fact, left



FIGURE 1 Celebrants gathered outside the Church of Nosso Senhor do Bonfim for the Bonfim Feast, January 15, 1942

MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, EEPA_1986-290763

By October 1941, when the Herskovitses arrived in Bahia, the political situation had changed. Reading *A Tarde*, it is evident that the US was close to entering the war. There was much less space for neutrality in the newspaper. The GNP was becoming more established, the US military bases in Natal were being prepared, and the *jangadeiros* were arriving in Salvador where they would be filmed by Orson Welles.

Let us now turn to how Franklin, Lorenzo, Melville (Mel, to his friends) and Frances contributed, somewhat unconsciously, to creating the conditions for celebrating the supposed absence of racism in Brazilian society. This does not mean that social and racial structures were not changing already in Salvador in the 1930s. Society was becoming slightly less hierarchical, and for the first time a sizeable component of the intellectual elite had started to develop

to the non-blacks to occupy and control. Such complex duality is the basis for the title of my book, *Blackness Without Ethnicity* (2003). That is, cultural vitality and visibility are not naturally matched with claims of political and economic power and, in fact, go together with a relatively low-profile use of ethnicity in the traditional arena of party politics.

a positive attitude towards cultural expressions of African origin in Bahian society. Little by little, Africa in Brazil was being seen as an asset after having been regarded as a liability for centuries. As an example of the change, Édison Carneiro and Aydano de Couto Ferraz organized the Second Afro-Brazilian Congress in 1937 (Ickes 2013:66). It differed from the first Congress, which was held in Recife in 1935 and was coordinated by Gilberto Freyre with José Valladares as secretary, because it included more spokespersons from what in those years was known as the Afro-Bahian community. Martiniano Eliseu do Bonfim, possibly the most important “babalao” in Brazil, was chosen as honorary chairperson of the Congress.⁵ A few years later, Turner would take remarkable photographs of Martiniano, a key transatlantic character who embodied the importance of the Bight of Benin in the cultural and religious history of Bahia (Matory 2005).

A careful look at the proceedings of both congresses reveals the participation of a singular combination of so-called regional intellectuals, nationally renowned intellectuals, doctors, physical anthropologists, ethnographers, psychiatric doctors and a few international scholars. Melville, unable to attend, sent a paper to be read on his behalf to both congresses.⁶ In the 1937 event, his paper, presented as a keynote speech, would eventually be the first in the collection of selected papers published in book format (Carneiro and De Couto Ferraz 1940; Romo 2010:47–85). After this Congress, which had received the support of the state governor, Juracy Magalhães, who also opened the event, Édison Carneiro constituted the first Union of Afro-Brazilian Sects with the help of Martiniano and the Candomblé house led by *Mãe Aninha*. As often occurs in processes of patrimonialization, the association had to establish the criteria for membership and sought to distinguish between pure and less pure Candomblé and between religion and sorcery. One can imagine that proximity to scholars of Candomblé could be conducive to a cult-house being seen as more “traditional”, pure and authentic than others.

The 1930s was a new and vital decade in the relationship between the state, the establishment, academia and racial hierarchies in Brazil. This was true especially for the State of Bahia (Ickes 2013) and for the relationship between the police and the Candomblé communities – who had to operate under

5 For a short biography of Martiniano, see Capone 2012.

6 MJH sent, to be read in public, two papers to the 1935 Congress – “On the Provenance of the New World Negro” and “The Art of Dahomey: Brass-Casting and Applique Cloths” (Herskovits 1935 and 1935a), and the paper “African Gods and Catholic Saints in New World Negro Belief” to the 1937 Congress (Herskovits 1940).

the surveillance of the police, who often prohibited sessions and especially drumming, at least until the mid-1930s (Luhning 1995; Da Costa Lima 2004). The two congresses took place at a critical moment in developing the idea of race and the birth of the social sciences in Brazil (Romo 2010:51). On the one hand, the Minister of Education and Culture Gustavo Capanema, through Rodrigo de Melo Franco, Carlos Drummond and Mário de Andrade,⁷ was investing in incorporating Afro-Brazilian cultural expressions into the official representation of the Brazilian nation because the nation had to reconcile itself with its mother culture. The approving gaze of social scientists, also from abroad, who were interested in black cultural expression, fit very well with this project. This paved the way for the Bahian modernism of 1940–50, which was closely associated with the creation of the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) under the firm leadership of its first president, Edgar Santos (Riserio 1995:37–63). On the other hand, a mighty and racist justice ministry blocked or limited non-white as well as Jewish immigration. This tension became very acute in Northeast Brazil, the region that was the repository of most cultural expressions associated with the African origins of the Brazilian population. The recognition of these expressions as an integral part of the public representation of the nation would take decades. Only in the 2000s would most of them be fixed into Brazil's heritage by being inscribed into the world, national and regional registers of material and non-material heritage.⁸

At the same time, the late 1930s were the period of violent repression of *cangaço* (social banditry), which ended in 1937 (the same year as the Second Afro-Brazilian Congress) with the killing of the whole Lampiao group and the ensuing highly symbolic and macabre travelling exhibition across the capital cities of the Northeast of the heads of ten of those beheaded bandits (Grunspan-Jasmin 2006). Without disregarding the relevance of cultural integration, which certainly had a positive spin-off effect on the self-esteem of particular sections of Afro-Brazilians (Candomblé leaders and their acolytes, musicians and composers, capoeira masters and black intellectuals), socioeconomic integration was dramatically lagging. Moreover, poverty and even despondency were the reality of the great majority of the non-white population.

7 Melo Franco directed the Serviço de Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (SPHAN) that was created in November 1937 on the basis of a project developed by Mário de Andrade. Carlos Drummond, chief of cabinet of Capanema, assisted the minister in establishing good contacts with Brazilian intellectuals.

8 For a detailed sociohistorical description of the different heritage registers in Brazil, see <http://portal.iphan.gov.br/pagina/detalhes/218>. Accessed 15.07.2020.

The tension between the cultural and economic integration of the black population notwithstanding, Bahia provided a welcoming atmosphere for foreign scholars, especially from the United States and France; however, as we shall see further on, not every foreign scholar received the same welcome or had the same social skills. One ought to start by mentioning Donald Pierson and Ruth Landes, two scholars who left their mark on Bahia and Afro-Brazilian studies. Pierson was at the time a doctoral student of sociology at the University of Chicago under the supervision of the prestigious Robert Park. He came to Salvador in 1936 to do pioneering fieldwork among the black population. He conducted several interviews and made a detailed survey on racial classification and its terminology in Bahia (1942). After one year of solid research, he was primarily convinced that class rather than race mattered in Bahia and that whatever racism one could notice there, besides being much more lenient than in the US, could be considered a legacy of slavery rather than a sign of modernity.

Thanks to Pierson's network of informants and fieldwork experience, Ruth Landes, an American anthropologist, also chose Salvador for her postdoctoral research, originally intending to focus on matriarchy in Candomblé.⁹ Landes, whose thesis supervisor had been no less than Ruth Benedict, accepted Pierson's help in making connections and receiving guidance for her research. She did not rely as much as others on the famous Brazilian anthropologist, Arthur Ramos, the key contact person indicated by the Director of the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, Heloisa Alberto Torres. Dona Heloisa, as she was known, was a key facilitator and the quintessential gatekeeper of Brazilian anthropology (Correa and Mello 2009).¹⁰ This was one reason that brought

9 The results of Landes' research in Bahia were published in *The City of Women* (1964). It is worth mentioning that both Pierson and Landes had been "trained" in doing fieldwork among black people during a short residence at Fisk University, a black university in Nashville, Tennessee. Apparently, in those years, the idea of a white scholar going straight from the north of the United States to black and tropical Brazil was seen as unfit without first doing a stint in the south of the United States. It must be added that, at that time, Fisk was at the forefront of antiracism and an interesting place to be anyhow. For example, after retiring from the University of Chicago, where he had been the mentor of Franklin Frazier, Robert Park took a position at Fisk.

10 In those years, characterized by the authoritarian Estado Novo government of Getúlio Vargas (1936–45), foreign researchers in Brazil needed authorization from the then very repressive Ministry of Justice. This was done often in collaboration with the director of the Museu Nacional. There is evidence at the Museu archives that Lorenzo, Franklin and Mel obtained such permission. Foreign scholars signed a document in which they guaranteed that a copy of the book or report resulting from their research in Brazil would be sent to the Museu Nacional. This often did not take place. Of the four scholars studied

Landes the enmity of Arthur Ramos and Melville Herskovits when she finished her research (Cole 1994). The other reasons were that she had supposedly exposed the importance of homosexuals in Candomblé as well as the very syncretic mix of Candomblé practised in certain temple houses (something not to be done at a time when Brazilian anthropologists were trying to convince the federal government to accept Candomblé as a “decent” and “authentic” religion). She had also become romantically involved with the well-known Édison Carneiro.¹¹ This relationship infringed on two taboos in Bahia: having an affair with a black man (disapproved of by the American Consulate) and having a romance with a communist sympathizer, frowned on by the Bahian elites. Landes left Brazil as soon as she completed her fieldwork. In fact, according to the French independent researcher Pol Briand (in a personal communication in 2007), she was deported with a broken heart. Édison Carneiro would try but never manage to obtain a visa to the United States to rejoin her. This denial came, possibly, because of his political leanings.

Another reason for her ostracization was that Landes became, without being entirely aware of it, the victim of the separation of sociology and anthropology in US academia. Even though an anthropologist, Landes preferred to rely on a network laid by Chicago sociologists. In recent years, somewhat ironically, critical anthropologists have rediscovered Landes’ ethnography, appreciating its pioneering, very subjective approach (Cole 1994; Fry 2002, 2010), and even her love letters with Carneiro have been scrutinized (Andreson 2019).¹²

in this paper, only Melville sent a proper report, in spite of the reminding letters of the Director of Museu Nacional. Frazier and Turner sent only a preliminary report, plus a copy of the articles both had published on Bahia. None of the three, however, ended up publishing the book on Brazil they were supposed to according to their grant application. Most unfortunately, the archive of the Museu Nacional was destroyed in a fire in 2018.

11 On the life of Édison Carneiro and his involvement with the making of Afro-Brazilian studies, see the painstaking and well-documented doctoral thesis by Luis Gustavo Freitas Rossi (2015) and the article by Maggie (2015).

12 The relationship between Landes and Herskovits was not bitter at the start. On September 12, 1939, Landes wrote in friendly terms to Mel, “the master of Negro studies”, asking for his opinion about her text on the Negro ethos and making comments on matriarchy and homosexuality in Candomblé. Apparently, she trusted MJH (Landes to MJH, Box 12, Folder 13, NAA, S1). Herskovits replied on October 17, saying that he was very surprised by how much her findings diverged from anything he had read so far, and asking whether she had checked her findings of homosexuality with Ramos. He concluded by saying that he was interested in her work and glad to read her manuscript as soon as he received it. An exchange of letters followed, until January 1940. It started amicably but ended somewhat sourly, when Landes seemingly started resenting Herskovits’ negative commentary, especially on the issues of homosexuality and ethos. In her letters, Landes commented that the blacks in Rio really hated whites and that, in Rio, there were many *malandros*, or

Pierson would have had a much more comfortable and conformist career in US anthropology than Landes did. To the contrary, however, he stayed on in Brazil for many years and became influential in making sociology a discipline in Brazilian academia. He taught at the Escola Livre de Sociologia in São Paulo, where he lived until the late fifties. There he played a central role in publishing, with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation (RF), the translation of most important US social scientists' work into Portuguese. In doing that and choosing which authors and books to translate into Portuguese, he shaped the character of the social sciences in Brazil in many ways (Correa 2013:205–317).

In short, Salvador and its Afro-Bahian community were, in those days, an essential crossroads for international sociology and anthropology as well as an important source of inspiration for antiracist thinking. From the late 1930s, resources for research and fieldwork in Brazil by US scholars started to be made available as part of the several cultural-diplomatic activities sponsored by the GNP, such as funding the publication of translations of Brazilian literature into English and US literature into Portuguese (Morinaka 2021). With the GNP, the American government, through the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA), which from August 1940 was coordinated by Nelson Rockefeller, was trying to improve the relationship with Latin America and to counteract the neutrality of the Brazilian government in the Second World War.¹³ Consider Brazilian public opinion at the time and that the United States was the land of institutional racism. The argument of many Brazilians was: Why fight German Nazism and defend American segregation? As we shall read later on, our four scholars committed themselves powerfully to the war effort, and it was precisely against the argument of Latin American neutralists that Frazier engaged with his polemic and the political article, "Brazil has no Race Problems" (1942:122). He argued that Brazil had a completely different racial setup from the US and went as far as to quote Theodore Roosevelt's commentary on the topic after his one-year-long famous trip to Brazil in 1913: "The one point where there is a complete difference between the Brazilians and us was the attitude towards the black man. In Brazil, there is no stigma attached to Negro blood. One drop of Negro blood does not make a person a Negro and condemn him to become a member of the lower caste" (Frazier 1992 [1942a]:123; Roosevelt 1914).

hustlers (which she translated as "bums"). Landes was enthusiastic about her fieldwork and Brazil and said she was being advised closely by Edison but was also in contact with Ramos, who, she said, knew only one single Candomblé house well.

13 The GNP was anticipated in the 1920s by cooperation in the field of scientific research and public health, such as in the international campaign against hookworm.

As part of the GNP, the United States sent two other famous Americans to Brazil, Orson Welles and Walt Disney. The first arrived in 1942 and for six months enthusiastically recorded, in his peculiar style, images of popular culture. The result was a brilliant short documentary entitled “Four men on a raft”,¹⁴ which should have been the first episode of a longer documentary rich in images of the Carnival in Rio with the title “*É tudo verdade*” (“It is all true”). Most of the footage portrayed Brazil as largely mulatto and black. The images of the Carnival in Rio demonstrated that it was essentially a black and lower-class celebration. Because of this “blackening” of the Carnival, associated with what was then considered extravagant drinking and social behaviour, Orson Welles never actually enjoyed the glory he deserved as a documentary filmmaker and was sent back to the United States prematurely. In 1993, this unfinished oeuvre was assembled into a new, French-produced documentary with the same title, “It is all true”.¹⁵ With Walt Disney, the story was altogether different. His 1944 cartoon “*Você já foi a Bahia?*” (“Have you been to Bahia?”)¹⁶ launched the character of *Zé Carioca*, a happy-go-lucky parrot and hustler that was meant to represent the soul of Brazilians. This tropical stereotyping went down much better with the Brazilian elite and the Good Neighbor Policy planners, unlike Orson Welles’ perceived oddities.

It is worth remembering that, in those troubled years, Brazil was thought to be a possible safe harbour not only by American blacks but also by European Jews – even though many were refused entry. Frazier and Turner came to Brazil in the same year as the well-known Austrian and Jewish writer Stefan Zweig and his wife.¹⁷ It seems that their first impression was similar and positive. From their correspondence and writings, one gathers that they were all delighted to see a relatively high degree of racial interaction in the public schools and in the children’s homes. There is evidence that these positive representations of race integration in Brazil by foreign black and Jewish intellectuals, in some

14 See the interview with Orson Welles and clips of the documentary, <http://canhotagem.blogspot.com/2009/12/que-verdade-e-esta.html>. Accessed 24.02.2011.

15 For a careful and detailed description of the making and unmaking of this film, see Benamou (2007). More information can be found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/It%27s_All_True_%28film%29. Accessed 24.02.2011.

16 See the film at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JSBxYcxnhf8>. Accessed 24.02.2011.

17 Zweig and his wife, Lotte, committed suicide together in 1943, in the Brazilian town of Petropolis, after publishing the book *Brazil: Land of the Future*, which amazingly celebrates the qualities and tolerance of Brazil. He also left a letter of apology to the Brazilian people. The book ended up being a welcome gift to the international impression management of the authoritarian Vargas regime. For a wonderful transnational and comparative reading of Zweig’s tragic biography, see Spitzer (1989).

ways, influenced each other. Both African Americans and European Jews had left behind horrors – anti-Semitism and racial segregation.

1 Franklin E. Frazier

In November 1939, Frazier applied for a grant to do research in Brazil, from the prestigious Guggenheim Foundation, which had financed Turner's research on the Gullahs in 1936. The concise statement of the project that was originally meant to last twelve months is as follows:

A comparative study of the Negro family in the West Indies and Brazil with the view of determining the role of traditions, familial sentiments, and affection in the organization of family life among pre-literate people subjected to a century or more of contacts with Western civilization.

Frazier acknowledged an elastic notion of the family as a household and showed a concern for international comparison, very much in line with Melville Herskovits, who had done research on family organization in Trinidad, Suriname and Haiti before coming to Brazil. In the Statement of Plans for work submitted, Frazier said that the project was a continuation of the research he had been engaged in during the past twelve years, namely the study of the Negro family in the United States:

The study of the Negro family has a two-fold significance: first, it provides a comparative study of the family in which the more intimate aspects of family life may be studied as well as its formal institutional character; secondly, it offers an approach to the study of the processes of assimilation or acculturation of the Negroes who have been brought into contact with Western civilization. ... The career of the Negro in Brazil has been different from that in Jamaica and Haiti. Although Negroes have been incorporated more or less into the political organization in which Portuguese cultural is dominant, large masses of the Negro population are still influenced by their African cultural heritage ... I have been assured of the cooperation of George E. Simpson (from Oberlin College), who has made a study of elite and masses in Haiti, and D. Pierson, who has made preliminary studies in Brazil. I also plan to consult Dr. Herskovits, who has done work in Haiti.¹⁸

18 Guggenheim Foundation Grant Application, 1940, Frazier Files, 1939–1941, GF.

In Frazier's CV, one sees that he is fluent in French and German, can read Danish and can fairly easily read Portuguese, even though he is poor at writing and speaking it. Frazier had reviewed the book, *A evolução do povo brasileiro* (1923) by De Oliveira Vianna, for the *American Journal of Sociology* (Frazier 1936) and mentioned this in his application as an example of his interest in Brazil and of his effort to read as much as possible on the Brazilian context. The names of reference were heavyweight: Ernest Burgess wrote, "Dr. Franklin Frazier is one of the two leading sociologists in the United States who are Negroes, the other being Charles S. Johnson"; Robert Park: "Dr. E. Franklin Frazier is personally and intellectually a first-class person"; Louis Wirth: "Professor Frazier is the outstanding present-day authority in America on the Negro family." Melville Herskovits, somewhat patronizingly, recommended Frazier in these terms:

Professor Frazier is a sincere and hard-working student of Negro family life, whose publications I hold in considerable respect. It so happens that we disagree on certain matters of theory, but I find that the data in his books are of great value (...) I believe that the opportunity he is requesting to go to the West Indies and Brazil should be vouchsafed him. I think it will broaden his background and give his work a perspective that it needs.¹⁹

Black sociologist Charles S. Johnson, who indicated that Frazier was renowned also among black academics for his militant stands against segregation, wrote:

There is no question about the fact that Frazier has made some of the most significant contributions to the study of the family of the recent sociologists (...) A portion of Frazier's public reputation has resulted from a certain vocal impatience over annoying racial pressures, but as far as I have been able to determine, these incidents have had no bearing upon his scholarly work (...) They did serve at one time relatively obscure the full force and significance of his more substantial work, and to blunt the enthusiasm of several individuals who might have been asked to appraise his public service.²⁰

Burgess's recommendation was powerful. To him, Dr Frazier was one of the few scholars who could study the Negro dispassionately and objectively. Pettit

19 GF Application 1939. I believe that Herskovits really hoped that fieldwork in Bahia would transform Frazier and make him more receptive of the African survival paradigm.

20 GF Application 1939.

added interesting details to Frazier's attitude to racism: he was not embittered, had a considerable sense of humour, and at the same time was very much convinced that only by asserting their elementary human rights could the Negro race eventually get the recognition it deserved. However positive on Frazier, Hankins, from Smith College, Mass., argued that one year of studying three locations could only produce impressionistic results. On March 27, 1940, Frazier was awarded the grant for the whole amount he applied for, USD 2,500.²¹ Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, wrote to Frazier to congratulate him as one of the first black persons to receive such a prestigious grant.²²

Frazier's and Turner's trip was prepared quite carefully and in advance. Frazier had copies of *The Negro Family in the United States* sent by the University of Chicago Press on November 12, 1940 to Cyro Berlinck, Dona Heloisa Torres and Francisco de Conceição Menezes at the IHGB. Pierson was instrumental and provided hotel, haircut and shoeshine prices, travel suggestions and information about the climate.

Interestingly, Pierson, Turner and Frazier exchanged information about toiletry items, such as toothbrushes and shaving cream, which in those days seemed quite scarce or very expensive when imported. We gather from this that Brazil was a relatively closed economy. Pierson also wrote several letters of recommendation: "You will probably find, as I did, this procedure particularly useful in Brazil where ties of kinship and friendship rather than a community of interest are still to a considerable extent the basis of social organization."²³ Pierson (August 30, 1940) informed Frazier that he had written letters of recommendation to Arthur Ramos ("who unfortunately might be away to Louisiana State"), Freyre, Lins do Rego and Jorge Amado ("another important member of the younger and increasingly prominent literary group seriously concerned with the life of the lower classes"). About De Oliveira Vianna, Pierson wrote, "he has, however, the conception that the Negro is racially inferior, a point of view so much at variance with that of the other men to whom I am sending letters." Pierson added: "Letters to Delgado de Carvalho and A. Carneiro Leao are included without great expectations that these men, although considering themselves sociologists, will be of much assistance to you. Dr. H. C. Tucker, the

21 He received a fellowship for twelve months, from September 1, 1940 to September 1, 1941. As Moe, director of the foundation, said in his letter introducing Frazier: "The terms of his appointment require him to devote himself during this period to a comparative study of the Negro family in the West Indies and Brazil." In the end, Frazier would stay abroad for about nine months only (Moe to Frazier, August 20, 1940, MS).

22 White to Frazier, April 8, 1940, MS.

23 Pierson to Frazier, May 9, 1940, MS.

American missionary has been in Brazil more than fifty years and knows the country as do few Americans.”²⁴

Frazier was very concerned about the lynching of African Americans and was well known to be a tit-for-tat fighter against everyday racism. In the Franklin Frazier Papers at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University, there are several folders in which Frazier kept newspaper clippings of lynching episodes in the United States, gathered in the period just before he left for Brazil. For instance, he sued several segregated establishments for refusing him entrance. Frazier also did not accept invitations from academic institutions if it meant he would be subjected to segregated facilities or travel. No wonder that, as soon as he arrived in Rio, he gathered the brochures of such institutions as orphanages – the Instituto Central do Povo and the Orfanato Ana Gonzaga – which portrayed racially mixed groups of kids living together.²⁵ Horror had given way to amazement in Brazil.

Frazier had already gained acceptance in certain academic circles and even within the Roosevelt government. He came to Brazil to lecture on his book and the situation of the black population in the United States, but also to collect material that would back his theory that it had been slavery and adaptation to poverty that had influenced the family structure of the black population. For that purpose, Frazier travelled straight into one of the regions of the New World that, according to Herskovits, was the strongest repository of “Africanisms” – the city of Salvador and especially the surrounding community of the most traditional Candomblé house of worship, the Gantois. In his Bahian expedition, he profited from the network laid out by his fellow Chicagoan and sociologist, Donald Pierson. But Pierson warned him not to rely too much on American anthropologist Ruth Landes (who, as I said earlier, had infringed the American racial code and the Brazilian social code by having a relationship with black communist sympathizer, Édison Carneiro, and having “gone native” in her fieldwork).

Frazier and his wife left New York on August 23, 1940, on the Moore-McCormack Lines' *ss Brasil* and arrived in Rio on September 4. He asked Turner, who was already in Rio, to book a room with a bath for him and Marie in the Florida Hotel, where Turner was staying. *Correio da Noite*, on September 5, announced the arrival of Frazier and his wife on the ship *ss Brasil*. The

24 Box 131–14, Folder 15, MS. Soon afterwards, Frazier and his wife arrived in São Paulo before going to Bahia, “where he managed to collect fifty family histories”. Pierson gave Frazier 30 letters of recommendation addressed to people in Salvador of different classes and colours (Pierson, in Correa, 2013: 262).

25 E. Franklin Frazier papers (hereafter cited as Frazier Papers), Box 131, Folders 133–137, MS.

couple had a short stay in Rio de Janeiro and a detour to São Paulo, where Frazier gave a lecture on the black family in the US at the Escola Livre de Sociologia, at the invitation of Donald Pierson (*Folha da Noite*, September 17, 1940). He planned to study the organization of the black family, which he saw as the means to analyze the assimilation of the Negro into European culture in different countries. From a comparative perspective, he was interested in a “natural history” of the black family, from slavery to freedom and rural conditions to industrialization and urbanization. Frazier believed that in the US, except for the Gullah Islands and New Orleans, there was no African influence in society as seen in Brazil. He believed that black music was not African music as such, but that it had a significant impact on US culture.

The newspaper *Globo* of September 26, 1940 reported that Frazier and Turner had come to study the African contribution to the formation of Brazil, and that they planned to stay for two months in Bahia and continue northwards towards Maranhão. The *Estado da Bahia* on October 7 covered a press conference the two gave in Rio in which Frazier explained the position of blacks in the US: caste difference had almost disappeared, especially in the North; many able black professionals needed only to be given an opportunity. Frazier planned to go to Martinique and Haiti on his way back and return to Brazil for a more extended period. He saw his current visit as aiming to do exploratory research. In the *Folha da Manhã* of September 17, he was even more specific: the plan was to come back to Brazil in June 1942 for more detailed research based on data gathered in this first period of fieldwork. Frazier argued for a modern concept of family, based on the views of the sociologist Burgess of the University of Chicago, which he defined as a unit of people interacting with one another. In São Paulo, at the Escola Livre de Sociologia, the conference “*A família preta nos EU*” was held in English on September 18 at 21:00. In the interview with Frazier the day before, for the *Diário São Paulo*, the reporter asked him about Gobineau’s idea of superior and inferior races. Frazier, after much laughter, stated that Gobineau wrote sociological poetry with no scientific basis and that there were no different races but just different cultures. As mentioned in most newspaper articles, both Frazier and Turner also saw their stay in Brazil as a way to bring Americans and Brazilians closer and improve academic exchange between the two nations.

On December 8, 1940, Franklin Frazier and his wife arrived in Salvador with Lorenzo Turner, on board the vessel *Mormac York*, as announced by the newspaper *Diário de Notícias*. As was the case in those days for important visitors, their arrival was reported on the front page of the leading Bahian newspapers.²⁶

26 These pages may be consulted at the Moorland Spingarn Center and the Museu Digital da Memória Africana e Brasileira (www.museuafrodigital.ufba.br).

They had come to study, for five months, the “evolution of the Brazilian blacks” (Frazier) and the “curious costumes, language and traditions of the *homem preto* [black people] of America”²⁷ (Turner). The *Estado da Bahia* of October 7 stated that the two “Yankees” had come because they were attracted by the excellent results of Donald Pierson’s research.

On August 8, 1941, the usually unsophisticated *Estado da Bahia* carried a lengthy article about Frazier’s ideas on black social mobility in the “land of Roosevelt”: with emancipation came competition with the whites, who, through class organisation, kept out blacks from the best jobs. It was the reason why the great Booker Washington had organised the training of blacks. Migration to the big cities of the North had created new opportunities, especially for those with lighter skin. *Stadluft macht frei* (city air makes one free). The journalist added that Professor Frazier always tried to give an economic explanation. These were Frazier’s words:

Because of segregation, many blacks must look for jobs in the “black world”, which exists in our bi-racial society. However, the big city cannot be a space for prejudice because it is ruled by competition.²⁸ I have been here for just one month and have no clear picture of the difference from Brazil. I can say that darker and light-skinned blacks have developed certain solidarity in the US, which has turned the black race quite “race-conscious.” If a color line exists in Brazil, it must be subtle and work through a set of sympathy-antipathy rather than by institutional discrimination. My second remark concerns blacks with a lighter skin: in both countries, they tend to be overrepresented in the middle classes.²⁹

Frazier was impressed by Afro-Brazilian studies and quoted Pierson. The relationship between the two countries was important because Brazil had a lot to teach the US about race relations. While suggesting that the situation was improving, he added that President Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor had been champions of racial equality in the US. The journalist stated that Frazier, after just one month in Brazil, already showed fluency in Portuguese. The article, titled “The US Negro is not any longer a pariah”, reported that Frazier and Turner were there to collaborate on Yankee-Brazilian cultural proximity. This, moreover, was the spirit of most of the press coverage. Frazier was happy with the attention he and Turner (although to a lesser extent) received

27 All remarks within the quotations are hereafter in [square brackets].

28 Frazier’s perspective on black social mobility and the city and industrialization as a solution to racism would later reverberate in the work of sociologist Florestan Fernandes.

29 *Estado da Bahia*, August 8, 1941.

in the Brazilian press, and sent to Mr Johnson, Howard University's president, the translation in English of some newspaper reports on his visit to Brazil.

As can be seen in Frazier's letter to Moe of the Guggenheim Foundation on January 20, 1941,³⁰ Frazier spent the first two months in Brazil acquiring sufficient facility in Portuguese to interview families and read considerable background literature. He announced that for this reason, because he found Salvador a rich source of information and also on account of the rising costs of travel, on his way back he would focus on Haiti and make only a brief visit to Jamaica.³¹ In this letter, Frazier added a few photos with fascinating captions. From one of these captions we gather that a woman "of mixed Indian and negro descent" helped him to make contact with the families he interviewed in the area.

In Salvador, Frazier stayed at the Palace Hotel, in the centrally located and elegant Rua Chile, and together with Pierson, Landes, Turner and later Herkovits would use the Bahia US consulate as a contact address.³² On August 5, 1941, Frazier wrote a memorandum to Miss Winslow, Advisor for Civic Projects, the Council of National Defense, with several recommendations as regards the Good Neighbor Policy (GNP):

During the time that I was in Brazil, I had a good opportunity to learn the attitudes of people in various walks of life towards the United States. It was my distinct impression that many persons were suspicious of the GNP because of the traditional attitude of North Americans toward colored people. I may cite two examples: One is the case of one of the best-known authors in social science [Gilberto Freyre?], who stated that he did not want to visit the US because of the attitude toward colored people. The other is the case of the leading literary figures in Brazil, who expressed the same opinion [Jorge Amado?] ... The fact that a large proportion of Brazilians are of mixed blood seemed to increase the suspicion regarding the real attitude of North Americans towards Brazilians. ... For other reasons also, the Haitian and Trinidadian elite had the same feeling. ... One of the most effective ways of allaying these suspicions would be to have colored Americans participate in projects encouraging cultural relations with Latin America.³³

30 John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Archives and Box 131-133, Folder 14, MS.

31 All of this section is based on the E. Franklin Frazier file at the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

32 On his way back to Haiti and the US, he spent three weeks in Trinidad in order to get on a flight to Haiti. Those weeks, he argued, were not lost, since they gave him a sense of the British colony. Altogether he spent five months in Brazil, three weeks in Trinidad and two and a half months in Haiti.

33 Frazier to Winslow, August 5, 1941, GF.



FIGURE 2 Frazier and his informants in the Gantois neighbourhood. He wrote: "The woman next to me has helped me to make contacts with the families which I interviewed in this area. The house is typical. The family is of Indian and Negro descent. Seven people, including husband, wife (they happen to be married) four children (out of 7 born) and husband's brother live in this house."

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER PAPERS COLLECTION, MOORLAND-SPINGARN RESEARCH CENTER (MSRC), HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON DC

Frazier suggested sending American professors and students to Brazil and receiving Latin American students at Howard, as well as the translation of literary and scholarly works by Negro authors into Spanish and Portuguese. In this context, he added that Pierson had suggested the translation of Frazier's *The Negro Family in the United States* (1948) into Portuguese – which, alas, was never done.

Pierson wrote to Frazier:

We were indeed glad to hear through you of Martiniano, Edison Carneiro, and the Amorim, Bahe, and Carteado families, and we appreciate your tendering for us, *eles tem muitas saudades*, and hope you will repeat

the sentiment when occasion affords. You speak of several visits to Candomblé. Have you seen ceremonies at Engenho Velho, Gantois and S. Goncalo? You probably know that there are at least three *seitas*, the Nago-Gege, the Congo Angola and the caboclo and that you may want to keep your relationships with each separate and apart in so far as possible. Martiniano, for instance, ruffles easily on mention of such *bobagem* (non-sense, as he calls it) as a caboclo *seita* ... This reminds me that Martiniano once sang for Mrs. Pierson and me a work song in African dialect, which he said Africans were accustomed to singing when lugging heavy loads up the steep Bahian streets. The tempo and melody were reminiscent of Dvorak's Song of the Volga Boatmen. It would be a shame to let this song die with old Negroes like Martiniano. Could not Turner record it?³⁴

He then commented on the Landes case, indicating that Frazier was well aware of the tensions:

The RL case appears clearer since recent dinner engagement with two American residents at Bahia who seem to have been closely involved. Violations not only of the mores regarding the proper role of women (serious from the Brazilian point of view) and racial taboos (serious from the American residents' point of view) but also of sexual taboos appear to be involved, including a reported attempt to seduce a European male resident who, I understand, bitterly resents the experience and spreads its details widely. There also appears to be involved, perhaps as rationalizations for more powerful but partially suppressed motives, resentment over certain personality deficiencies, including lack of tact, inability (or unwillingness) to take the role of others, and ingratitude. I suspect that, so far, at least as American residents are concerned, the matter takes on a symbolic character in that the American colony, being a minority in an alien city whose values differ in some respects markedly from the American and which is also conscious of deprecatory attitudes towards its member on the part of certain European nationals, particularly the English, feel themselves occupying an uncertain status and because of this insecurity tend to resent any occurrence which may lower the prestige of all Americans.³⁵

34 Pierson to Frazier, November 27, 1940.

35 Ibid.

Pierson liked Frazier's photograph of *Mãe Menininha* and others and asked for its negative for a future publication.

On July 24, 1941, Frazier wrote a short letter to Dona Heloisa, apologizing for taking so long to send his final report, enclosing his two articles on Brazil and announcing a more comprehensive final report. He would never send it. Frazier returned home from his trip to Brazil, convinced that the US had something to learn from Brazil in those war years regarding race relations. He made this position clear in some interviews he gave to newspapers and in several radio programmes. A good example was the radio programme, University of Chicago Round Table on Race Tensions, broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company on July 3, 1943, in which he participated with Robert Redfield. Here is an excerpt:

[Redfield:] The policy of race discrimination, then, not only does not work but is wrong. It is inconsistent with what our democratic principles are. We cannot maintain our moral integrity while we declare the one and practice the other. [Frazier:] May I remind you in that connection that one of our allies, Brazil, with a proportionally larger Negro population than the United States, has no Negro problem or any other racial problem. There are no racial tensions between whites and blacks or browns.³⁶

In his report on Brazil to the Guggenheim Foundation and in the first four articles he published on Brazil, Frazier was quite optimistic about the quality of Brazilian race relations. Soon, however, he became more critical, even though he continued to be convinced that race relations in Brazil were much less limiting for black people than they were in the US. In his review of Pierson's classic, he commented,

The reader will find in the fifth part, which deals with African survivals, a situation which offers a marked contrast to race relations in the United States. In Brazil, one needs not to speculate upon African survivals, for they are apparent in the religious practices, the dances, the foods, and the songs of the descendants of the slaves and even in the culture of the Brazilian people. ... There is a class rather than race prejudice in Brazil. I would agree, on the whole, with this conclusion. However, I am con-

36 Frazier Papers, accession 160516, Class M323.2, Book C43, ms.

vinced that is an oversimplification of the racial situation in that country. Although race prejudice does not exist in Brazil in a sense it exists in the United States; there is prejudice, especially in the upper classes, against people of black complexion. Moreover, in southern Brazil and among upper-class Brazilians, there is some prejudice not only against persons of black complexion but towards persons of Negro ancestry. Nevertheless, it is true, as Dr. Pierson states, that racial descent has little influence on the social organization, and such prejudices are personal matters.

FRAZIER 1943a: 189

From this reasonably nuanced opinion, one can deduce that Frazier experienced personal racial prejudice from the upper class in Brazil. Valladares' comments in a letter to Herskovits, in which he labels Frazier a "*mulato frajola*" (a showy mulatto), which we discuss later, could be evidence of it (see footnote 4, Chapter 2). Frazier, in many ways, used and abused the Bahia case to justify his opposition to racial hierarchies and its racialized cultures in the US. There is one main thing he did that proved seminal for future work on comparing transnational race relations systems: he pointed out that in the US blacks were acculturated but economically not integrated, whereas in Brazil blacks were less acculturated and partially integrated into a class, rather than a caste system. This anticipated the main argument in my book *Blackness Without Ethnicity* (Sansone 2003), that cultural and socioeconomic integration need not go hand in glove and that ethnicity and African survivals – or their reinterpretation in Brazil – are not equivalent but can follow diverging logics. Moreover, I strongly agree with Platt³⁷ that "The significance of Frazier's view on Brazil is not to be found ... in what they say about Brazil, but in what they reveal of a Black scholar living in an environment which severely restricted all dark-skinned people." As Platt maintains (2002), the type of race relations in Brazil that Frazier envisaged broadly corresponded to a myth that made perfect sense in those years that, in the US, were characterized by segregation on the one hand and the need to unite the country for the war effort on the other.

Frazier returned from Haiti to the United States to strengthen "his opinion that humanity was possible for black people in the New World in the context of modernization and industrialization" (Sansone 2011). He engaged in many activities to improve inter-American solidarity. On July 24, 1941, Frazier wrote to

37 Platt 2002:92.

Pierson, telling of his actions in favour of inter-American solidarity. He would soon talk to Richard Pattee about Pierson's work.³⁸ He then became involved with translation projects (together with Pierson, who complained of a lack of funding despite the GNP), roundtables and papers for the ASA annual conference on "The cultural obstacles for inter-American solidarity", and research on the black family in Bahia.³⁹ However, after his return to the United States, Frazier basically moved back into national themes by becoming a close collaborator of Myrdal's American Dilemma project. It would take a few years before he took up his international and comparative interests again. That would happen in Paris, where he arrived with a strong recommendation from Gunnar Myrdal himself, whose wife Alva Myrdal had just become head of the social sciences section at UNESCO.

Rebellious in his youth and still so in his prime (Platt 1991 and 1996; Teele 2002),⁴⁰ "Though never a party-joiner, never a 'proper' Negro, never a typical representative of any movement", E. Franklin Frazier was a product of the social ferment of the 1920s (Davis 1962:435). He contributed a chapter to the famous anthology of black thought, *The New Negro*, but grew disillusioned with the Harlem Renaissance and became closer to Du Bois and black communist activist Paul Robeson when they were persecuted during McCarthyism. In his biographical notes sent with the application to the Guggenheim Foundation in 1939, he wrote:

I regard segregated schools as the worst form of injustice that has ever been perpetrated against Negroes in the United States. Separate schools have handicapped them intellectually; they have built a false notion of the world; they have given the Negro a wrong conception of himself, and finally, they have made the Negro unfit to compete in the larger community.⁴¹

38 In doing this, in my opinion, Frazier wanted to show that he had good connections too.

39 Frazier to Enoch Carteado, October 19, 1941, letter in Portuguese in which Frazier informs him that his wife Marie is studying Portuguese, implying that they had plans to go back to Brazil.

40 In a letter by his nameless cousin, written on November 8, 1940, Frazier was informed that certain colleagues at Howard called him a Stalinist – an adjective used in those days, I suspect, to define communist sympathizers.

41 We can easily see how such a stand echoed Florestan Fernandes' position towards the Negro's unfitness to compete with non-blacks in Brazil in the late 1950s (1965).

Frazier was also unsatisfied with the scope of Howard, undoubtedly the best black university in the US:

I do not think that the students utilize as much as they should the excellent facilities provided at Howard University. This is because Howard University continues to be essentially a separate Negro institution. Howard University does occupy a strategic position in Negro education because it could easily lose its racial identification and become simply a great university”.

He also explained why he changed his name:

I was once known as Edward F. Frazier, but when I began to write in Atlanta about the racial situation, I decided to take the pen name, E. Franklin Frazier, since the F stood for Franklin. This provided me with a certain amount of security since the Georgia white folks did not know that Edward F. Frazier was E. Franklin Frazier who lived among them. However, they discovered it on my last day in Atlanta after I had written an article on “The Pathology of Race Prejudice” in the magazine Forum.⁴²

In this militant spirit and full of anger at the effects of segregation on black political thought, he travelled to Brazil soon afterwards. Frazier did not believe that emancipation and critical thinking could originate from despondency or social or cultural isolation.

His mission was the emancipation of the Negro and the Negro intellectual from their segregation; in this, he insisted on becoming the specimen of the cosmopolitan (Negro) intellectual. His research in Brazil and soon afterwards in Haiti (Frazier 1944a) was the beginning of such an international trajectory. Let us explore several episodes in Frazier’s rebellious career after his trip to Brazil: his collaboration with Myrdal’s project supported by the Carnegie Corporation, his stay at UNESCO, his commitment to modern Africa and African studies, and the writing of the book *Black Bourgeoisie* – first published in French in Paris with Plon.

Frazier’s closeness to Myrdal is evident from the letter Myrdal sent him on May 11, 1942: “I am writing to you to ask you if you would find it possible to do me great service as a friend and a colleague: namely ... to read through

42 GF Application 1939.

my entire manuscript.” Frazier and Louis Wirth from Chicago were the only two scholars Myrdal asked to check the 1,000-page-long manuscript of *An American Dilemma*. Frazier answered on June 24, 1942:

To speak frankly, when you began the study, I had misgivings as to whether it would set the Negro’s problem in a new perspective. ... After reading the chapters ... I feel that you have subjected many of the assumptions underlying practically all studies of the Negro to the type of rigid criticism that they have needed.... I think you have done an excellent job in showing how superficial and sterile such thinking about the race problem is.

Frazier was also critical of using the word “caste” because it did not explain how race relations work and suggested a constant lack of change. Myrdal reacted by agreeing that it was an inadequate expression but that he used it because he did not want to use “race”, which has even more misleading connotations. In a letter to Arnold Rose (no date), Frazier added a painful comment: “On page 10, you might even say that dumbness is cultivated even by educated Negroes. For example, I know one who has a PhD and holds a very responsible position that always plays the dumb role in order, not only to propitiate whites but to secure certain personal advantages.” Frazier was also critical of excessive praising of Negro achievement – he saw it as condescending.

Footnote 32 in Chapter 35 of *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Herskovits 1941) sums up Frazier’s objection to Herskovits’ propaganda, by asserting that if whites came to believe that the Negro’s social behaviour was rooted in African culture, they would lose whatever sense of guilt they had for keeping the Negro down. Negro crime, for example, could be explained away as “Africanism” rather than as due to inadequate police and court protection and inadequate education. In reviewing Chapter 4, Frazier anticipated the main argument of his future book *Black Bourgeoisie*:

I feel that you have sensed or perceived something within the Negro group which is not altogether a class phenomenon. ... An abnormal or unusual amount of striving for the symbols of status and power, which is, of course, tied up to some extent with social stratification. It is more closely related to prestige. For example, a member of the upper class may desire some title or degree simply for its prestige value, whereas it does not really change his class position. This I recognize as related to the caste position of the Negro.⁴³

43 Frazier to Myrdal, June 27, 1942, MS.

Frazier was also quite critical of anything that might make the Negro look exotic. This criticism could concern Herskovits' notion of Africanisms or – on an infinitely more negative and dangerous level – such a tenet of US racism that black men have larger genitalia:

With reference to the belief that the Negro male has larger genitalia than the white male, you may be interested in the following. A. One of America's greatest psychologists once told me in the privacy of his study that during the First World War, he went to a camp and measured the Negroes' genitalia to discover if it were true that they were larger than those of the white men. He told me that his investigations showed that there was no difference in size. B. White men frequently peep at Negro men in lavatories, and even sometimes state that their reason is ascertaining if the current belief is true.⁴⁴

Overall, in his review of Myrdal's manuscript, Frazier was also very cautious about sweeping statements on the term "miscegenation" ("I have the feeling that as used in the United States, it is not merely a descriptive or emotionally neutral term"). He was wary about the use of the expression "blood" or anything like "race", or the idea that the reformist government tended to treat the Negro more fairly. Frazier was tough, too, on the provincialism of traditional Negro leaders: "Booker T. Washington's attitude towards labor union was due also to his provincial outlook. When Robert Park was in Europe with Washington, he was startled by his provincialism."⁴⁵

Besides confronting the provincialism and nationalism of conventional US black leadership and militating in favour of a new black cosmopolitanism that was not US-centred, another important episode of Frazier's unconventional rebelliousness/anger was the tone of his contribution on the US black student to the special issue, "*Les Etudiants Noirs Parlent*", of the journal *Présence Africaine* (1953), edited by Balandier:

One can see that the American Negro student has succumbed to "the temptation of the West"... Probably one can say that it has been inescapable for a racial minority like the Negro, which has nor background nor tradition. The situation is, however, essentially different from the Negro student from Africa. The experience of the Negro in the United States and the Negroes themselves have nothing to teach the African student, except

44 Ibid.

45 Frazier to Myrdal, August 17, 1942, MS.

in a negative sort of way. The African student is a member of an elite with a rich cultural heritage. Although the masses from which he springs are experiencing changes similar to those occurring among the Negro masses in the US, they are a sizeable compact society and not a relatively small minority dispersed in a European community. Moreover, the transformation of the African populations is an essential part of the revolution of the modern world. In the US, the Negro will likely be integrated increasingly into American life, and he will have little influence on the course of world development. On the other hand, the course of economic and social development in Africa will influence world history. Therefore, the “temptation of the West” becomes of considerable importance to the African student.⁴⁶

FRAZIER 1953:281

Unlike the mainstream thought of black leadership in those years, for Frazier there was no natural or emotional link intrinsic to Pan-Africanism: the connection to Africa had to be developed according to African needs and priorities – US blacks and their leaders had no forerunner or teacher role to play; instead, they should learn from Africa. It was very much in this line that Frazier wrote back to the Angolan intellectual Mário de Andrade, secretary of the Congress of Black Artists and Writers:

It is with a deep feeling of regret that I am compelled to forego the opportunity to attend this important Conference ... which is of special importance at a time when a world revolution is in progress which will mark a new epoch in the history of mankind. ... As the result of two world wars, there has been a shift in the future of mankind. In Asia and in Africa, where the impact of European civilization uprooted the people from their established ways of life, new societies are coming into existence. The attention of the world is focused today upon the emergence of new societies and nations in Africa ...⁴⁷

Frazier’s connection with UNESCO lasted many years; it started in 1949, with an invitation from Arthur Ramos, head of the Department of Social Sciences, to join the race committee, and ended with a sad letter in March 1962 by Métraux, then head of the Department of Social Sciences, just two months before cancer

46 He had anticipated this topic in an earlier article in *Présence Africaine* 6 (1949), “Human, all too human”, 47–60.

47 Frazier to De Andrade, September 4, 1956.

would kill Frazier on May 17. On October 14, 1949, Arthur Ramos, based on a resolution of the Fourth General Assembly, invited Frazier to participate in a meeting on December 12–14. The conference would deal with a project aiming at: collecting scientific materials concerning the problem of race; giving wide diffusion to the scientific information collected; preparing an educational campaign based on this information. This invitation was also sent to Fernando Ortiz, Ashely Montagu, Juan Comas and others. Frazier was granted leave from Howard and gladly accepted the invitation. Soon afterwards, on November 21, Pierre de Bie asked Frazier to write a 10,000-word memorandum on the effects of ethnic structure in international relations, in the case of the Negro in the US. On October 31, 1949, Arthur Ramos suddenly died, aged forty-six. Robert Angell took over his position for one year.

Mainly because of his reputation with Alva Myrdal and his contribution to the committee on the statement on race, on December 19, 1950 Frazier was asked whether he was interested in collaborating with the UNESCO Programme for Technical Assistance to economically underdeveloped countries. At first, seemingly, he showed no interest. However, Alva Myrdal wrote him a very impassioned letter on August 28, 1951:

I cannot rest content with the indication given that you are unavailable (...). I want to point out that the job is envisaged as one having its main responsibility for the broad fields of industrialization, migration and tensions. You would find two other sections well covered by colleagues: a political scientist is directly responsible for work in “New States”, while Dr. Métraux has responsibility for the particular resolution on race. You might, to my mind, welcome this opportunity of working not directly in the race field but on the more general social science problems. The fact that most of our activities nowadays relate to underdeveloped countries will, I am sure, be a further challenge to your interest ... I would get no stone unturned to get you released from Howard....⁴⁸

On September 6, 1951, Frazier replied and accepted the invitation. In doing so, he revealed how concerned he was with his academic status. He said he would not take a lower level than the previous directors: “I am especially interested in the problems with which (the position) is concerned and in the phase of the work dealing with tensions arising from the introduction of modern

48 Alva Myrdal to Frazier, August 28, 1951.

techniques in non-industrialized countries since it is an aspect of my present interest in the problem of race and culture contact.”

It was an excellent opportunity to be recognized as an internationally oriented sociologist, a specialist on the race problem worldwide rather than a typical Negro intellectual of his time – most of whom Frazier considered mediocre (Frazier 1968). Alva pulled strings and had Mr Arnaldo, director of the New York office of UNESCO, contact Ralph Bunche. Arnaldo wrote to the president of Howard on September 21, pressing him to release Frazier and added “I had an informal conversation with Ralph Bunche of the UN, and he expressed the opinion that Professor Frazier would be an excellent choice for the position in question.” He was hired.

Soon, however, Frazier would come across some problems. Alva Myrdal wrote to him on November 2, 1951, saying that his report on the Negro in the US would have to be censored. Frazier’s report, “The Influence of the Negro on the Foreign Policy of the United States (Memorandum to the Social Science Division of UNESCO, June 1950)” was an excellent overview of the Negro question and the sociopsychological consequences of segregation. His main arguments came from his book, *The Negro Family in the United States*:

Garveyism is the only truly nationalistic movement that made its appearance among Negroes principally in Northern cities ... After the dissolution of the Garvey movement ... it was principally the work of the Communists among the urbanized masses that was responsible for the idea that the Negroes were a racial minority seeking national emancipation (p. 2)

... Negro in the US have no cultural roots outside the US. ... They think of themselves as Americans ... (p. 3).

... In order to understand the provincial social attitude of the Negro toward the world outside the Negro community, it is necessary to analyze the effects of segregation upon the psychology of the American Negro (p. 7).

... their attitudes, aspirations, and values are determined by the segregated social world around which their lives revolve (p. 7a).

When it came to the black elites, he said in the report (which would later be teased out in *Black Bourgeoisie*, 1955):

Let us consider the attempt of the upper class within the Negro community to play the role of a wealthy leisure class. Such behavior indicates that the Negro tends to live in a world of “make-believe”, and this fact has had a profound influence upon the personality of the Negro ... It should be pointed out the tradition of dependency upon the white man – has prevented the Negro from acting as a mature, responsible member of the community.⁴⁹

Generally speaking, the Negro has never been taken seriously and until recently he has been left to “play” within the Negro world (p. 7k).

His recommendations were telling. His last one was that UNESCO provide all the US participating organizations with a statement on race drawn up by the Committee of Experts on Race, which was appointed by UNESCO (p. 31).

In this report, however, he had to leave out a part because, in the words of Myrdal, “you might not wish to draw any unfavorable attention from the US delegation just now when you are joining the UNESCO staff”.⁵⁰ Frazier would stay for almost two years at UNESCO, from November 1951 to September 1953.⁵¹ In this position, he organized a research group on the industrialization of the Belgian Congo “to determine what kind of African community was coming into existence and what kind of a person was that African native becoming”. He also planned to organize the African Conference on the Social Impact of Technological Change to be held in 1954 in Abidjan – and tried to make it a meeting of social scientists rather than just administrators. For that reason, he gained the support of the International Sociological Association (Costa Pinto sat on the Executive Committee). As part of these plans, he organized a tour of some African countries, including the Gold Coast (now Ghana). In a letter to Professor Busia on January 16, 1953, he communicated that he would like

49 Memorandum to the Social Science Division of UNESCO, June 1950, p. 7h.

50 Myrdal to Frazier, 2 November 1951. It is worth stressing that throughout the correspondence with UNESCO, when it came to salary, working conditions and formal treatment Frazier was painstaking if not demanding, since he always expected to be treated with the consideration his standing required – and Frazier was a person who was easily offended, as his colleague and rival in black sociology, Charles Johnson, often commented.

51 Frazier’s concern with the “Negro intellectual achieving maturity and emancipation”, the provincial outlook of the Negro group in the US and the challenges that intermarriage posed to conventional racial hierarchies would appear in several published and unpublished essays written in the period 1950–1963 (unpublished manuscript “Intermarriage, A study in black and white”, and “Britain’s Colour Problem” in *The Listener* 1960).

to meet Melville Herskovits, who was also in that country at that time, and added: "I hope that the delay of my trip will not cause me to miss Professor Herskovits." It is evident that the two scholars had a good personal relationship, even a friendly one, despite their diverging theoretical understanding of notions such as Africanism. Unfortunately, Frazier's trip to the conference did not materialize.⁵²

During his stay in Paris, Frazier established contact with international scholars, several of whom were French, socialized with the community around the journal *Présence Africaine*, travelled extensively across Europe, Africa and the Middle East, and wrote two books, *Black Bourgeoisie* (published first in 1955 in French and 1957 in English) and *Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World* (1957) (Saint-Arnaud 2009). If the first book is the result of forty years of (acid) reflection on the US black middle class, the second book results from his international orientation and the urge to read race relations in the US through a global comparative perspective – in which his knowledge of Brazil played no minor role (Teale 2002:157). The second book was possibly the best expression of his internationalism and his project for a comparative perspective on race relations in different contexts. Frazier was convinced that "although the problem of the Negro-white relations in the United States has many unique features, it is, nevertheless, a phase of the world process" (Saint-Arnaud 2009:206):

Except in the US and Canada, the establishment of white domination was associated with the creation of a large mixed population. In the West Indies, Central America, and in large part of South America, economic and political developments indicate that the Native Indian and Negro populations, as well as the mixed-bloods, will increasingly acquire economic and political power and thereby destroy the pattern of white domination.

FRAZIER 1957:327–8

Frazier's two-year residence in Paris with UNESCO resulted in the solidification of his passionate internationalism. He returned to the US with his radicalism transformed by the experience because now he compared the black American

⁵² During the 50s, Frazier became more critical of race relations in Brazil and distanced himself from the celebration of its supposed racial democracy. In doing this, he became more critical of Wagley, Thales de Azevedo and Pierson – he grew quite negative about the theoretical lack of sophistication of the last. In the meantime, he grew closer to Floristan, Bastide and possibly Octavio Ianni – with whom he had got in touch during his stay in Paris and in dealing with *Présence Africaine*.

middle class with its equivalent worldwide. Reading *Black Bourgeoisie*, one sees that it is imbued with the “spirit of globalism that Frazier had acquired during his Paris sojourn” (Saint-Arnaud 2009:228).

On May 31, 1960, Métraux asked Frazier to contribute to a book on industrialization and race relations. On October 19 that year, Frazier sent a memorandum to the Department of Social Sciences of UNESCO on “The causes of conflicts between whites and Negroes in the United States”. It summed up his point of view on segregation and civil rights and ended with the following words: “There is one important factor that favors the Negro, namely, that his struggle has become part of the struggle of people of the world for freedom and democracy”. Soon, Frazier would get a second invitation to join UNESCO for two years. According to Métraux, in a letter of January 27, 1961, Frazier should spend two years organizing the collective book on industrialization and race relations in the modern world, focusing on the US and South Africa.

On March 9, Frazier sent Métraux a synopsis of the proposed study. It was, in fact, the outline of a book on how industrialization is related to race relations because:

it determines the type of social organization in which people of different racial backgrounds will find an accommodation (1) ... In an urban industrial society where there is greater anonymity and social mobility, race prejudice does not play the same role in race relation as in an agriculturally based society (2) ... In a freely competitive society where the labor status of a racial group is not determined by birth and the division of labor is an impersonal process, the racial division of labor is due to cultural backgrounds, and particular skills and psychological constitution of races (4).⁵³

The book would be based on contributions from some of the most important and renowned social scientists: Herbert Blumer on theoretical aspects of race relations, Ellen Hellman on South Africa, J. Clyde Mitchell on Central Africa, Georges Balandier on the Belgian Congo, Roger Bastide and Florestan Fernandes on Brazil, Everett Hughes on the US, André Michel on France, Kenneth Little on the UK, Georges Friedman on the Soviet Union. It is worth stressing that Brazil would take centre place in this international perspective and that Frazier had kept in touch with research in Brazil, where, even though in the past race relations had scarcely existed as the result of industrialization and

53 Frazier to Métraux, March 9, 1960.

urbanization, “race relations” had appeared. Brazil had long been reputed to be a country with no race problem, while the racial situation in the US had been one of the outstanding features in its history.

The difference between the two countries had been attributed most often to the difference in the racial attitudes between Latin and Anglo-Saxon people. But, according to Frazier, the difference between the two countries was likely due to underlying economic and social forces – such as the absence of a poor white working class to compete with the enfranchised Negroes or the lack of political struggle along racial lines (Frazier 1944). This seemed to be confirmed by the fact that racial problems had emerged with recent changes in Brazilian society’s economic and social organization. Since Brazil had become industrialized and urbanized and new classes had come into existence, the emergence of problems involving race relations was becoming evident (Frazier 1944:10). Here two things are apparent. Frazier, also on account of his own experience, was putting Brazil on the world map as few scholars of his time would have done. But despite this, he had changed his perception of Brazil as a fairly race-free nation to that of a country where race relations existed, albeit somewhat differently from the US. On May 3, 1961, Métraux wrote that “A book written according to your plans would be an outstanding contribution to the question of race relations.”

Frazier’s assignment, however, did not get clearance from the State Department. On May 4, Métraux wrote that “the clearance which was necessary to make a contract with you is being held up because you have not yet answered the State Department questionnaire”. Frazier replied on May 6: “It is difficult to understand why it is necessary to fingerprint an American scholar each time that he undertakes some scholarly task for an international organization.” No solution was found and on March 13, 1962, Métraux stated, “I am terribly sorry, but I repeat that I do not feel responsible for a solution which I had not foreseen. It would have given me particular pleasure to end my UNESCO career collaborating with you as I started it some ten years ago.” The fascinating collective book that Frazier had carefully prepared would never be.

Frazier’s commitment to Africa and African studies has too often been overlooked, possibly because he rejected the aesthetic romanticism about Africa associated with the Harlem Renaissance (Winston 2002:138).⁵⁴ Frazier

54 Despite being well-known as irascible, ill-tempered and debating the matter of African survivals vigorously (Frazier 1957a), Winston (2002:139) argues that Franklin Frazier was a friend of Melville Herskovits until the end of his life. Davis, in his epitaph of Frazier, says: “He and Melville Herskovits, the anthropologist, had a feud over African survivals which lasted thirty years, but the two remained friends” (1962:435).

was a more complex person than that. First, even though he would criticize the nationalism and isolationism of the New Negro Movement from the late twenties, he was in many ways part of that Renaissance. Second, he would be interested in Africa throughout his life, and increasingly so. He had been an active member of the left-leaning Council on African Affairs from 1941 (and had to pay for it when he became a victim of McCarthyism) and was a prominent sympathizer of the Bandung/Tricontinental spirit. Frazier attempted to create a programme of African studies at Howard University soon after his Brazil experience (he eventually managed to create one in 1954, which later received funding from the Ford Foundation) and, with Du Bois, shared Pan-Africanism in later life (Saint-Arnaud 2009:207).

Moreover, Frazier kept in contact with several African intellectuals as well as with the community around the Paris-based journal *Présence Africaine*, and was one of the founding members of the African Studies Association (he was part of the small group that founded the association in a meeting held at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York in March 1957, and took part of its first board of directors). This dedication would be crowned with his nomination in 1962 to the Presidency of the African Studies Association for the year 1963. Unfortunately, cancer would kill him just before he took office.

As can be seen from his notes at the Moorland-Spangarn Research Center at Howard University, from the 1940s to the end of his life Frazier resented deeply all the obstacles he faced that prevented him from becoming the universal scholar he had certainly hoped to be (Sansone 2011).⁵⁵ Yet, he achieved a lot. He was not only attuned to mainstream sociology throughout his life but also well connected. His prominence in Myrdal's project, *An American Dilemma*, contributed to making him the first black president of the American Sociological Association in 1948 (Saint-Arnaud 2009:206). Nevertheless, he remained unsatisfied with the place of black American intellectuals in mainstream academia and with the mediocrity and self-complacency of the scholars who operated exclusively within the black community.

2 Lorenzo Dow Turner

In doing fieldwork in Bahia, Franklin Frazier teamed up with linguist Lorenzo Dow Turner. The two had been friends for many years. Turner (BA at Howard, MA from Harvard and a University of Chicago PhD in 1926), one of the first

55 Frazier Papers, Boxes 131–33, MS.

black scholars to get a PhD at the University of Chicago, was possibly the best-known black linguist of his time. He had acquired fame with his study of African survival in various forms of Black English in the US, especially that spoken on the Gullah Islands off South Carolina and Georgia (Turner 2003).

For this research, Turner had received two prestigious grants – from the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) in 1933 and the Guggenheim Foundation in 1936. The concise statement of his grant application was as follows: “My purpose is to determine the nature and extent of African survivals in the speech of Negroes on the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia and the British West Indies.”⁵⁶ His interests had an international perspective right from the start, but given that the grant was coming from the US it had to be associated with a focus on African Americans. In his early years as a researcher, Turner had to support his study through several short teaching posts and as a journalist. Only for his PhD did he manage to arrange a one-year grant.

Turner received a grant for his research on Brazil from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, which specialized in funding historically black colleges, black scholars and Jewish organizations. It ceased its activities in 1948. Here is the concise statement of the work plan: To study the sounds, syntax, inflections, intonation and vocabulary of Negro speech in Bahia and Pernambuco, Brazil, to determine the nature, extent, and significance of West African survivals in their speech. From the ACLS, he received an additional USD 1,000 grant-in-aid for purchasing a “speech recording outfit”, then a very expensive machine. Waldo Leland, director of the ACLS, was the first name Turner mentioned in his list of references for this application. Turner gave more details in the Statement of Work:

For the last three or four years, I have worked intensively in London, Paris and the US on the sounds, syntax, inflections, tones, and vocabulary of about fifteen West African languages spoken in sections of West Africa from which the Negroes of the US were brought as slaves ... From my study of the importation of slaves from Africa to Brazil, and from the knowledge I have at present of Negro speech in Brazil, I find that, with few exceptions, the West African languages which have influenced the sea-island speech of South Carolina and Georgia appear likewise to have influenced the speech of Negroes in certain parts of Brazil, particularly Bahia and Pernambuco. My plan, therefore, is to spend one year in these two states making a study of West African survivals in the

56 LDT papers, Box 41, Folder 8, Grant Proposals, NU.

speech of Negroes. After selecting the appropriate informants, I shall collect my material somewhat as follows: first, through personal interviews with informants, during which I shall use work-sheets prepared especially to facilitate the study of this particular speech, and second, using a speech-recording machine, with which I shall make phonograph records of folktales, proverbs, life histories, narratives of religious experience, invocations and prayers of the wide-spread fetish cult, secular and religious songs, etc. All of this material will serve as the basis for an intensive study of the sounds, syntax, inflections, tones, and vocabulary of the principal languages spoken in those sections of West Africa from which the Negroes of Bahia and Pernambuco were brought as slaves ... I intend to secure textual material from priests of the fetish cults that will be primarily religious and mythological ... My subsequent work will be the study of West African survivals in the speech of Negroes in other parts of the New World, such as the British and Dutch Guyana, the West Indies and elsewhere.⁵⁷

Turner prepared his trip to Brazil by corresponding with Herskovits, with whom he had been in contact since 1936 and from whom he sought advice in his plan to "further study African survivals in the speech of the New World Negro".⁵⁸ Turner had read the two Dahomey volumes published by Herskovits (1938 and 1938a) and was quite excited by them. In a letter to Leland of March 12, 1940, Herskovits actively supported Turner's application and added that he could help Turner by introducing him to Freyre and Ramos. Although Leland was quite supportive of Turner, as we can see from his correspondence with Herskovits on March 6, 1940, he raised a question, which his Advisory Board had also mentioned, namely that of Turner's facility with Portuguese:

In your opinion how important is it for him to have a good knowledge of Portuguese? I know that he worked in Paris with French Negroes without much more than a rudimentary knowledge of French. It seems a paradox that a man can work in linguistics without knowing languages, but in primitive linguistics, scholars do that all the time.⁵⁹

Turner left New York on June 16 and arrived in Rio on June 26, 1940 on the vessel *Uruguay*, of the American Republic Line/Moore-McCormack Lines. He

57 LDT papers, Box 41, Folder 8, Grant Proposals, NU.

58 Turner to MJH, October 25, 1939, Turner Papers, Box 25, Folder 2.

59 Leland to MJH, March 6, 1940.

was surprised by the friendliness of the Rio customs officials. He stayed at the Florida Hotel, from which he wrote to Frazier.⁶⁰ He commented that after two weeks he was becoming acculturated to the Brazilian way of life, though “the language is very difficult to speak and understand when Brazilians speak it. I am taking five lessons a week ...”.⁶¹

Frazier replied on July 16: “I thought that the language would be difficult to speak and understand, but I suppose I will learn that as I have others by being among the people who speak it every day.” It is obvious that Frazier had a gift for languages, while Turner did not. Turner wrote back on July 26: “Language here is hell. These people speak so fast that it is still difficult for me to understand most of what they say ... My Linguaphone set has not been as useful to me as I had hoped.”

Turner intended to remain for six months in Bahia – three in Pernambuco and three in Maranhão. Time permitting, he also would have liked to spend three weeks each in Sergipe and Alagoas: “In the four states, the customs of the negroes appear to be more primitive than anywhere else. I was told that in certain parts of Minas, many African customs have survived. I shall probably go there too.” In Salvador, Turner had originally planned to rent a furnished home where he could make recordings without disturbing anyone. It would turn out differently, and he and Frazier would both stay in the same centrally located hotel.

As soon as Turner arrived in Rio, he contacted Oneida Alvarenga, director of the Discoteca Pública Municipal of São Paulo, asking for copies of the recordings done by Mário de Andrade in 1938, of which he already knew. The Library could lend these recordings only if a librarian accompanied them. Turner would have to pay for the librarian to travel to Rio by train for him to make the recordings with his equipment.⁶² Turner’s initiatives were criticized by Mário de Andrade himself, who wrote angrily to Oneida for having lent breakable discs without written authorization so that Turner could take them to Rio to make copies. He added: “Turner’s case is very serious. Even though I imagine that he is a probe person, 99.5% of humanity does not care properly for other people’s property.”⁶³

60 Turner to MJH, February 17, 1940, NU.

61 Turner to Frazier, Box 131–16, Folder 8, MS.

62 Alvarenga to Turner, August 23, 1940. Olivia Gomes da Cunha (2020) maintains that this assistant travelled with Turner all the way to Bahia. I could not see evidence of this in the documents I was able to investigate.

63 August 5, 1940, De Andrade’s Papers, IEB/USP. In his long interview with Marisa Correa (1987), Pierson stated that he first received Turner in São Paulo and that through his connection with the city’s Department of Culture, he helped Turner to get copies of a few

Turner kept corresponding with Herskovits from Brazil:

I have been in Brazil since June 26 and in Bahia since October 8. The field here is rich in African material, and I am having no difficulty in finding it. The African songs and stories I have recorded are so numerous that I have stopped counting them. I have recorded at least 600 African songs and a great deal of other valuable African material. There are already many thousands of African words in my list besides numerous survivals in other phases of language. In the Candomblé, in Bahia, the influence of Nigeria, Dahomey, and Angola is strongest, but other words from other sections of the West Coast have found a permanent place in the vocabulary of Brazilian Portuguese ...⁶⁴ By this time, you have seen Mr. Ramos. I had several profitable talks with him in Rio, and the letters he gave me to his friends in Bahia have been very helpful. Frazier has been in Brazil since September. He sails for Haiti on February 20. After spending four months in Bahia, he is no longer in doubt of African survivals in New World culture. From now on, he will observe the American Negro through different but wiser eyes. This trip to Brazil has indeed been a revelation to him.⁶⁵

On February 17, Herskovits replied to the last comment: "I am glad to learn that Frazier's work has been going well. I shall be interested in seeing how his experience in Brazil and the West Indies affects his future approach toward his American Negro materials." Soon, Frazier would enter this argument by sending Herskovits a postcard portraying Mãe Menininha and her *ekedis*. Frazier's words on the postcard are revealing.

Turner had unique recording equipment. Using a Lincoln Thompson with a petrol generator (400 watts, 110 volts and 60 cycles), which was relatively portable for those times although it weighed 75 pounds (34 kilograms), he recorded many hours of interviews with Candomblé priests and priestesses as well as music, folktales and short stories. Besides recording more than 600 twelve-inch discs,⁶⁶ Turner also took over 200 pictures, including several of Frazier's informants (Sansone 2011).

dozen records of Brazilian folk music. These were copies of recordings done by Mário de Andrade a few years earlier in Northeast Brazil.

64 Turner was aware of Renato Mendonça's book on African influences on the Portuguese of Brazil (1938) and often quoted it.

65 Turner to MJH, November 11, 1940, MJH Papers, Box 25, Folder 2, NU.

66 One hundred of the USD 1,000 Turner received from the ACLS was meant to pay informants. In a letter of December 11, 1939, Herskovits suggested that Turner put at least USD 300 aside for payments to singers and other informants. Eventually, Turner would receive



FIGURE 3 *Mãe Menininha* and her religious daughters (*ekedis*) portrayed on a postcard Frazier sent to Melville Herskovits before he left Salvador. From left to right: Floripedes de Oxossi, Hilda de Oxum, Celina de Oxalufã, *Mãe Menininha* (de Oxum), América de Obaluayê, Titia Amor de Obaluayê, Cleusa de Nanã (oldest daughter of *Mãe Menininha* and her successor), Carmen de Oxalá (daughter of *Mãe Menininha* and present-day *Ialorixá* of the Gantois). Frazier wrote: "I would not write until I could find an 'Africanism'. Quite seriously the *mãe* de santo, in the center, surrounded by her *filhas de santo* represent a continuation of African religious customs (fused with Portuguese elements of course). Moving on to Haiti next month."

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER PAPERS COLLECTION, MOORLAND-SPINGARN RESEARCH CENTER (MSRC), HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON DC

Turner stayed in Brazil two months longer than Frazier, travelling and recording in two states with a large black population north of Bahia – Sergipe and Pernambuco. Shortly after coming back to Fisk in June 1941, he organized a Latin American festival, with a special section on Afro-Bahian dance, as part of the initiatives supported by the Good Neighbor Policy. The festival programme

USD 3,500 from the Rosenwald Fund and the Fund would purchase and lend him the sound recorder and generator, valued at USD 867 – this cost would be deducted from the USD 3,500. The aluminium discs for recording cost an extra USD 157. Turner applied for an additional grant from Fisk to purchase a Kodak and a motion-picture camera. Would he eventually record motion pictures?

included various lectures on race relations by, among others, Bronisław Malinowski (*Chicago Defender*, April 25, 1942).

On November 18, 1941, Turner reported his research to Mr Haygood of the Rosenwald Fund. He announced that he was almost ready to publish the first volume of the results of his trip to Brazil and added the transcription of several interviews. Turner planned to publish, over the next few months, a monograph with several studies of the influence of Yoruba on the vocabulary, syntax, morphology and intonation of the language of Brazil and to edit in two or three volumes an annotated edition of 100 folktales in the Yoruba language.⁶⁷

Turner soon started working on new grant applications to fund the publication of these volumes. In a note on March 18, 1943,⁶⁸ he wrote what seems to be the statement of work for yet another application. He planned to interview a set of West African students in US universities, such as Fisk and Lincoln, to corroborate his data and recordings from Brazil:

If I am able to work thus with these Africans during the coming summer, I shall be able to publish during the late fall one volume of African folk tales and one volume of African folk songs as they have been preserved in Brazil. Each volume will contain a critical introduction and an English translation of the African words. Both volumes will be annotated and properly illustrated by photographs and drawings of Brazilian ex-slaves – many of them were born in Africa or are sons and daughters of native Africans – various objects of African origin, such as musical instruments, images of African deities, etc. There will also be photostat copies of documents revealing direct contacts that Brazilian ex-slaves and their descendants have had with West Africa. A well-trained musician makes the musical transcription of the volume of songs. None of the material in the two volumes has ever before been published. ... This material will be published at a time when unprecedented interest is being manifested both in the African's contribution to civilization of the New World and in the whole problem of the relations between the white and the darker races of the world.⁶⁹

67 It is possible that the title Turner had in mind for one of these volumes was the title of his unpublished manuscript, *The Yoruba of Bahia, Brazil. In Story and Song* (Turner's Papers, Box 40, Folder 5, NU).

68 Turner's Papers, Grants Applications.

69 Ibid.



FIGURE 4 Martiniano and his wife Anna Morenikéji Santos. Turner noted: “Senhor and Senhora Santos of Bahia. Both speak Yoruba. Senhora Santos was born in Lagos, Nigeria, of Brazilian-born parents who had purchased their freedom and had returned to West Africa. After the death of her mother and after slavery was abolished in Brazil, the family returned to Brazil.”
LORENZO DOW TURNER PAPERS, ANACOSTIA COMMUNITY MUSEUM ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON DC. DONATED BY LOIS TURNER WILLIAMS

On January 2, 1945, Turner applied again to the Rosenwald Fund. He requested USD 2,500 to complete and publish three volumes on Afro-Brazilian folk material: 1. an annotated collection of Yoruba secular and religious songs; 2. an annotated volume of Yoruba texts (Yoruba words in phonetic notation with tones marked) with English translation; 3. a collection of Yoruba stories for children, edited in Portuguese with English translation. The research should take twelve months, starting from June 1945. In the application, Turner indicated that he was involved in time-consuming extracurricular activities – as curator of Afro-Brazilian and African art exhibits at Fisk University and director of Afro-Brazilian folk dance. This time his main reference was Melville Herskovits. Turner’s statement of work is revealing of the precariousness of his academic position and his chronic lack of funds for research:

Since the summer of 1941 ... I have devoted every holiday, every summer and as much time during the school term as my teaching schedule

permitted to study and to translate into English this African material. ... The Nigeria material, which is by far the most extensive of the three groups, will be published first. ... I have completed my translation of all the Yoruba material for these volumes and have checked them carefully with a native Yoruba informant – Mr. J. Tenimola Ayorinde, of Abeokuta, Nigeria, who is at present in the US ... I find very little time for research during the school year ... Consequently, I am to have a sabbatical leave of absence from the University next school year (1945–46). ... I shall be able to devote all of my time, beginning in June 1945, to the Brazilian material and expect to complete the three volumes in June 1946. The director of the University of Chicago Press has manifested considerable interest in the Brazilian Material above inscribed, and has invited me to confer with him concerning the publication of one or more of these volumes. I plan to continue indefinitely my study of African cultural (especially linguistic) survivals in the New World.⁷⁰

He did get that grant and an additional one from the American Philosophical Society (*The Chicago Defender*, May 18, 1946:5).⁷¹

In the following years, Turner, as evinced from his papers at the Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies at Northwestern University and interviews with his son and wife,⁷² used recordings, interviews, impressions and even a set of artifacts purchased in Bahia (photographs, music instruments, *orixá* statues and four Afro-Brazilian women's garments)⁷³ in his teaching and

⁷⁰ Rosenwald Fund Application 1945, Turner's Papers, Grants Applications, NU.

⁷¹ Like other newspapers for the black community, the well-read black newspaper *The Chicago Defender* closely followed Turner and Frazier's trip to Brazil as well as the lectures on race relations in Brazil that both scholars gave in the US soon after their return, especially those in the Chicago area. The paper also followed more generally the academic career of the two scholars and celebrated their success. From consulting the newspapers, one finds entries on race relations in Brazil from as early as 1916 to the 1970s. As is expected and indicated by research on US black views on Brazil, comments on Brazil's race relations were very positive until turning more critical, starting from the 1970s.

⁷² Lois Turner told me: "My husband told me I was so beautiful I could be Brazilian" (she was a light-skinned mulatta, by Brazilian standards, with "*tracos finos*"). Lorenzo junior, who was a Vietnam veteran and was still affected by a severe war trauma, told me he was planning to finally publish his father's book on Brazil. That project, alas, was not completed (Interview with Turner's son and wife, September 12, 2012).

⁷³ From the personal correspondence between Turner and his wife, Lois, Wade-Lewis gathers that he purchased three African drums and four rattles from one of the cult houses in Bahia, for his personal collection (2007:130), and that "Having observed African percussion style, dances, music, religious practices and folklore, upon his return to Nashville he taught Lois a traditional Afro-Brazilian dance, which she, in turn, taught four

lecturing at universities, secondary schools and community organizations in and around Chicago – mainly for a moderate fee to complement his modest salary from Roosevelt University. His recordings among the Gullahs, in Brazil and West Africa, made for research purposes, also were useful as a key element of his lecture tours to colleges, churches, schools and community associations:

It required quite an effort to mount the usual Turner presentation since he did not travel light. Among his equipment and illustrative items were a large African map, a tape recorder, recordings, one or more projectors, reel-to-reel tapes, slides and, in many cases, African artefacts, among them jewellery, drums and masks. He utilized public transportation since his final vehicle was the one he sold before leaving Africa. In the later years, Lois Turner travelled with him to local engagements and assisted with the projection of slides and the playing of music.

WADE-LEWIS 2007: 187

Often such lectures were followed by an Afro-Brazilian dance and music show, directed mainly by his wife Lois, a professional dancer. Seven women dancers, led by Lois, would perform the Yoruba cult dances from Bahia, in honour of Yansa, Ogun, Oxumare and Oxala; drums were played and songs in African languages and Portuguese were sung; Turner would comment on each piece, stressing whether the speech was of Angolan or Yoruba origin.⁷⁴

On other occasions, the show was performed on the radio, such as in the programme “Races and Cultures of Man”, produced by the Roosevelt University of Chicago for Radio WKBK on January 16, 1953, 2.30–3.00 pm. Turner was introduced by the well-known black anthropologist and senior professor, St. Clair Drake, as having just returned from West Africa, where he had collected over 3,000 “native songs”. Turner began by saying that in eastern Brazil five or six African languages were still spoken, and many other aspects of African culture were unmistakable. He drew connections between music and singing across the Black Atlantic, constantly suggesting similarities and used a red thread to unite these black music forms.

women students at Fisk. They performed it in the authentic garments that Turner had purchased” (2007:133). These were activities Lorenzo was good at. Wade-Lewis defined Turner, besides being a good scholar, as a good speaker, an African-American griot par excellence (2007:151). She adds, “The most devastating constraint of his generation ... was the assumption that persons of African ancestry were not imbued with the ‘objectivity’ to analyse their own experience and therefore should not be funded to do so.” (2007: 269).

74 Turner’s Papers, Box 50, Folder 9, NU.

These lectures, performances, dance shows and radio programmes are evidence of two things. In and around Chicago, there was a interest in black cultures from around the world, and this, in turn, provided an audience for Turner's creative production, which could not find its way through the conventional academic channels.⁷⁵ Together with his findings on the Gullah language and, later, Yoruba in Nigeria and the Creole language of Sierra Leone, his Bahia findings corroborated his understanding of the centrality of Africa in contemporary black speech.⁷⁶ He saw his work as intrinsically transnational and transatlantic, but the academic establishment barely recognized this (Sansone 2011).⁷⁷

In 1944 Turner was given the USD 2,500 grant from the Rosenwald Fund and an additional USD 750 from the American Philosophical Society "for a twelve-month period to enable ... to complete and publish three volumes of Afro-Brazilian folk material" (Wade-Lewis 2007:144). In his application for the latter fund, there is an outline of the three volumes. The first is an annotated book of secular and religious songs in Yoruba with English translations; the second an annotated collection of Yoruba texts consisting of folktales and other narratives, orations and prayers with English translation book of secular and religious songs in Yoruba. True to his Brazilian grant proposal, the third volume is conceived of as a collection of bedtime stories told in Portuguese to the children of the religious cult-houses of Bahia, Brazil, with the scenes and characters of African culture.⁷⁸

In the following years, together with African assistants, Turner would transcribe hundreds of pages of folktales in African languages, mostly Yoruba,

75 No actual fieldnotes have been found in the two collections of Turner's papers at the Melville Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern University and the Anacostia Community Museum at the Smithsonian Institution. This is obviously a great obstacle to reconstructing Turner's Brazilian experience, which has to be done by interpreting the news coverage about his trip plus his annotations as a linguist, as well as his pictures, recordings and correspondence.

76 This is even though, by the 60s, Brazil did not feature any longer in Turner's correspondence, which by then revolved much more around (black) US concerns or Africa – an exciting continent in the years of independence. It was still one of the eight topics of a series of lectures that LDT offered – always in exchange for an honorarium. (Box 7, Folder 3).

77 Olivia Gomes da Cunha was possibly the first Brazilian scholar to point out the importance of Turner's work in Brazil (Gomes Da Cunha 2005:7–32; 2020). Pol Briand, a French independent scholar, also paid attention to Turner's work in Brazil, highlighting his originality, but alas never published his research. More recently, Xavier Vatin published a brochure in English and Portuguese, with a CD, presenting Turner's recordings in Bahia (Vatin 2017); see also Nobre 2019.

78 APS Application 1944: 146. Turner's Papers, Grants Applications.

which he had collected in Brazil. Only parts of these transcriptions were translated into English. Eventually, Turner's research in Brazil would result in three published articles (see Publications in Chapter 2), besides the recordings, transcriptions of folktales and photographs. These transcriptions, totalling 650 pages (the Federal University of Bahia has copies of them kindly provided by David Easterbrook of the Africana Library at Northwestern University), are a rarity that still must be studied by contemporary Yoruba linguists and scholars of African languages in general.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, from his research as well as from Frazier's fieldwork, there seems to be evidence that if not African languages proper, a largely African-derived lexicon was in current use in the Portuguese spoken in Salvador in the 1940s, especially among the *povo de santo* (the initiates of the Candomblé community) and not just as part of the religious language of Candomblé, as it is today.

The transcriptions carry only the name of the speaker. There is no date or place indicated – and in this Turner was in line with a tendency among linguists to consider languages timeless and spaceless, as cultural entities in themselves. The transcriptions are divided into sections: supernatural, human-animal relations and marital relations. Transcriptions in Yoruba, written mainly in pencil, were subsequently submitted to Nigerian students who were then visiting Roosevelt University, some of whom became a sort of assistant to Turner, like Olatunde Adekoya, or Ade. As described by Wade-Lewis (2007:149), Ade lived rent-free for two years with Turner in Chicago. Most pages in the transcriptions were checked by Turner and signed by Ade. They approved of Martiniano's Yoruba – noting “yes” on the side of each page – but disapproved of the Yoruba of Manoel da Silva, whose transcriptions are dotted with “no”. Manoel had compiled his dictionary of “Africano” words with Portuguese translation for Turner. Next to several words, Ade added “not Yoruba” and occasionally “Hausa”. Here and there, one can see next to Ade's signature “yes/no” and a date. This work of correcting the transcriptions by native Yoruba speakers from Nigeria was done in July and August 1950.

This “Africano” language consisted of a lexicon possibly borrowed from several West African languages and from the Congo-Angola region, plus several words created in Bahia but seen as African words anyhow. It was a lexicon used

79 We are planning to post most of these documents in a special collection dedicated to Turner, in the Afrodigital Museum of the Federal University of Bahia. Our aim is to encourage the collective curatorship of these documents through the web and apps such as Wiki, for instance, by having speakers of African languages, located in various places, identify terms and the way they were used both in the Yoruba of 1940s Bahia and in the “Africano” speech that is so prominent in Turner's notes and the Herskovitses' fieldnotes.

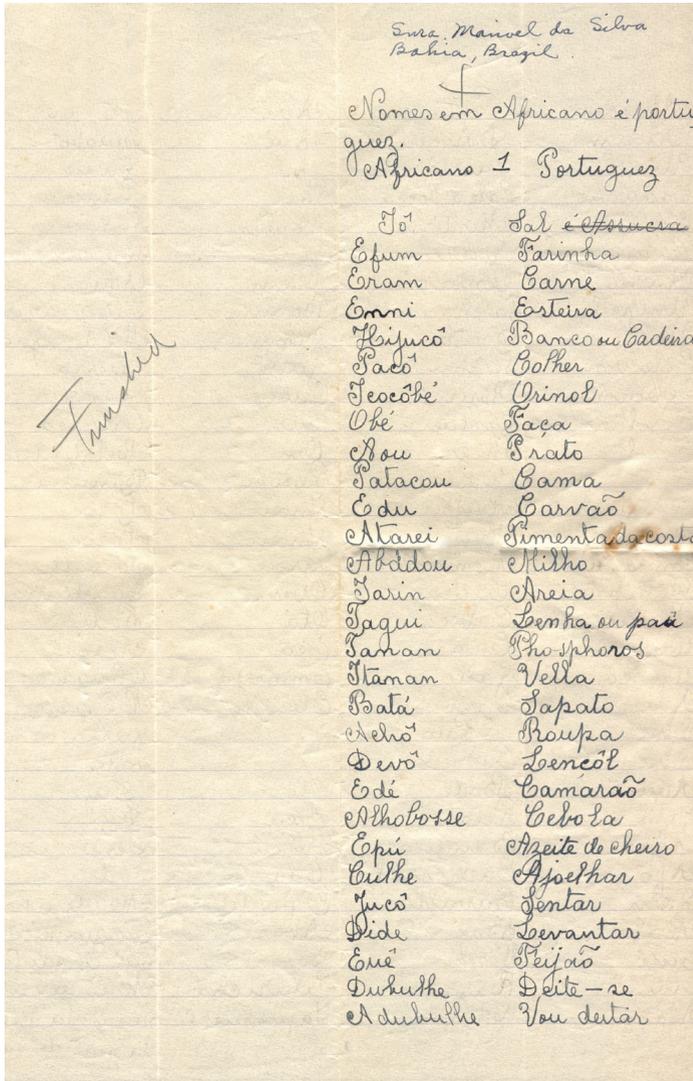


FIGURE 5 A list of “Africano” words with Portuguese translation, given by Manoel da Silva and his wife Zezé

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS LIBRARY OF AFRICAN STUDIES LORENZO DOW TURNER PAPERS, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

often in the Portuguese language, but meant a lot for the Candomblé community, who revered the African sounds and power of the words. It was a magical and political language created by the Candomblé community, a community in which authenticity and invention for the sake of sustaining or revamping a

tradition were held as pivotal – even if the “Africano” was not usually acknowledged by most anthropologists (undoubtedly these included the Herskovitses) as a positive ingredient of the power of Candomblé. Soon, Turner would transform Manoel’s list into an Africano-English dictionary, where the Africano words were transcribed according to linguists’ phonetic rules.⁸⁰

When he analysed his transcriptions with the help of Nigerian native Yoruba-speakers, Turner had doubts about the Yoruba and Africano speech used in Bahia. These doubts matured in the period 1941–48, and were one of his main motivations when he applied for a Fulbright grant in 1949 for research in Nigeria. As Wade-Lewis put it: “he wished to gain the background to interpret his Brazilian Yoruba folklore more adequately by immersing himself in the source, Nigerian Yoruba culture, through which he would develop a more nuanced sense of African philosophy underlying the culture” (2007:165).⁸¹

Turner received the grant, and sailed to Nigeria in 1951. There he was based at the University of Ibadan. During his interviews with Yoruba speakers, he often played his Bahia recordings and presented the documents he had received in Salvador from Bahian-Nigerian families (copies of passports, photos, etc.), which were always much appreciated (Wade-Lewis 2007:172). During his stay in Nigeria, Turner also lectured on “Brazil’s Indebtedness to Africa”, stirring up quite a lot of interest. He drove to Sierra Leone from Nigeria, passing through Togo and Ghana. In Sierra Leone, he spent about two months interviewing speakers of Krio, the Creole language spoken by most people in that country. Nearly a decade later, with funds from the Peace Corps, he was involved in training aid workers, travelled to Sierra Leone and managed to publish two

80 Manoel, *ogan* in the Gantois house, was also a key informant to the Herskovitses, who called him Manoel da Silva. He was married to Zezé, *vodunsi* in the Gantois, who was another key informant to the Herskovitses. In fact Zezé passed a very similar word list to the Herskovitses, who copied it in their fieldnotes (MJH & FSH papers, Box 31, Field Notes Bahia, Book E 74–75, NU). Zezé – who had been initiated in Gantois but said that her real saint was a Caboclo – and her husband Manoel were trying to open a cult house in 1940–42 where Zezé could worship her actual saint, which she eventually did a few years later in Rio. My impression is that in the early 40s, also thanks to the growing interest of national and foreign scholars, the end of formal legal prohibition for the celebration of Candomblé in 1939, and the slow but steady opening of spaces in the fields of politics and culture production, there was a development of what could be called ethnocultural entrepreneurship in Salvador. A number of relatively young individuals in the Candomblé community tried to promote themselves, bypassing the traditional hierarchy based on age and time elapsed since initiation. Joãozinho da Gomeia was such a well-known character (see, for example, Chevitaresh and Pereira 2016). I argue that in a less obvious way Manoel and Zezé were active in the same fashion.

81 Fulbright Plan of Work, July 1949, Turner Collection, Box 2, Folder 2, NU.

books on the Krio language. He had never had that amount of funding for his Brazil-Nigeria Yoruba language, culture and folklore project. In fact, in terms of publications, Turner's high points were his research on the Gullah and, three decades later, the Krio.

In a way, Turner did what Pierre Verger was also doing in the same years – becoming a messenger across the Atlantic. The differences, of course, lie in the fact that Turner was black and their networks were different. Verger was facilitated by his French colonial connections and prioritized Benin; Turner made use of the Fulbright grant and later the Peace Corps funds, and focused on the Yoruba of Nigeria and thereafter the Krio of Sierra Leone. In her biography of Turner, Margaret Wade-Lewis mentions that he had plans to publish three books on his fieldwork in Brazil⁸² (Sansone 2011). Eventually, he would publish none of his planned volumes, and only parts of his material and findings would come out as articles. His amazing photos would not be made available to the public until the Anacostia Museum gave access to them in 2011.

It was not for lack of training or good contacts⁸³ or recommendations:⁸⁴ Turner's failure to succeed was primarily due to the precariousness of his finances, which also had to do with the racial bias of those days, which had prevented him from obtaining a more solid academic position. A second reason could be the kind of Yoruba Turner found in Bahia – a creolized form that did not rhyme with the Yoruba nationalism of the late fifties and early sixties in Nigeria, which stressed purity rather than the adaptability of the language and possibly was not interested in creolized versions of the Yoruba language spoken abroad. Contemporary understandings of the Atlantic-Yoruba circular

82 In Turner's papers at NU (Box 40, Folders 3 to 5) are several transcriptions of the Yoruba folktales. In Folder 5 there is a manuscript with the typed transcription of many tales, among others by Martiniano do Bonfim, checked and approved by Ade in 1950. It seems to be a compilation put together in Brazil (1940–41), Nigeria (1951) and, in the following years, from Nigerian students who visited Roosevelt College. Many tales were transcribed on Roosevelt's notepaper in 1958. They seem to have been dictated by Nigerian visitors or students, such as Ogunnuga and Ade Dawodu (Box 40, Folder 3). Box 40, Folder 4 contains typed pages of Yoruba myths, which seem to have been the preparation for another book manuscript.

83 In the late 1940s, Turner was elected to the Committee on Negro Studies of the ACLS and became a reviewer of proposals for the Rosenwald Fund.

84 Turner received letters of recommendation from Rüdiger Bilden, Heloisa Torres and Arthur Ramos. He became acquainted with all of them plus many other intellectuals while in Brazil, including Gilberto Freyre. At some point, he suggested a long list of people for Allison Davis (Department of Education, University of Chicago) to meet in Rio, São Paulo and Bahia, which included Dona Heloisa, Roquette Pinto and Arthur Ramos – with whom he was on friendly terms (Turner to Davis, March 24, 1945, Box 4, Folder 2, NU).

fluxes that consider cultural and religious syncretism as part of an empowerment strategy would read Turner's transcriptions of Bahia differently and more generously (Apter 2017).

3 Frances and Melville Herskovits

My reconstruction of Frazier's and Turner's fieldwork in Brazil hinges on a relatively small archive and often I had to draw from newspaper clippings and other people's recollections to put together a particular episode. But the archives concerning the Herskovitses are much more generous. Their documents and correspondence are scattered across at least five places and three institutions (Schomburg Center, Northwestern University and Smithsonian Institution – especially the Anacostia Museum, National Anthropological Archives and National Museum of African Art). Some documents – mainly concerning the 1960s and McCarthyism – still seemed to be under embargo at the time of writing. Yet, there is such a plethora of documents, diaries, fieldnotes, photographs, sound recordings and newspaper clippings that one cannot complain. The reasons for this abundance are manifold: the sheer length of their stay in Brazil (for twelve months), their habit of painstakingly keeping and storing receipts, clippings and various types of documents, the fact that they worked closely together, and that they corresponded for decades with numerous Brazilian intellectuals, politicians and, to a lesser extent, Candomblé people. Moreover, Melville had way more financial and political backing for his international and institutional projects compared with Frazier and Turner, and he became one of the leading foreign patrons – and maybe gatekeepers – of Brazilian anthropology (Sansone 2021 and 2023).

Herskovits' interest in Brazil developed quite early in his career, possibly as early as 1930. This is evident in his correspondence with Rüdiger Bilden and, later, Donald Pierson, then a PhD student at the University of Chicago under the supervision of Robert Park and Anthony Burgess. Pierson wrote to him and suggested the “apparent lack of racial prejudice in Brazil” as a field of study. Herskovits wrote back enthusiastically and arranged to meet Pierson. Soon, Pierson, who was studying Portuguese and reading anything on the topic that he could find in the US, sent Herskovits a translation of the table of contents of *Os Africanos no Brasil* by Nina Rodrigues (1932).⁸⁵ In the same year, MJH wrote to Freyre and the secretary of the first Afro-Brazilian Congress in 1934 in Recife,

85 Pierson to MJH, May 10 and August 28, 1934; MJH to Pierson, May 15, 1934.

José Valladares. In 1936, he wrote to the secretary of the second Afro-Brazilian Congress that would be held in 1937 in Salvador, Reginaldo Guimarães. He sent a paper to be read to each congress and saluted the events. In 1935, he started corresponding with Arthur Ramos and exchanged articles and books with several Brazilian scholars. He stated that he wanted to improve his Portuguese beyond being able to read it (Guimarães 2008a). In many ways, Brazil was already on Melville's horizon a few years before he started preparing his application to the Rockefeller Foundation for funds to carry out research there. The Herskovitses' three-decade-long engagement with Brazil would continue until they died – Melville in 1963 and Frances in 1972.

The Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) does not appear to hold documents relating to Lorenzo Dow Turner, and for E. Franklin Frazier I have found only a couple of cross-references. However, the archive does contain plenty of crucial documents on Melville Herskovits, and on his successful application to the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) for a grant for one year of fieldwork in Brazil.⁸⁶ In the RAC, there is also material on the years immediately afterwards (1942–45), which shows how his research in Brazil consolidated his career in the US and was, in fact, a stepping-stone towards establishing African studies proper at Northwestern University. The collection also documents the consolidation of his role as a transnational gatekeeper in the fields of African-American and, later, African studies (Jackson 1986; Gershenhorn 2004, 2009).

Herskovits started contacting the RF about a possible trip to Brazil in the latter half of 1940. By April 1941, his application for a grant of USD 10,000 was ready. He sensed that the RF was interested in promoting Latin American studies and, especially in Latin America, of social sciences developed in the US.⁸⁷ Herskovits had extensive research experience in the Caribbean and Africa (except for Cuba). Brazil was the only significant country of what today we would call the Black Atlantic in which he had not yet been able to carry out research. The grant he was now applying for would help fill this gap. Herskovits' poor command of Portuguese was an issue, and Joseph Willits, the director of the RF's Division of the Social Sciences, politely suggested that he familiarize himself with speaking that language before making his trip. The Herskovitses did not take his advice.⁸⁸ On June 11, the grant was approved anyway.

86 For this research, I worked through the following documents at the Rockefeller Archive: Rockefeller Foundation Records (RFR), Projects SG 1.1, Series 100 International; Series 257 Virgin Islands FA386; Series 216 Illinois Social Sciences, Subsection 216-S, Box 20; Document 214.9; Melville Herskovits J., 1941, Travel, Anthropology, Northwestern University.

87 See Moseley to MJH, April 10, 1941, RFR.

88 See Willits' notice to the RF, May 23, 1941, RFR.

3.1 “No Sun Helmets, Please”: Preparation⁸⁹

In the eight months before their departure, Melville and Frances carefully prepared for their trip. They started studying Portuguese (Melville already had a reading knowledge), investigated the best way to travel (by cruise ship, since flying with PanAm would be almost twice as expensive), arranged travel insurance and purchased fieldwork and recording equipment. They also inquired about local weather and health conditions, made hotel reservations in Rio (Gloria Hotel) and Salvador (Edith Schmalz Guesthouse) and wrote letters to Brazilian colleagues and authorities.

Melville already knew personally several of the Brazilian contacts he wrote to in announcing his trip and making arrangements to meet, such as Gilberto Freyre and Arthur Ramos, because they had visited the US over the previous years or because they had already corresponded and had common interests and networks. On June 9 and 18 letters were sent to Ramos, Freyre, Bastide, Pierson, Charles Wagley, Heloisa Torres, Roquette Pinto, Cecilia Meirelles and Mário de Andrade.⁹⁰ Moreover, the Rockefeller Foundation had an office in Rio, which paved the Herskovitses’ way in Brazil with letters to the Brazilian Foreign Office (Itamaraty). On January 5, 1942, Melville wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Temistocles Graça Aranha, thanking him for the contacts he had arranged for the couple in Brazil, mainly in Bahia. Herskovits received some inside information on the Brazilian (then relatively small) social sciences community ahead of his trip. Dr Austin Kerr of the Rockefeller office in Rio was one of his “inside” informants:

A few days ago, I called on Dona Heloisa and had a most interesting conversation with her. She knows Dr. Arthur Ramos very well, but their fields of activity are rather separate. She says Ramos has an extensive collection, but that is personal. The University has *nothing*. Dr. Ramos founded an Anthropological Society here in Rio. Dona Heloisa could not attend the meeting (she really could not), but it was reliably reported that Ramos and one of his students made some rather puerile remarks in their

89 A first version of this section was published in *Bérose – Encyclopédie internationale des histoires de l’anthropologie* (Sansone 2021). Available at <<https://www.berose.fr/article2357.html>>

90 Cecilia Meirelles introduced Herskovits to Mário de Andrade (De Andrade’s Papers, September 29, 1941, IEB/USP) and so did Gilberto Freyre, who asked De Andrade to send more books to Herskovits and informed him that Herskovits had already read his books on the black sculptor Alejandinho and the *congada* magic drum session (De Andrade’s papers, January 10, 1935, IEB/USP). On August 19, 1935, Herskovits replied, thanking De Andrade for the books and promising that he would send his Suriname recordings to him.

speeches. Roquette Pinto attended, and perhaps Gilberto Freyre. You will have learned much from Ramos about what he has done in Bahia, but Dona Heloisa told me that she has some information about people in Bahia that she believed Ramos did not have. (An African weaver and woodcarver, I believe). I believe that you will find it profitable to use the laboratory facilities at the Museu Nacional. They are probably rather primitive but the best available. I would suggest that you not hook up too exclusively with Ramos. Also, I would suggest that instead of collecting for Northwestern, the chief aim is to collect for institutions here, donating all artefacts to institutions here and taking with you only duplicates. This is real good-neighborliness.⁹¹

Melville answered on July 30:

Many thanks for your letter with its realistic appraisal of a situation that is not much different from what I have encountered in two other parts of the world. ... I am hoping to get to know all my Brazilian colleagues. I take it for granted that there are tensions wherever personalities are involved, and the one thing I do not propose to do is to get mixed up in the resulting situation. Many thanks also for the suggestions as to hygiene and clothing. ... I am also bringing a little more quinine than you indicated since once we get to work, we will probably be living as close to the group we are working with as possible, even though it may mean conditions that are somewhat primitive. No sun helmets! I got cured of them in Trinidad.⁹²

Herskovits also prepared the audiovisual part of his future fieldwork quite carefully. He purchased a camera, an Eyemo 35mm film camera, 80 rolls of Eastman Kodak film and 8,000 feet (almost 2,500 metres) of film. He would also travel with a heavy case with 200 blank discs for audio recording, which had been made available free by the Music Division of the Library of Congress on condition that a copy of the future recordings would be deposited in the Library.⁹³ Melville asked the Music Division and the Rockefeller office in Rio

91 Kerr to MJH, July 28, 1941, MJH Papers, Box 11, Folder 12, NU.

92 MJH to Kerr, July 30, 1941, MJH Papers, Box 11, Folder 12, NU.

93 In a letter to Spivacke of the Division of Music of the National Library, on June 18, 1941, Herskovits agreed to leave a copy of the discs but stressed that he would like to "retain the privilege of checking on any arrangements made for my recordings for broadcasting, or any proposed used of them for musicological analysis. I have learned from sad experience ...".

to assist him with the equipment and film material clearance – in those days, both were subject to severe and expensive custom restrictions in Brazil. So, Melville complained to Edward Waters of the Music Division that:

I recently had a word from Turner ... that the Brazilian law required one copy of each recording made in the country to be deposited with the Central Archives before the original record may be exported. I am sure that the fact that I will be recording for your Archives will not make it difficult to have this law waived, provided that ... copies of my records are to be made for the return to Brazil.⁹⁴

A few days before departure, Harold Spivacke, chief of the Division of Music, proposed a less formal approach:

It is possible of course that any attempt to export the records may bring down such regulations on your head, but if you simply take them out with you or send them by diplomatic pouch I think we can avoid them. At any rate, you shall have your letter [of credentials from the librarian] and I am sure we can overcome the obstacles as they arise.⁹⁵

For recording music, Herskovits tried to secure the assistance of his friend, ethnomusicologist Allan Lomax of the Music Division, starting from January 1942. Lomax was quite interested in researching in Brazil.⁹⁶

In their fieldwork in Brazil, the Herskovitses planned to use the recordings they had made in other places across the Black Atlantic: “I am taking a number of my Trinidad recordings to Brazil, and also some commercial records of West Africa, since all of this will be useful to stimulate singers and also to document discussions of the general problem of the comparative study of Negro music” wrote Melville.⁹⁷ In the same letters, he asked for some copies of Haitian music records from the Lomax collection, adding that “The songs should be African in type, preferably with drum rhythms.” It seems obvious that the plan was to facilitate the recognition of Africanisms in Brazil through music from other locations in the Black Atlantic.

Herskovits also wanted to use the film camera. “Besides my regular ethnological work and recording, I am hoping to be able to get motion pictures

94 MJH to Waters, August 5, 1941, NU.

95 Spivacke to MJH, August 20, 1941, NU.

96 Ibid.

97 MJH to Spivacke, August 22, 1941, NU.

of various aspects of Brazilian Negro life, which, like the other material, should tie in with the data from earlier trips.”⁹⁸ Melville sought support from the Commercial and Cultural Relations Coordinator between the American Republics of the Council of National Defense. However, Kennett MacGowan of the Motion Picture Section reacted in a very negative and racist fashion:

I am very dubious about our being able to find the money for films of the Brazilian Negro cult groups. In general, we have had to steer clear of giving too much publicity to the more backward peoples in the Latin American Republics, much as we would like to make records of value anthropologically speaking.⁹⁹

This harsh response owed a lot to the turmoil caused by Orson Welles’ filming of the Rio Carnival, which the Council had supported. Herskovits answered swiftly, defending his plans very politely but firmly:

The statement of policy you make is an interesting one, but I wonder if it might not be worthwhile to probe further its validity. I doubt very much whether pictures of Negro dancing during carnival time, or even recordings of some magnificent songs and dances that are found in the macumbas of Rio and the Candomblés of the north, would if presented sympathetically, and like the art, they are, be in any way unacceptable to the Brazilians. However, I suppose these matters of high policy are determined for you, and I don’t imagine that such a point as this needs to be argued with you. Nonetheless, as an expression of opinion, it might be worthwhile to you in the event the matter is raised sometime later.¹⁰⁰

Despite the negative response, Melville went ahead with his plans to film motion pictures and asked US ambassador, Jefferson Caffery, for support in facilitating their entry by informing the proper authorities in Brazil about these films, arguing that they would be used solely for scientific purposes.¹⁰¹

After perusing the various options, Melville booked a cabin for his family on a Moore-McCormack ship from New York to Rio de Janeiro.¹⁰² The Herskovitses

98 MJH to Lomax, July 15, 1941, NU.

99 MacGowan to MJH, June 21, 1941, NU.

100 MJH to MacGowan, August 13, 1941, NU.

101 MJH to Caffery, August 12, 1941, NU.

102 As part of the Good Neighbor Policy initiated by President Roosevelt at the beginning of his mandate in 1933, the United States Maritime Commission contracted Moore-McCormack Lines to operate a Good Neighbor fleet of 10 cargo ships and 3 recently laid-up

left on August 29 and arrived in Rio on September 10.¹⁰³ In October 1941, soon after Frazier's four-month fieldwork and the slightly longer fieldwork by Turner, Melville Herskovits visited the Gantois house in the company of Frances and their six-year-old daughter, Jean.

Africanist and folklore scholar William Bascom would take over Melville's position at Northwestern during the latter's leave. The correspondence between Melville and him is revealing of the Herskovitses' first months of stay of in Brazil.¹⁰⁴

We've had a mad ten days of it since we landed; meeting people, finding our way about, learning Portuguese, and planning work. I made my debut with a paper in Portuguese last Friday night; it was rather tiring reading it, but people apparently understood me – at least they laughed in the right places and not in the wrong ones. Rio is as lovely as it is supposed to be ... Everyone is extremely cooperative, from the moment we got here and found that our luggage was to go through customs without inspection to my recent interviews with one of the ministers when it was arranged to have letters introducing me officially to the Interventores (appointed governors) of the various States we'll work. We have not had the chance to do any anthropology yet, but there'll be plenty of chances for that ... Chuck Wagley is here ... Ramos and his wife are fine and want to be remembered; Freyre has turned out to be a very nice person also.¹⁰⁵

A week later, Melville asked Bascom to send copies of his books to Cecilia Meirelles, and the syllabi of some of his recent courses to Donald Pierson and Cyro Berlinck of the Escola Livre de Sociologia in São Paulo. Brazil seemed to be a good place for research:

Things are beginning to open up in interesting fashion ... not far from where we are going (in Maranhão), there are a number of quilombos, villages of descendants of escaped slaves not unlike Bush Negro

ocean liners, between the United States and South America. The passenger liners were the recently defunct Panama Pacific Line's *ss California*, *ss Virginia* and *ss Pennsylvania*. Moore-McCormack had them refurbished and renamed them *ss Uruguay*, *ss Brazil* and *ss Argentina* for their new route between New York and Buenos Aires via Rio de Janeiro, Santos and Montevideo. <https://www.cruiselinehistory.com/history-moore-mccormack-lines/>. Accessed 28.01.2020.

103 MJH to Willits, June 23, 1941, RFR.

104 MJH, Box 16, Folder 5, NU.

105 MJH to Bascom, September 22, 1941, NU.

communities [in Suriname], all waiting to be studied. I have also been shown a magnificent document of the 18th century constitution of an association of Negroes who were Mahis from the North of Dahomey; and their officers *had* to be born members of that tribe, born in Africa. The material here is so rich one scarcely knows where to start.¹⁰⁶

Soon, Melville would start sending books printed in Brazil to colleagues in the US:

In a few days, I shall have sent to you two copies of Nina Rodrigues' 'Os Africanos no Brazil' [with z]. I would be interested in Disu [presumably a Nigerian student] checking the proverbs on pp. 200–220, and in seeing what he knows of the validity of the presentation of Yoruba mythology, as given on pages 322 ff. I will also send Goncalves Fernandes 'Xangos de Recife' in which you will find Yoruba songs. ... If these are in archaic 'Nago' it would also be interesting to know.¹⁰⁷

On December 15, Melville asked Bascom to send a set of his books and reprints of his articles to José Valladares and Father Fidelis Ott in Salvador:

The first one is a young chap, the director of the Museum here, who is working with us as an interpreter on loan, so to speak, from the state government in return for the training he will get; the second is out of the Middle Ages – a Franciscan Friar who has studied anthropology, is interested in the life of the Negroes here (especially their religion!) and is going to teach in the new College they are setting up ... Bahia is a charming city, with an excellent climate – and a housing shortage. We are still in the *pensao* (boarding-houses) we land in on our arrival and may have to stay here, especially since our being here will not interfere with our working. We have not found materials as close to the surface since we have worked in Guiana – but there is plenty down farther that will need probing.¹⁰⁸

106 MJH to Bascom, October 6, 1941, NU.

107 MJH to Bascom, October 30, 1941, NU.

108 MJH to Bascom, December 15, 1941. Valladares had been indicated as Herskovits' interpreter – later he also became a commentator – by Isaias Alves, brother of Governor Landulpho Alves, who combined the position of secretary of education with the directorship of the new Faculdade de Filosofia. On José Valladares' perspective on museums, see Ceravolo and Santos (2007); on his pioneering view of tourism as a positive factor for heritage preservation, see Valladares 1951.

On November 5, 1941, Herskovits wrote a relatively long and interesting letter to Willits comparing the intellectual climate at the University of São Paulo (USP) and the Escola Livre de Sociologia with that of the Faculdade de Filosofia in Rio. According to him, the last was less intellectually stimulating and less vibrant even though more established. Willits answered promptly on November 17, remarking that the contrast between São Paulo and Rio was exciting and needed further exploration. On December 12, Herskovits wrote about a process he deemed promising: the establishment of the Faculdade de Filosofia da Bahia, a college of liberal arts, under the leadership of Isaias Alves – a man Herskovits held in high esteem. The main problem was the absolute lack of funding. The government provided the building, but the rest was not being provided for – not even the salaries. Most professors had to make their living elsewhere. Many were medical doctors, and their earnings came from their practice. This lack of full-time dedication was a significant problem in Salvador, as elsewhere in Brazil. One can imagine, said Herskovits, what such an institute would be if it could benefit from a few men of the standing of Gilberto Freyre, then the dean of sociology in Brazil.¹⁰⁹

109 Herskovits received other requests for funding from Brazilian institutions, which he forwarded to the Rockefeller, Guggenheim and Fulbright, usually to no avail. This was the case with the request for USD 10,000 funding from Dr Torrecilla of the Faculdade Livre de Educação, Ciências e Letras in Porto Alegre, which Melville forwarded to Moe of the Guggenheim on November 23, 1942, adding that he was not that impressed with the Faculdade and that funding should be provided instead for the university, which was supported by the State of Rio Grande do Sul. Moe promptly answered that “the request is entirely outside the scope of any funds I have to do with” (MJH, Box Guggenheim Foundation, NU). Mel was much more successful with grants for individuals, such Arthur Ramos and Vianna Moog, and especially the PhD students in anthropology, Octavio da Costa Eduardo and Mario Wagner, in 1943 (both students at the Escola Livre de Sociologia in São Paulo), Ruy Coelho in 1945 and René Ribeiro in 1944 (see, among others, the successful application to Willits of the Rockefeller for Eduardo (MJH RF 1943–44, Box 50, Folder 17, NU)). See also the application to the RF for Valladares, with the support of William Barrien (Barrien to MJH, April 3, 1943, Box 50, Folder 17). Eduardo was the path-breaker and Mel fondly called him the guinea pig – the first successful Brazilian applicant to which fresh applicants could refer (MJH to Eduardo, September 20, 1945, Box 32, Folder 35). The correspondence between Eduardo and Herskovits has been painstakingly analysed by Ferretti (2017) and Ramassote (2017), but that between Herskovits and Ribeiro, Coelho and Valladares still deserves closer scrutiny. At first glance, it shows a similar pattern, dictated by friendliness and genuine interest from the side of Herskovits to develop research in Brazil, and dependency from the side of Brazilians in terms of facilities and opportunities. The relationships were very much one-way. The only things these young Brazilian scholars had to offer were their motivation, certain inside knowledge and being Brazilian, which could be an asset during the GNP. In the meantime, Mel was also (co)sponsoring or supportive of the research of other important intellectuals and researchers of the Afro-Latin world, like

After almost two months in Rio and six spent in Bahia, towards mid-March, the Herskovitses started making plans for the rest of their stay:¹¹⁰

It seems almost impossible that we have been in Bahia four months ... work has gone very well indeed – the amount of material we have got is appalling, and we shall spend most of the time in São Paulo typing our notes in duplicate, so that one copy can be sent by mail and one retained by the Embassy, with the original flying with us.¹¹¹ The recording has gone excellently ... I am hoping that the Library of Congress will get authorization to send the records back by air express ... Our plans are as follows: Recife, May 14,¹¹² Return to Bahia June 14, after a few days to Rio until July 1, then to São Paulo until August 10.¹¹³

Melville prepared his one-month sojourn in Recife with the usual care. He asked the US Consulate in Salvador to communicate with the Consulate in

Aguirre Beltran in Mexico, Price-Mars in Haiti and Romulo Latchanaere in Cuba. In some cases he also sponsored PhDs in the US. It is worth mentioning that, approximately in the same period, the Carnegie Corporation of New York in cooperation with the Guggenheim and Rockefeller foundations, was developing a project for the promotion of African studies across Latin America. This included grants for Brazilian writers and intellectuals to spend a few months at a US university (Morinaka 2019).

110 Initially, the couple had planned a trip to Maranhão before going to Bahia. Health problems (apparently Mel had his first stroke in Rio) prevented them from going and they spent more time in Rio than they had originally planned. Herskovits would soon manage to satisfy his curiosity for black culture in Maranhão indirectly by sending Octavio da Costa Eduardo there for fieldwork for his PhD. Eduardo was the first Brazilian to get a PhD in anthropology under Herskovits' supervision (Ferretti 2017; Ramassote 2017).

111 Among the documents that Mel sent to Northwestern, there was a copy of the Bahian police list of permits granted for "African religious ceremonies" for the years 1939 to 1940 and 1941 (MJH to Northwestern, July 29, 1942), which are in Annex 1.

112 On May 18, five suitcases were dispatched from the guest house to the docks and the vessel *Itatinga* to be forwarded to the Herskovitses' address in the US: "1 trunk with personal belongings used in the course of fieldwork, 250 kilos; 1 box with a typewriter, motion picture camera, blank records, 50 kilos; 1 box containing personal belongings and certain specimen of Afro-Bahian metalwork for the University Museum, 50 kilos; 1 package containing field equipment, 50 kilos. ... War-risk insurance is to be placed on this shipment by you for me..." (MJH to Bauder, May 7, 1942). Unfortunately, Herskovits' secretary at Northwestern received the following communication sent on August 10 from the Northern Pan-America Line: "We regret to have to advise you that the vessel ss Bill has been lost as a result of enemy action. We presume the goods were covered by Marine and War Risk Insurance..."

113 MJH to Ward, March 23, 1942. The couple would go to Porto Alegre towards the end of their stay in Brazil.

Recife¹¹⁴ to inquire about a good boarding house, and wrote to Minister Graça Aranha on April 16 asking for the “usual” letter of recommendation. On April 22, Graça Aranha sent him copies of the letters he had sent to the Interventor of Pernambuco and the Mayor of Recife. Arthur Ramos had also sent letters of recommendation to Recife.

After completing his fieldwork in Bahia, Herskovits was nominated honorary professor of the recently opened Faculty of Philosophy of Bahia. The Institute dedicated its opening and first public event to the conference given by Herskovits, “*Pesquisas etnológicas na Bahia*”, held at 8 pm on May 6, 1942, in the main hall of the Instituto Normal.¹¹⁵

On June 20, the forty-two professors of the Congregação (Senate) of the Faculdade unanimously nominated Herskovits as the first honorary professor of the Institute.¹¹⁶ Since Herskovits had already left for Rio de Janeiro on his way to the US, the title was delivered to Reginald Castleman, Consul of the US in Salvador da Bahia, who later forwarded it to Herskovits.¹¹⁷ The title was delivered in a public ceremony on August 21 at the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico da Bahia (IHGB), by Thales de Azevedo to Castleman.¹¹⁸

114 The Herskovitses received much assistance from the Rockefeller office in Rio, the US Embassy and the US consulates in Salvador and Recife, with post, finding a place to stay, representing the couple at Brazilian institutions, and sending off their fieldnotes and field/recording equipment.

115 *A Manhã*, April 30, 1942. Herskovits reported this public lecture to the magazine *Science Press*, suggesting that they write about it (MJH to Cattel, May 7, 1942).

116 “*A Congregação da Faculdade de Filosofia da Bahia, tendo em vista os serviços pelo professor doutor Melville Herskovits, Chefe do Departamento de Antropologia da Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, USA, não somente através da valiosa cooperação científica da conferência com que inaugurou as atividades culturais deste Instituto, mas também pelo constante incentivo e pela decidida solidariedade com que continuo a dar-lhe sua colaboração, e considerando seu interesse pelo estudo dos problemas da cultura bahiana, no programa de pesquisas ligadas ao seu elevado renome nos meios universitários e científicos, resolve conferir-lhe o título de Professor Honorário de Antropologia*” (Alves to MJH, July 16, 1942). It was an honorary position, but in those days quite an important one. Evidence of this is that the second honorary professorship was offered to Gilberto Freyre in 1943 (De Azevedo 1984:78).

117 MJH to Alves, July 26, 1942.

118 Alves to MJH, August 5, 1941. This is Isaias Alves’ speech that day: “*A Faculdade de Filosofia da Bahia, a que os bahianos tem dado incentivo e apoio material, patrioticamente secundados por bemfeitores de todos os quadrantes da Pátria, sente-se desvanecida de reunir cidadãos do Brasil e dos Estados Unidos, nesta hora de confraternização, deante do fantasma negro da guerra, homenageando um cientista que será um dos liames espirituais entre as duas Pátrias*” (Alves in Herskovits 1943d: 37). Despite such celebration of Herskovits, an international name in Black studies, in those years the situation of Afro-Brazilian studies in Bahia was dismal. Arthur Ramos and, in 1939, Couto Ferraz and Édison Carneiro moved to

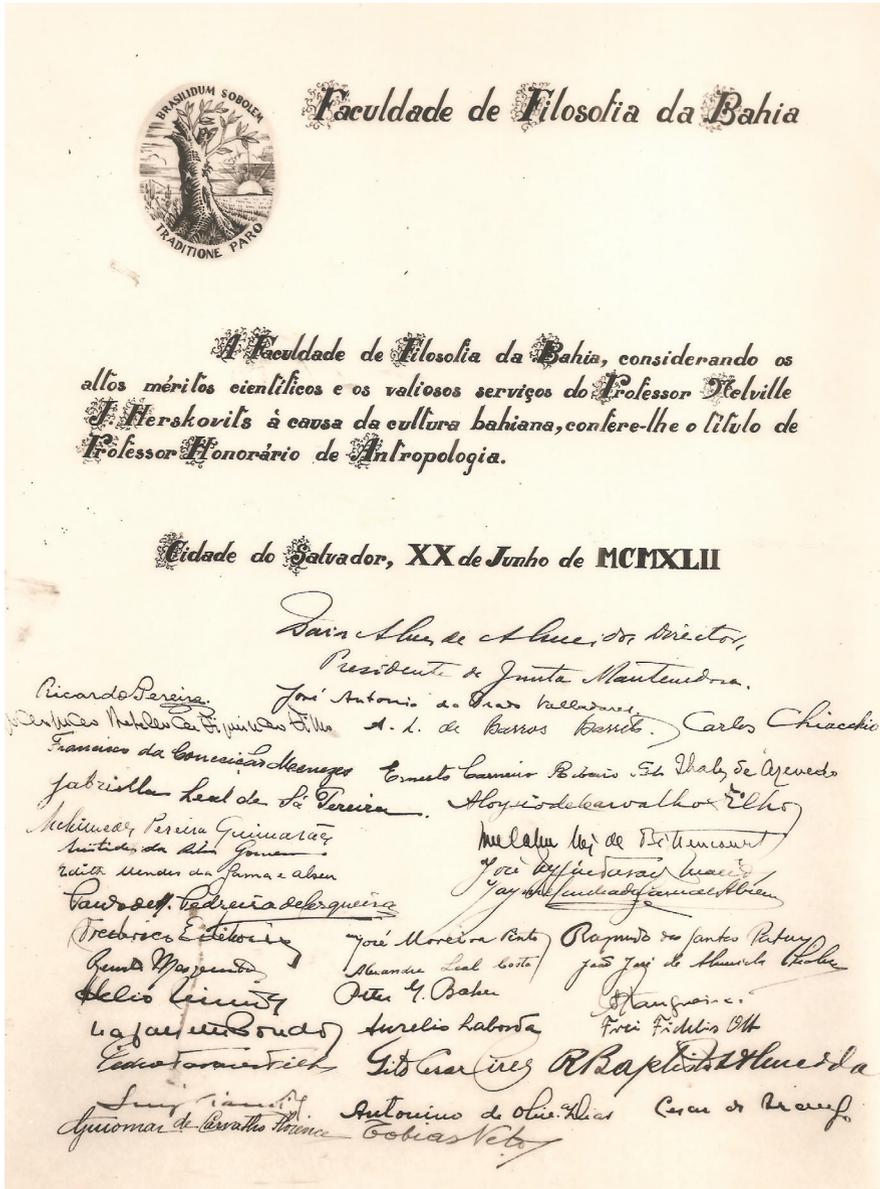


FIGURE 6 The certificate granting Melville J. Herskovits the title of Honorary Professor of Anthropology of the Faculdade de Filosofia da Bahia, awarded to him by Isaías Alves and the Congregação on June 20, 1942. It was the first honorary professor title granted by the institution; the second honour was bestowed on the sociologist Gilberto Freyre

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As soon as he got back to Evanston Herskovits wrote a batch of letters in thanks for the assistance he had received in Brazil, such as to Interventor Landulpho Alves, Consul Castleman, Manoel de Menezes Silva and Edgar Santos (Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia), Arthur Ramos, Isaias Alves, Graça Aranha, Thales de Azevedo, Dona Heloisa Torres, Sergo Buarque de Holanda, René Ribeiro, Gonçalves Fernandes, Cyro Berlinck and Donald Pierson. The correspondence shows that the recent development of Brazil's social science institutes in the years 1940–42, especially in Rio and São Paulo – like the Instituto de Altos Estudos Políticos e Sociais in Rio and the Escola Livre de Sociologia in São Paulo – was closely observed by the US consulates. The Rockefeller Foundation, specifically Joseph Willits, was quite interested. Herskovits reported on these centres and suggested to Willits that it would be a good idea for the Rockefeller Foundation to invest also in centres in the north of Brazil, such as in Recife and Salvador (Sansone 2019), which had thus far received much less funding.¹¹⁹ Herskovits was quite critical of the new Institute in Rio, and especially of its Dean, Salviano Cruz, who had stated that he had the support of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Social Science Research Council of the US, which was untrue.¹²⁰ Obviously, Herskovits had his own agenda, liked certain people more than others, and expressed his preferences.

His report on fieldwork in Brazil was very much appreciated by Willits, who stated, “It is excellent and will be very useful to us. It clearly states the possibilities and limitations of social sciences grants in Brazil.”¹²¹ Herskovits advised, “... treat it as a confidential document in somewhat of a response. Some comments mightn't be so good for the Good Neighbor Policy!”¹²²

On December 12, 1942, Herskovits wrote to Willits applying for funding for two “brilliant” Brazilian scholars – Octavio da Costa Eduardo and René Ribeiro – and suggested a substantial donation for the new Faculdade de Filosofia da Bahia, which had greatly impressed him. Alas, on December 16, Willits

Rio de Janeiro, then the federal capital. Apart from the Columbia-State of Bahia-UNESCO project, in 1950–52, which focused on race relations rather than what was then understood as Afro-Brazilian studies, it was only in 1959, with the foundation of the Centre of Afro Oriental Studies (CEAO), through an initiative of the Portuguese refugee Agostinho da Silva, that the UFBA started to invest in the development of Afro-Brazilian and African studies in Bahia (Oliveira, Waldir and Vivaldo da Costa Lima 1972: 32–35). In 1965, CAEO would launch its journal *Afro-Ásia*, which is still possibly the main journal in the field in Brazil (www.afroasia.ufba.br).

119 MJH to J. Willits, May 26, 1942, RFR.

120 Willits to MJH, May 14, 1942, RFR.

121 Willits to MJH, October 20, 1942, RFR.

122 MJH to Willits, November 4, 1942, RFR.

answered, “Our news is averse to any start with general support to the institution in Bahia. Humanities have one case up for support for a fellowship from Bahia but have no idea that there will be a chance for a project there any time soon.” From this correspondence, one gathers that funds for institutes in Bahia would never come from the Rockefeller Foundation. Herskovits kept sending his publications on Brazil and a copy of the recordings he did in Brazil to the RF until 1958, when he published a piece on Brazil in a book in honour of the late Paul Rivet (Sansone 2019). It included a chapter on the social organization of Candomblé and would be his last publication in Brazil.

From 1943, Herskovits tried to raise financial support for the Institute of Philosophy of Bahia, which would later merge with the Federal University of Bahia, founded in 1957. For some reason, this application was not successful. He kept supporting this institute by donating books to its library – his publications and other general-interest books that Northwestern University could ship. Herskovits and Frances, the co-author of much of his work, would never get to publish the book on Brazil that they had proudly announced in their interview with the Rio daily newspaper, *A Manhã*, on July 5, 1942.¹²³

123 Brazilian newspapers devoted much space to the couple. For example, between 1941 and 1950, the newspaper *Correio da Manhã* published 17 reports on the couple's voyage to Brazil. Altogether, the Herskovitses had much better press coverage than Frazier and Turner. Frazier and Turner drew attention because of their singularity, since they were possibly the first two US black scholars to come to Brazil with prestigious grants and as part of the GNP. Frazier's Guggenheim grant, given in the same year that Alfred Métraux got his, was covered in the newspaper *Correio da Manhã* (May 19, 1940 and September 5, 1940). The Herskovitses attracted attention because they came as part of the GNP and during the war. Three prestigious newspapers wrote about them: *Correio da Manhã* (September 17 and 21, 1941), *Diário de Notícias* (September 19, 1941), which expressed surprise that MJH was able to read his lecture in Portuguese, and *Jornal do Comercio* (September 18 and 20, 1941), which related MJH's visit to the ABL with its president Afranio Peixoto and famous educator and radio journalist Roquette Pinto, who showed the couple around, introducing Melville as the “US Nina Rodrigues”. At the ABL, Roquette Pinto suggested that with the help and knowledge of Herskovits, “who has already been in Africa”, Arthur Ramos and other Brazilian scholars should organize an expedition to the part of Africa where the slaves came from – “a lot of our anthropological questions would be solved by such an expedition” (*Correio da Manhã*, October 9, 1941:4). It is remarkable that some of Brazil's top intellectuals always wrote quite positively about the couple's visit to Brazil. These included Afranio Peixoto, Camara Cascudo, Roquette Pinto, Manuel Diegues Junior and Gilberto Freyre. None of them ever commented on Frazier and Turner. Herskovits' recordings got special attention in *A Tarde* (January 27, 1942, p. 2 – quoted in Lunhing 1995): “Serão ouvidos em Washington as melopéas dos candomblés negros da Bahia. O objetivo da visita do professor Melville J. Herskovits. A população negra da Bahia oferece vasto campo para novos estudos originais. Encontra-se nesta capital, tendo chegado anteriormente, pelo ‘Almirante Jaceguai’, o professor Melville J. Herskovits, chefe do departamento

The war effort was an integral part of the general context. Like most US anthropologists (Stocking 2002) Mel was taken by such action. He was also a staunch supporter of the GNP. So, he wrote to Dona Heloisa Torres: “We have found a most striking increase in the interest in Brazil and things Brazilian in the year we were away – I don’t think it will be long now before people in this country know that Brazil speaks Portuguese instead of Spanish!”¹²⁴ He also wrote to Graça Aranha: “We were flying out of Brazil when the declaration of war was promulgated, and we arrived home to sense the warm reception that greeted Brazil’s entrance into the war as an active ally. There is no question in mind that the work of your Division of Intellectual Cooperation is very considerably responsible for this development.”¹²⁵

Such renewed interest in Brazil raised hopes of support for the social sciences in Brazil: “The interest that, in America, exists nowadays in Brazilian matters is corresponded on our side. Believe me. For this reason, I remind you again of the possibility the Library of our Institute receive some of the numberless publications produced over there ...”.¹²⁶ Mel answered that the need to help the Faculdade when the opportunity should arise had not been forgotten.¹²⁷

However, the success of their field trip to Brazil depended not only on the support of Brazilian colleagues, intellectuals and even politicians. One good reason for the success of their fieldwork, argued Mel, was that the informants were happy with the anthropologists’ interest in them: “Afro-Brazilians feel happy with receiving people who know Africa, and that can utter opinions, with proper grounding, on their way of life, their worldviews, and who were familiar with their Gods and found their cult understandable and familiar.”¹²⁸ Also, the key informants played a big role in such success: “It would be difficult to find anywhere a group of people more congenial than those I have met in

de Antropologia da Northwestern University de Evanston, Illinois, USA. Antropologista de renome e autor de vários trabalhos divulgados em todo o mundo, o professor norte americano está realizando uma viagem de estudos, acompanhado de sua esposa e uma filha. ... Discos para a biblioteca do Congresso. O professor Herskovits, traz na bagagem completa aparelhagem para a gravação de discos de nossa música folclórica e das lendas e contos brasileiros. Estes discos serão remetidos, não só para a University de Illinois, como igualmente, para a biblioteca do Congresso, em Washington. Aproximando-se a hora do ‘lunch’ não mais queremos interromper o descanso do professor ‘Yankee’. Assim agradecendo a atenção que nos dispensou despedimo-nos do Mr. Herskovits”.

124 MJH to Torres, September 30, 1942.

125 MJH to Graça Aranha, September 30, 1942, RFR.

126 Alves to MJH, October 13, 1942.

127 MJH to Isaias Alves, February 4, 1943.

128 MJH in *A Manhã*, July 4, 1942.

Bahia, and I hope that at some time I shall have the opportunity of reciprocating the many favors I received there".¹²⁹

The correspondence is full of evidence of the closeness between the Herskovitses and the Bahian intellectual and political elites:

I wish to acknowledge the wonderful courtesy we received ... during our stay in Bahia ... Salvador became to us not merely a city where we were able to carry out interesting research ... in the future, we will look back with great pleasure to these months we spent in Bahia.¹³⁰

and:

While the people of our city are thrilled with excitement because of the victories achieved by the weapons of the democracies in Africa, I had the pleasure to receive your letter of October 30 ... I was pleased to read that you still plan to bring me to the USA. I wait, enchanted, for this opportunity that, if put in practice, would put me in touch directly with the Masters of this great nation and would make it possible for me to learn that which thus far I have had to learn by myself, with the ensuing shortcomings.¹³¹

Or:

Your information that you are trying to arrange it for me to study for a period in your country woke up old hopes to be able to complete my studies in the US ... You have seen our deficiencies: professors, libraries, organized services, means, academic spirit and so forth. That is why every Brazilian wants to go to study in America."¹³²

Valladares' acknowledgement of the grant he got from the RF with the support of MJH is especially interesting on account of the place of *orixás* in it: "I have just received a message by the Rockefeller, informing that I was given a grant. My thoughts of gratitude are in the first place for dear professor Herskovits. The second place is shared by Berrien and the *orixás*, especially Omolu, my father to whom I offered a few bags of popcorn."¹³³

129 MJH to Thales, September 30, 1942.

130 MJH to Interventor Alves, published in *Diario da Bahia*, November 10, 1942.

131 Gonçalves Fernandes to MJH, November 9, 1942.

132 Ribeiro to MJH, November 14, 1941.

133 Valladares to MJH, August 3, 1943.

Herskovits invited several Brazilian scholars and helped many more in their process of applying for grants, with positive reviews of their applications, recommendation letters or just by pulling strings. Thanks to Mel, Octavio Da Costa Eduardo, René Ribeiro and Ruy Coelho could complete their MA or PhD in anthropology in the US.¹³⁴ Valladares managed to conclude his degree in museum studies in the US and Mexico thanks to Mel's support of his application for a grant from the RF; he spent one year in the US in 1944. Herskovits, with the help of Ralph Linton, suggested a topic for Gizella Roth (Valladares' wife) for her dissertation in museum studies. She wrote the thesis while in New York with her husband, studying at the Brooklyn Museum and doing fieldwork later in Bahia on Negro folklore by collecting folktales. This had been done in the US but was thus far unexplored in Brazil.¹³⁵ Herskovits, who was her mentor, had recommended Gizella to his friend and colleague Ralph Linton. Gizella would eventually obtain an MA in anthropology at the University of Columbia in 1948, with a dissertation on Afro-Bahian folktales,¹³⁶ which Ruth Benedict favourably reviewed. She then became the anthropologist at the Museu da Bahia and a lecturer in anthropology at the Faculdade de Filosofia, where she substituted Professor Ott for a while.

After Mel and Frances moved back to the US, their connections with Bahia were largely through José and Gizella Valladares. José was the director of the Museu da Bahia, as he liked to be referred to. He kept the Herskovitses informed about three topics over a long period: the Candomblé community, the Faculdade de Filosofia and the upcoming Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), and general politics with particular reference to education. For decades, the Herskovits and Valladares families would stay in touch on amicable terms.

134 Moreover, MJH managed to mobilize his connections for his protégés. So, Aguirre Beltran helped Valladares when he spent one month in Mexico City as part of his training in museum studies (Valladares to MJH, August 8, 1944).

135 MJH to Valladares, April 11, 1944. Melville suggested that Gizella work on a compilation of Negro folklore comparable to what the Herskovitses had done in Suriname and Elsie Clews Parsons had done in the US: "One of the reasons why this is such a nice problem is that students of Negro folklore, Boas and Parsons among them, have been greatly impressed at the role of Spanish and Portuguese in spreading European folklore among non-European peoples all over the world. It should be interesting and significant to see just to what extent Portuguese elements are present in the tales to be found among the Negroes in Bahia since this would in a sense comprise a test case" (MJH to Valladares, July 17, 1944). She would research acculturation, one of Melville's key interests. On July 29, Gizella wrote back enthusiastically about the MA project suggested by Herskovits.

136 This dissertation is worth exploring. On February 29, 1948, she sent a copy of the list of contents, a brief description of each of the nine key informants, a summary of the introduction, the glossary and the list of 59 collected tales.

They had been close already from the mid-forties. When José became engaged to Gizella Roth, her father had written to Melville to inquire about the seriousness of the exchange. "I trust you will understand my desire to know as much as possible about my future son-in-law in view of the fact that Bahia is such a great distance from New York."¹³⁷

While Valladares was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the creation of the Faculdade, he was critical about the creation of the UFBA:

I have no doubt that something with the name University of Bahia will be inaugurated, but I do not know whether it will be a serious matter, matching the name, or one of those arrangements that bring with them a lot of honor, many responsibilities, but no means or faculty to perform a good job.¹³⁸

On March 29, Herskovits replied that he hoped it would be "*Uma coisa seria*" and that he would make the work of the Faculdade practical. Valladares, however, continued to doubt:

A few days ago the University of Bahia was created. At long last. In my opinion ... it leans towards bureaucracy ... Everything is done under the supervision of the Institute of Medicine and we have no reason to expect much from these professionals who pose as scientists, these native "*faux monnayeurs*".¹³⁹

Valladares was vital in sending news about the Candomblé houses and the people who had taken part in the 1941 research, such as Bernardino, Joãozinho da Gomeia¹⁴⁰ and Dona Zezé who would open a huge new cult-house in the neighbourhood of Engenho Velho in 1947.¹⁴¹ Although Valladares was

137 Herman Roth to MJH, April 28, 1944.

138 Valladares to MJH, March 16, 1946.

139 Valladares to MJH, April 22, 1946.

140 Despite being well-known as a flamboyant homosexual, he married Maria Luiza, an older woman (a *filha de santo*) from his *terreiro* in Rio de Janeiro, in an important ceremony reported in the press (*A Tarde*, June 18, 1945). Valladares sent Herskovits a newspaper clipping, with a subtle comment about Joãozinho having finally settled with a spouse.

141 "Your news about our candomblé friends was quite exciting indeed, particularly about Zeze, who we assume is on the way to becoming a pretty important *mae* de santo. I hope you have the opportunity to attend some of the ceremonies when her new *roca* is established. It will be interesting for us if we ever get back to Bahia, to find our old friend in such a strategic position. I take it that the fact that the new center is being sponsored by Tia Massi means that it is an orthodox house, and that the issues between Zeze and the



FIGURE 7 José Valladares
MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON PHOTOGRAPHIC
ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
EEPA_1986-290722

caboclo god have been satisfactorily resolved. Or is it going to be part caboclo, part Ketu?"
(MJH to Valladares, March 29, 1947).

the Herskovitses' messenger to the Candomblé community, he insisted on calling Melville "*babalorixá* Mel" – possibly hinting at Mel's magical powers. Such powers, argued Valladares, had been confirmed when Mel managed to arrange for him a special Rockefeller grant for his museum studies in 1944.¹⁴² In Salvador, Valladares, the Alves brothers and Aristidis Novis had been truly a great help in Melville's and Frances' fieldwork. For this reason, in his speech for the Congregação, Castleman stated that Mel had the service of Valladares as an assistant and constant companion, and the Education and Health Secretary Novis as a friend and advisor.¹⁴³

MJH's attitude to these Brazilian scholars, who were almost all white, would differ considerably from his views of black scholars in the US, whether junior or senior. Even though, in recent times, critical voices have been raised against Herskovits' attitude regarding US black intellectuals and, to a lesser extent, African scholars (Gershenhorn 2004; Allman 2020), in his correspondence he seems generally supportive of black intellectuals, such as Du Bois and his project for an *Encyclopedia Africana*. He was, however, very selective and demanding and, as he wrote to his mentor, George Seligman, was ambivalent about black scholars in the US. Gershenhorn (2004) writes that Herskovits dealt with most of the funding agencies available for Negro studies: Phelps Stokes, Rosenwald, Board of Education, ACLS, Guggenheim and RF. On the one hand, he understood that these funds helped with the Negro question, which he agreed was urgent. On the other hand, he was after something else, something less evident and more hidden than civil rights or space for black intellectuals in the US academia – African survivals. To make things even more complex, Mel often resented that black activists and scholars did not claim this issue for themselves.¹⁴⁴ In fact, by the mid-thirties, Herskovits began to see himself as the interpreter of Africa to Afro-Americans (Jackson 1986:109). Today, one could say that he felt he was a (white) hero of the Black Atlantic. Others would join him in this sentiment, such as Pierre Verger.

142 René Ribeiro, in a letter to MJH, wrote of Bahia as "*a sua terra*", your homeland. Mel was sentimentally attached to Bahia in a way (RR to MJH, June 2, 1955).

143 Castleman to MJH, August 21, 1942.

144 MJH to Seligman, February 9, 1939, Herskovits Papers, Box 21, Folder 22, NU.

3.2 *There is No Need to Ask If You Are Enjoying Brazil*¹⁴⁵

The tradition of visiting the north of Brazil, I am happy to say, seems to be growing, and I suspect you will be seeing more and more Americans as time goes on. My 'propaganda' for Bahia seems to be having some effect.¹⁴⁶

Mel was good at local and international networking and did this very well in Brazil. He developed contacts and preserved and nurtured them over time.¹⁴⁷ In Salvador, Recife, São Paulo and Rio, he knew who was who and was a friend of the powerful in the cultural and intellectual elites. Moreover, besides keeping friends in the Candomblé community in Bahia, Melville and Frances were also on friendly terms with Isaias and Landulpho Alves, Aristidis Novis (Secretary of Education) and Odorico Tavares. Tavares was a key radio, newspaper and cultural promoter and producer from 1940 to 1970 in Bahia. He was closely related to Paulista media magnate, Assis Chateaubriand (Ickes 2013). Tavares was a regional modernist and admirer of the "authenticity" of popular culture, which he contrasted with the elitism of the traditional Bahian oligarchy (Ickes 2013:440; Da Costa Lima 2013). He managed two newspapers, *Estado da Bahia*

145 MJH to Rex Crawford, cultural attaché to the US Embassy, who had just taken his new post in Rio de Janeiro. In the letter, MJH continues, "I quite envy you being there, and I hope that the work comes along as well as you would hope in your most sanguine moments" (MJH to Crawford, October 19, 1943, NU).

146 MJH to Valladares, February 3, 1943. See what comes in 1944: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zS07yLXTwbo>.

147 It is worth noting that neither Herskovits nor Frazier and Turner seem to have contacted the two most outstanding black social scientists of the time, Édison Carneiro and Guerreiro Ramos. Even though Frazier was aware of Carneiro's work and quoted him in his reply to Herskovits in the *American Journal of Sociology* (1943), there is no mention of each other in Frazier's nor in Carneiro's correspondence. Pierson, Landes and Ramos did not introduce Carneiro to Frazier. It would have been the obvious thing to do. Frazier and Carneiro were both left-leaning, Édison was then a communist and Frazier a radical, even labelled a "Stalinist" by several of his Howard fellows (Platt 2002). Carneiro had moved to Rio in 1939 and Frazier spent about two months in Rio before going to Bahia. Why did they not meet? Was it because of the tension created by the relationship between Landes and Carneiro? This is one of the mysteries my research has revealed. Another question is why Jorge Amado, always a curious observer of city life, seemed not to have paid much attention to Frazier and Turner's stay in Salvador, even though he had received a letter of recommendation for the two from Pierson and, in an interview in *Estado da Bahia*, he thanked them for their generous offer to make their recordings available for the soundtrack of the movie *Mar Morto* – the first movie shot in Bahia, inspired by the homonymous book by Jorge Amado, which was never completed (*Estado da Bahia*, October 30, 1940; *Diario de Noticias*, November 6, 1940). One possible reason is that Amado had already moved to Rio by then.

and *Diario da Bahia*. The former published a weekly column by black ethnographer Édison Carneiro in the mid-1930s, and reported frequently on other regional modernists, such as the celebrated writer Jorge Amado, known for his communist sympathies. Tavares was convinced that by that time in Bahia, the dominant class, two decades after the Modernist Biennale in São Paulo, was eventually starting to accept the partial incorporation of symbols and icons of black culture in the public representation of the State of Bahia. In doing so, Afro-Bahian culture became a prominent feature of Bahian regional identity.

MJH also stayed in touch with Dona Heloisa:

Out of our Committee on Negro studies of the American Council of Learned Societies is going to come I think an Inter-American society of Negro studies, and a journal which I hope will circulate in all the Americas, and will have articles in any of the four languages. We are planning to have it published in Havana under the editorship of Ortiz. Some of us are also working toward an international conference on Africa, which should be interesting. Brazil, of course, will be represented.¹⁴⁸

It is clear that Brazilian participation in this society was important to Herskovits. “Brazil will, we all hope, have a considerable membership in the society since the Brazilian students in the field will naturally play an important role.”¹⁴⁹ Melville would return to Brazil just once more, for the XXXI International Americanist Congress held in São Paulo on August 23–28, 1954.

In his letters to Frances, he commented on this visit in detail. At the congress, he met many of his Brazilian connections: René Ribeiro, Ruy Coelho, Dante de Laytano and Aguirre Beltrán. As a supervisor, he also was on Ruy Coelho’s PhD committee at the Institute of Philosophy and Humanities of the University of São Paulo. At one of the dinners, while trying to recall his Portuguese, he heard of the scandal involving Gizella and Valladares. Accusing him of seducing his wife, Valladares had shot Ben Zimmerman (not fatally) – a student on Wagley’s team, which included Gizella. Valladares went to jail for a while, and Gizella went to the United States to cool off for a few months. Then she came back, and they were living together again! It must have been hard for Gizella, says Mel. He also says he is happy to have heard it before going to Bahia, where he had been invited to give a lecture at the Faculdade,

148 MJH to Torres, May 12, 1943.

149 MJH to Lois Williams, May 14, 1943.



FIGURE 8 Melville Herskovits at the xxxi International Americanists' Congress, São Paulo, 1954. From left to right (of those it was possible to recognize): Octávio da Costa Eduardo, René Ribeiro, Felte Bezerra, 4th scholar, 5th scholar, Ruy Coelho, Thales de Azevedo, 8th scholar, Melville Herskovits, Fernando Ortiz, Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán. Rodrigo Ramassote and Julio Simões helped to recognize some of those present. If the reader has any idea who figures 4, 5 and 8 might be, please contact sansone@ufba.br

MJH & FSH PAPERS, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, HARLEM, NY

because Valladares would meet him there, and it could have been embarrassing otherwise.¹⁵⁰

At the Congress, six beautifully clad Bahian women dressed in traditional Bahian costume distributed African food. Melville talked to one of them, who turned out to be a *filha de santo*¹⁵¹ of a house in Engenho Velho. She recognized

150 It is quite possible that the aftermath of the scandal in the then very provincial Salvador was the reason that Gizella, a promising young researcher, left her junior position at the Faculdade – and anthropology altogether. It is worth recalling that Ben Zimmerman not only left Brazil right away but abandoned his PhD project.

151 A woman who is initiated in the cult of the *orixás* and takes a special position as such in the Candomblé house.

him and remembered Frances. Mel stopped for a few days in Bahia on the way back – he would fly back through Recife, Dakar and Paris – and stayed at the famous Hotel da Bahia. Valladares made an excellent study room available for him at the Museum and chaperoned him across Salvador. They met Procopio and Vidal, then both old, and went to the Candomblé in São Gonçalo and Engenho Velho. The Edith Schmalz Guesthouse was no more, but the Italian club was still there. Mel liked the African feel of the city. Valladares had not changed a bit, and the town had changed little – with fewer Baianas (women selling traditional Afro-Bahian food, mostly cooked with palm oil, on street corners) off the former *Pensão da Edith*. He gave a lecture at the Faculdade on September 6, 1954. De Azevedo coordinated the debate afterwards.¹⁵²

3.3 *Herskovits' Candomblé*

During their fieldwork in Brazil and in the first period after they returned to the US in 1942, the Herskovitses were intrigued, even affected emotionally, by Candomblé. This involvement was confirmed by their daughter, Jean Herskovits (see Appendix 3), who told me that Mel believed in the power of *orixás* and combined this with his traditional Jewish superstitions. He possessed several amulets and frequently carried one with him. He thought that there was a supernatural dimension to many of the phenomena he analyzed, as can be perceived in many places in his correspondence. A letter to William Bascom reveals: “Here is one point you can clear up – a point of considerable importance ... It concerns possession by the gods.”¹⁵³ In another letter, Valladares reported the sudden death of a famous Candomblé priest, which according to him resulted from not following the limits established by one’s protecting saint:

On May 6 Silvino Manoel da Silva passed away. Since Silvino was the assistant of Dr. Novis I used Yesterday’s gathering to inquire from the Secretary of Education about the cause of death of our renowned *alabe*. He passed away in the Spanish Hospital, where he was an intern, having been treated as a patient with means. He had married Mrs. Zeze in

¹⁵² From Brazil, Melville wrote a series of letters to Frances, commenting on the re-encounter with the country and the people in 1954 (MJH to FSH, 1954). Interestingly, Melville’s daughter Jean told me a slightly different story: Melville, a heart patient and very superstitious, became very emotional when he went back to Bahia, to the extent that he did not want to go back to the Candomblé houses he knew. Jean had told a similar story to Melville’s biographer, Gershenhorn (2004).

¹⁵³ MJH to Bascom, August 13, 1942.

extremis. Dr. Novis' purse paid for the whole treatment. Upon the burial, both Dr. Novis and the head of the Medical School gave a speech.¹⁵⁴

Mel answered on May 25:

Your news about Manuel came as a great shock to both of us. ... My mind wandered back to Bahia and the drama implied by your news. We shall both be waiting with the liveliest interest for the information about the gossip that is going on and the explanation that the cult-folk is giving for this sudden death. And we have all the faith in the efficacy of your *perguntazinhas* (small and tricky questions); we are all sure there will be a fascinating tale to be told. If you do see Zezé, do extend to her our sympathy. And tell her that Frances is writing to her. Manuel, whatever his faults – and he had many – was a person of many qualities and a real power. It seems incredible that he has disappeared from the Bahian scene ... we had not forgotten Exu.¹⁵⁵

One more: “By reading your article replying to Frazier, I see that our late Manuel was right: Ogun is the saint protecting the professor.”¹⁵⁶ As said, Valladares was Herskovits' guide and messenger to the Candomblé community:

Vou vivendo na santa paz de Olorum. Every now and again, I meet Raimundo, always progressing. Among the other friends, I have seen only Possidonio. He invited me to visit the Xango Feast in the Oxumare house. One of those girls who did the recording was with the enchanted Iemanjá, but that day I did not see Cotinha do the mirror dance.¹⁵⁷

Procopio, Mrs. Popó, Caboclo, Raimundo, they all inquired about the professor, madam and your daughter, and I always say that I just received a letter in which each of them is greeted individually ... Bahia is still a good land ... the Eguns cult in Amoreira would be a good reason for a new field trip of yours.¹⁵⁸

In another letter, Valladares went into detail about the supposed death of Joãozinho da Gomeia:

154 Valladares to MJH, May 12, 1943.

155 MJH to Valladares, May 25, 1943.

156 Valladares to MJH, October 28, 1943.

157 Valladares to MJH, August 5, 1942.

158 Valladares to MJH, October 1, 1942.

Yesterday ... I started a chat with that son of Omolu from the (cult-house) of Engenho Velho. Joazinho is alive and kicking. As regards his death, I was told by a mate of the Omolu guy; it was news spread when Pedra Preta had traveled the inland. ... That way, the news of his death went around a lot and many people went to the Quintas (cemetery) waiting for the coffin.¹⁵⁹

In many ways, Candomblé became part and parcel of the Herskovitses' life, at least for several years after their trip to the US. Jean told me that her parents were convinced that their lives had been saved by Candomblé. Mel firmly believed that the *machado de Xangô* (Xangô's axe) he received from the Candomblé people in Bahia had saved his life and that of his wife and daughter. When it was time to go back to the United States, they were persuaded not to get on their boat (they would eventually fly back to the US) by a group of Candomblé priestesses who gave them a wooden Xangô axe to protect them. The boat in which they would have travelled, the vessel *ss Bill*, was indeed sunk by a German submarine, and in it was lost a copy of the recordings and fieldnotes and most of the Afro-Brazilian artefacts the Herskovitses had purchased in Brazil for the Museum at Northwestern University.¹⁶⁰ Luckily, Mel had kept a copy of his recording and fieldnotes with the American Consulate in Salvador and had sent a second copy by mail to the United States. The wooden axe became a cherished object in Jean Herskovits' New York home, a bittersweet reminder of Bahia, Candomblé and her parents.¹⁶¹

Matters raised by Herskovits' fieldwork in Bahia would keep cropping up for several years in his correspondence with Brazilians and US colleagues, and would, in many ways, become part of the research agenda of Afro-Brazilian studies in the next two decades. In Porto Alegre, Mel was impressed by the number of black people, the availability of herbs and cult objects, and the well-organized *pejis* (altar rooms):

They have almost as much knowledge of Africa, and as full survivals of African religious life, as they have in Bahia ... There are some interesting differences – they make *filhos de santo*, and don't have *ogans*; they cut the skin of the skull rather than shave the head in initiation, the period of

159 Valladares to MJH, November 18, 1946

160 MJH Papers, Box 4, Folder 12, NU.

161 Jean Herskovits (Interview, 2003) told me that her father was quite superstitious – apparently one of the few things of his training as a rabbi in his youth that remained in his adult years – and was always impressed by the magic and predictive power of Candomblé.



FIGURE 9 Jean, the Herskovitses' daughter, holding a Xango axe given to her parents by a Candomblé priestess before their trip back to the USA

PHOTO BY LIVIO SANSONE TAKEN IN HER APARTMENT, MANHATTAN

which is briefer; the songs are quite different, and the *nacoés* represented are almost exclusively Gege, Oyo and Ijexá.¹⁶²

¹⁶² MJH to Valladares, August 14, 1942. In spite of the fact that the Herskovitses spent only five days in Porto Alegre, they managed to gather enough material to produce what Mel called a “substantial article” (Herskovits 1943b).

In the same letter, Mel commented on Recife: "In Pernambuco there was nothing on the surface, due to official policy of putting down the cult. I have the impression that ... the Mahomedan elements have persisted in fragmentary form [better than in Bahia, where they had been suppressed]." Soon afterwards, Mel would ask William Bascom for his opinion:

Here in Brazil, most of the cult-initiates are women. They are called *yawos* from initiation to the end of their 7-year period, and *vodunsi* after that, when they have the right to become priests or priestesses if their *santo* call them to be. In Bahia, they say that they don't like to "make" male initiates – a puritanical reluctance to have men and women share the intimacies of the initiatory period. In the south, they "make" men because the period is shorter and the initiation can be done individually, as it is in the case of men in Bahia when they are "made". However, in Bahia (but not in the south) they have an institution called the *ogan*. This is a person that goes through a rite of "confirmation", relatively short, that gives him the right to perform sacrifices; these men help in the financing of the house they belong to, are called by a given god, give sacrifices to their head (*bori*), and are really important members of the cult-group. Now, in West Africa, my experience has been that there are many more women than men initiates, but it never occurred to me to find out what the role of men affiliated with the religious group might be. Can you both [Valladares and William Bascom] look into this? I suspect it might lead to something of interest, even though what comes out might be very different from the institution I've sketched.¹⁶³

For Herskovits, the issue of sexuality and religious life was a tense question in the research on African survivals in the New World that needed to be explored better.

Melville's connection to Candomblé was so strong that Valladares, in his correspondence, called him repeatedly "*o reputado babalorixá Herskovits*" (the renowned Candomblé priest, Herskovits).¹⁶⁴ In several letters, Melville gave evidence that he believed in the power of *orixás* and of African deities more generally. Here is evidence of it: "I hope the new administration in Bahia will mean nothing but good things for the Museum ... I am outing two particularly good African charms to work on this."¹⁶⁵

163 MJH to Bascom, February 5, 1943.

164 Valladares to MJH, May 12, 1943.

165 MJH to Valladares, March 29, 1947.

Melville and Frances received news about the Bahia cult-houses directly and indirectly and somehow kept in touch with the field. Apart from Valladares, Métraux, Bastide and Verger¹⁶⁶ conveyed greetings to Melville's and Frances' former informants. Mel kept on saying that he would go back to Bahia. *Saudade* was part of the story. In commenting on the close and even sentimental relationship cultivated by several anthropologists with Candomblé from the 1940s, Roberto Motta saw this commitment to Candomblé in a different and more problematic light: "It is trendy to visit a cult-house, especially among anthropologists, whom many times pretend they are part of the orixá religion." The price for such romantic consensus is that "the same interpretations tend to repeat themselves over and again" (Motta 2014:165). There were a few exceptions, such as René Ribeiro, who, as Roberto Motta stressed, "He does not get initiated in such religion. It was in the position of the pupil of (psychiatrist) Ulisses Permambucano that René started to visit the *xangos* (cult-houses), well before getting to know Herskovits."

In a way, this near-sentimental relationship to Candomblé was part of a specific ethnographic sensibility. In his interviews to Brazilian newspapers, Herskovits emphasized that he was not there to study the "primitives" but the beauty and variety of black culture in Brazil. He also proposed acculturation theory as an ideal, even though, as Romo correctly stated (Romo 2010:127), his research still searched for untouched African practices, and his focus on Bahian popular culture was timeless and static rather than directed at social change.¹⁶⁷ In the following excerpt, one gets a sense of what the Herskovitses liked most in Bahian popular culture:

I am very glad we decided to come, for there are innumerable problems to be tackled, and the materials are right at hand. The day before yesterday, for example, we assisted a ceremony of the fishermen in which a gift was given to the "mother of the waters" to ensure good catches during the year. It was in connection with a Catholic celebration of considerable importance, but there was nothing Catholic about the rite! And the two-hour sail in the fishing boat, accompanied by other vessels filled with singing, drumming people, was quite an experience.¹⁶⁸

166 MJH to Verger, April 27, 1948.

167 Herskovits 1941a. For this reason I would disagree with Roger Sansi, in his otherwise outstanding account of the process of patrimonialization and objectification of Candomblé in Bahia, when he states that the Herskovitses had a predilection for syncretism (Sansi 2007: 53). The couple did register quite a degree of syncretism and, more generally, mixture, but they were not happy about it.

168 MJH to Willits, December 12, 1941.

3.4 *A Tale of Two Reports: One for the US and Another for Brazil*

In the MJH papers, there are two reports, one for the RF dated October 16, 1942, and a shorter one for the Conselho de Fiscalizaçãõ,¹⁶⁹ dated April 16, 1943. Both contain roughly the same summary of ethnographic findings, but the first includes a quite detailed description – a social map – of intellectual life and the social sciences in Brazil. This feature makes it particularly important because it teases out the Herskovitses' agenda in Brazil, which was not only ethnographic.

The first report for the Rockefeller Foundation is marked confidential. The reason for this is the double agenda of the Herskovitses' research in Brazil, as Mel candidly states right at the beginning of the text:

The first aim was to continue the progress of studies of the transmutation of African cultures in their New World environments, and the light this throws on the dynamics of culture in contact. The second was to gain insight into the intellectual life in Brazil and to assess the possibilities for social science research, both for students from the United States and trained Brazilian students.¹⁷⁰ This second objective ... was visualized as best approached from the angle of the contacts and relationships that a working scholar would normally have during his stay in the country.¹⁷¹

The report is further divided into sections: itinerary,¹⁷² research findings, the place of the social sciences in the intellectual life in Brazil, centres of social

169 In those days, foreign scholars needed a formal endorsement by the Council in order to carry out research in Brazil.

170 There is no mention throughout the report of institution-building or establishing an exchange between US and Brazilian institutions. Brazil was seen, by and large, as a place to come to for research and from which interesting students could be extracted to go and do their advanced studies in the US. This perspective would last for a long time, and in the early 50s would inspire the construction of Brazil as a so-called field station, a location which US social science students could visit for their senior undergraduate training for their PhD fieldwork.

171 Rockefeller Foundation Report, October 16, 1942, page 5, RFR.

172 The Herskovitses arrived in Rio on August 10, 1941. While in Rio, they visited the National Faculty of Philosophy, the National Museum, the headquarters of the Service for the Preservation of Historic and Artistic Patrimony (SPHAN), the ABL and the anthropological section of the Institute for Educational Research of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro. On October 12, they travelled to São Paulo, where they visited the Escola Livre de Sociologia and the Faculties of Law and Medicine of the University of São Paulo. The original plan was to do fieldwork in Rio, but Melville fell severely ill and that work could not go ahead. The illness also meant the couple could not visit Maranhão, as originally planned. A great deal of Melville's keenness for Eduardo obtaining a grant to do research in Maranhão had

sciences teaching and research, financial report and acknowledgements. The ethnographic details in the report take more than ten pages and sum up the Herskovitses' key ideas regarding Afro-Brazilians:

In studying the economic aspects of life, the type of employment available to the "Negroes", the wages paid for various kinds of work, and the standards of living ... were analyzed. The economic position of women, an important point in any research into the survival of African custom, was examined carefully. One of the most characteristic, most picturesque, and most immediately noticeable elements in the Bahia scene is the Baiana, the woman who, at various points throughout the city, sells cooked food, principally dishes of African provenience, or sweets or meat.¹⁷³.... Cost and return to them were investigated, as were other less picturesque aspects of women's place in the economic sphere, such as are implied by the existence of a large servant class composed mainly of Negro women.¹⁷⁴ The economics of the African religious cult groups proved to be a fertile field. We have in our notes, for example, the original

to do with his interest in a part of Brazil that he could not get to know personally. They arrived in Salvador on November 24 and remained there until May 15, 1942. On May 15, they proceeded to Recife until June 15, when they travelled back to Rio, after a four-day stop-over in Salvador, to organize the shipment of field equipment to the US. In Recife, they visited the institutes, museums and libraries, and the Faculty of Law. In that month, they counted on the collaboration of the group of researchers and students led by the psychiatrist Ulysses Pernambucano, one of whom was Gonçalves. Back in Rio, "through the cooperation of Bahian friends of the African religious groups", they were able to gather comparative data to supplement their findings in the north. On July 10, they travelled again to São Paulo, remaining there for one month, where they basically spent most of the time typing up their Bahia fieldnotes and copying them in duplicate [which soon proved a very good thing to do, when the ship they sent their field equipment was sunk]. During this month, a four-day visit to Porto Alegre took place. The Herskovitses spent the last two weeks of their stay in Rio mostly "in paying those all-important good-bye calls which loom so prominently in the Brazilian social code". They left Brazil, by air, on August 21, arriving in Miami three days later, and in Evanston on the 26th. In Brazil, Melville delivered the following addresses: September 15, Brazilian Society of Anthropology and Ethnology, Rio de Janeiro; October 16, União Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos, São Paulo; May 6, Faculdade de Filosofia da Bahia; June 6, seminar organized by Ulysses Pernambucano, Recife; July 21 and 27, Escola Livre de Sociologia, São Paulo; August 17, Brazilian Society for Anthropology and Ethnology, Rio de Janeiro.

173 One can see from the pictures of Baianas that he took in those days that they were still African street-sellers rather than Afro icons, as they came to be represented and reconstructed from the 1960s.

174 It is not clear in which of the Herskovitses' published writing this seems to have been described.

of a list of actual expenditure made by a novice at the time of her initiation into the cult.¹⁷⁵

Herskovits added that the cost of goods for a ritual could be high and that for this reason it would be possible to pay stipulated weekly or monthly payments to the cult head of a house, which would serve as credit for “scholarship” initiation or when a candidate with an important god had no resources. Cooperative societies had been found to be an important economic mechanism in all the Negro societies they had hitherto studied. However, this was less evident in Bahia than elsewhere, except among fishermen.¹⁷⁶



FIGURE 10 *Acarajé* being sold in the traditional African fashion just with pepper, and other produce, mostly fruit. *Acarajé* is a fried bean fritter. From the 1950s, it would become “Afro food” and made more sophisticated with several extra ingredients
MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, EEPA_1986-290786

175 RF Report 1942, RAC: 5.

176 He is referring to the “*puxada de rede*”, the collective casting of a large fishing net into the sea from a large canoe, which is manoeuvred around the school of fish and pulled ashore from the beach by two large groups of men, each pulling one of the two ropes. Each participant is entitled to a percentage of the catch.

Herskovits paid a lot of attention to the *amazia*. This was the institution of free intercourse, which was the mechanism that permitted African patterns of polygamous marriage to survive in a culture where all sanctions, secular as well as religious, were mobilized to support the European monogamist tradition: “We find it is not uncommon for men to have one or two mates in this category, plus a married wife ... the acceptance of half-brothers and -sisters by each other is an indication of the vitality of the aboriginal type of social structure to which the survival of certain aspects of the ancestral cult gives a real validity”.¹⁷⁷ Even though the *amazia* was described as an example of an Africanism, Herskovits argued that the purest African elements in Afro-Brazilian life lay in the field of religion. The cult groups functioned like centres that kept the African tradition alive.

The Herskovitses chose to concentrate on the study of how the cults were integrated into other aspects of the culture:

An outstanding characteristic of African life, which has been everywhere retained in the New World, is its patterned discipline, so as in the inner organization of the Afro-Brazilian religious groups ... The etiquette of the cult as an expression of discipline exacted and given, the careful assignment of duties of the various members and the meticulous care given to carrying out these duties, the order was prevailing at ceremonies, whether among participants and spectators, all showed cult-life and cult-procedure to be social phenomena exhibiting a degree of orderliness far removed from the common concept of African ritual as spontaneous and naïve.¹⁷⁸

It is exactly such internal discipline that conferred a special status and distinction to the cults: they were beautiful because of their internal logic and orderliness. The report also commented on the recordings:

Song-cycles heard during the sacrifices of larger and smaller animals, and songs in the death rituals; songs employed during initiatory rites and the song-cycles for the “offering of the head” of a devotee. Most of these songs were checked in the only correct way to control them – by hearing them sung during actual ceremonies, sometimes by the very singers who recorded them for us.¹⁷⁹

177 RF Report 1942, RAC: 6.

178 RF Report 1942, RAC: 9.

179 RF Report 1942, RAC: 8.

(It is worth remembering that the recordings were done on the premises of the Museu da Bahia, an elegant location in possibly the nicest upper-class avenue in Salvador.) The ethnographic account ended with a commentary on cultural syncretism – the integration of African and European customs:

As in other Catholic New World countries, each African deity is identified with a saint of the Church. In Brazil, however, no cycle of African cult-worship is complete, nor any initiation valid, without pilgrimage being made to certain churches named for saints that are equated with important African deities.¹⁸⁰

The last comment concerns black magic. It was said to be on the rise together with the greater role played by those who exploited beliefs that were not permitted free play, especially in those parts of Brazil where the suppression of African survivals was heavier, where prestige-lacking institutions had to go underground:

The disparity between the actual survival of Africanisms in these regions and the hypotheses concerning the extent of survival possible under repression, held not only by those not in sympathy with a policy of tolerance but also by some students who profess the read atrophy into signs of outer disappearance, is of methodological significance in orienting approaches in the wider field of the study of cultural survival.¹⁸¹

The more society suppressed African survivals, the more it created opportunities for black magic and people to exploit other people's beliefs. It was a point of view that would soon resound in Roger Bastide's perspective on corrupted Afro-Brazilian religious experience and his not-so-subtle preference for "Yoruba" rather than "Bantu" expressions in Brazil (1974:101–106). The preference for Yoruba would have a lasting effect and was already present in Brazil as early as in Nina Rodrigues' studies and, later, in Edison Carneiro's gaze on African heritage in Brazil and Charles Seligman's book.¹⁸² Stefania Capone, in her overview of Afro-Brazilian studies in the years 1930 to 1970, masterfully

180 RF Report 1942, RAC: II.

181 RF Report 1942, RAC: II

182 In his book, *The Races of Africa* (1930), then a must-read in physical, social and cultural anthropology, and which in French translation was adopted as a manual by the first Brazilian folklore mission, Charles Seligman devoted a whole section to the Yoruba, called "The True Negro: the quintessence of one of the four main African 'races'".

shows how the construction of a pure Yoruba-Nago-centred version of the Candomblé religion – which does not practise any offensive magic – resulted from the interplay between religious leaders and Brazilian and foreign sociologists and anthropologists (Capone 1999:203–300; see also Gois Dantas 1988).

From pages 14 to 37, most of the report is devoted to its second aim. This part contains a few sweeping yet exciting statements:

A large proportion of Brazilian men of letters and figures in the academic world have derived from the plantation area of Brazil. Furthermore, the heritage of the slave economy is seen in the present-day socio-economic orientation of Brazil – the fact that there is no middle class and that Brazil, not being as yet industrialized lacks the wealth to support full-time, professional scholars.¹⁸³ Most professors have part of their training abroad, mostly in France and Coimbra and Germany. However, such period abroad mostly only concerns part of their education, which they prefer to define as autodidact.¹⁸⁴

Brazilian people, argued Herskovits, often commented that American education was too specialized and did not concern itself with spiritual values. Nonetheless, interest in US education was rapidly growing, especially in the social sciences, since “Brazilians grant social sciences today our specialty”.¹⁸⁵ Some Brazilians, he argued, had misgivings about the effect of “our way of life” on those [students] who would come to Brazil but preferred to have their methodology taught to the Brazilians in Brazil. On a positive note, Herskovits registered that “the capacities of the Brazilian intellectuals, men and women, impressed me as being of the first order. ... The potentialities for significant work are not exceeded by those of any comparable American or European group known to me”.¹⁸⁶ However, “One needs not to belong in the country to realize the handicaps under which research must be done”.¹⁸⁷ Herskovits related very little exchange between the production centres in Brazil, even in the case of São Paulo and Rio. Rio, he added, was characterized by endogamy, with very few students coming from the suburban part of the city and, even less so, from another state. The difficulty in making a living practising the social sciences, which forced many scholars to work as doctors, historians or

183 Melville was particularly shocked by the context of the Faculty of Philosophy in Bahia, since the building was made available by the State, but no salary was paid to the faculty, whose professionals had to earn their living through other activities and professions.

184 RF Report 1942, RAC: 16.

185 RF Report 1942, RAC: 17.

186 RF Report 1942, RAC: 18.

187 RF Report 1942, RAC: 19.

journalists, deterred young people from enrolling in the newly opened courses. The situation might change if a new minister of education were appointed (he considered Minister Capanema incapable of this).

Herskovits believed in the cross-fertilization between teachers and students and in the creative adaptation of ideas and theories coming from abroad to the Brazilian context. This, however, is not what happened:

The academic scene in Rio and São Paulo is, indeed, so international that the fact that one is in a Brazilian setting is sometimes lost sight of. This might be highly advantageous if it led to a development in these centers of the true internationalism of scholarship. One receives the impression, however, that it results rather in the formation of a mosaic of nationalism” (p. 25).

Four types of social scientists could be identified in Brazil, stated Herskovits. The first and most important stemmed from the academic setting, such as the Faculties of Philosophy and Law. In the second group were those who worked under the auspices of the national and local institutes of history and geography. These institutes often had important archives, but:

Insofar as intellectual leadership is concerned ... these institutes offer little promise. Each appears to be controlled by a small group, whose membership regards the institute as their private concern and would scarcely welcome the intrusion of a young scholar with live intellectual interests, who might bring up discussions that would disturb their afternoon hour of relaxation with coffee and pleasant conversation.¹⁸⁸

For those familiar with contemporary Brazil, the situation in these local institutes has largely remained unchanged! The third category comprised those in government-controlled organizations, besides museums and faculties, who were charged with research and investigation in the social sciences. The fourth group included people with no academic or institutional affiliation, who were often carrying out research – they accounted for a considerable proportion of the publications in the social sciences.

Engineer and sociologist Euclides da Cunha, author of the classic “*Os Sertões*” (1902), and Nina Rodrigues, were considered part of the fourth such group. In the following section, Herskovits listed and ranked the five main centres for teaching the social sciences. The major ones were in Rio and São

188 RF Report 1942, RAC: 26.

Paulo, of course. In Rio, the Faculty of Philosophy was the most exciting place, mainly thanks to the work of Anísio Teixeira, “who stimulated a real flowering in the social sciences”, and Arthur Ramos.¹⁸⁹ The National Museum, led by Heloisa Torres, was attempting to set up a programme for field research in anthropology. “Because this programme leads to no formal degree, however, the difficulty is experienced in attracting students, and those who have taken the training have had to be subsidized during their schooling”.¹⁹⁰ The Escola Livre de Sociologia in São Paulo was a good example of good teamwork under the leadership of Cyro Berlinck and was by far the centre Herskovits preferred. However, he stressed:

This school exhibits a tendency to copy, somewhat uncritically at times, American orientations and methods. ... It labors under a serious financial handicap, inasmuch as it does not have government support. The Faculty of Philosophy and that of Law also offer work in the social sciences. Historical work and sociology, in the French tradition, is given by three excellent French professors at the Faculty of Philosophy. Here is one of the strongest centers of the tradition of importing foreign teachers, and I understand that requests have been made to the Nelson Rockefeller Committee for aid in bringing to the institution men from the US in the humanities and statistics to replace Italian professors whom the war compelled to resign their posts.¹⁹¹

The third and fourth centres were located in Salvador and Recife. In Salvador:

The newly formed Faculty of Philosophy is interesting from several points of view. Its director, the Secretary of Education and Health of the State of Bahia, Dr. Isaias Alves, is a professional educator, having been himself a teacher, having studied at Teachers’ College, New York, and having served in the national Ministry of Education. It is ... the only institution of higher learning in Brazil that relies on a private endowment to finance its work. ... Whether the men who make this Faculdade will be able to free themselves of the deep-seated intellectual tradition of the region, which stresses a broad, generalized type of investigation and fine writing

189 RF Report 1942, RAC: 28.

190 RF Report 1942, RAC: 29.

191 RF Report 1942, RAC: 30. This substitution of Italian professors with US professors in Brazil seems to have been a larger project, which had begun in those war years within the area of criminology (see Sansone 2022).

for its own sake as against modern social science approaches, will, in large measure, depend upon the publications available to them, and on what other stimuli as to method and aims they receive. At the moment, however, there is a degree of enthusiasm, drive and earnestness in the undertaking that I found impressive as I watched the project develop over a period of months.¹⁹²

The situation was altogether different in Recife, where the Faculty of Law, “the only possible institutional centre for social science investigation, lives on its past reputation”. However, the presence in the city of two personalities such as Gilberto Freyre and Ulysses Pernambucano meant that Recife had to be included among the important centres of present activity and future potentiality in social science. The fifth locality mentioned in the report is Porto Alegre, which, even though it produced almost no work in the social sciences, had one of the oldest university traditions in Brazil. The Faculties of Law and Philosophy of the State University were thought to be promising in this respect.¹⁹³

The last part of the report is devoted to the budget¹⁹⁴ and acknowledgements. From the report, one gathers that the degree of institutional support the Herskovitses received while in Brazil made it much easier for them than for Frazier and Turner to maintain and develop intellectual and institutional contact with Brazil over time. Melville acknowledged Dr Lewis Hanke of the Library of Congress at the luncheon to introduce the couple to several key intellectuals in the (selective) Jockey Club in Rio upon their arrival. He also thanked the American Embassy staff, the Brazilian headquarters of the Rockefeller Foundation (especially Dr Kerr) and the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Brazilian Foreign Office (especially its chief, Temistocles da Graça Aranha). Herskovits acknowledged, too, the unique articles about his work, which had appeared in the press under the signature of Afranio Peixoto, Cecilia Meirelles, Gilberto Freyre and others. In Bahia, he thanked the Interventor and the Secretary of Education and added that it was “Under the sponsorship of the latter that we had with us, first as an interpreter and later as an observer of method and field procedure, the young Director of the State Museum, Dr. José Valladares.”¹⁹⁵

The second report, of April 6, 1943, addressed to the Conselho de Fiscalização, is considerably shorter (ten pages rather than thirty-seven). After a page and a half of thanking the Brazilian authorities, this second report adds

192 RF Report 1942, RAC: 32.

193 RF Report 1942, RAC: 30–32.

194 Herskovits stated in his final budget overview that he paid only 5.5% of the total donation to informants.

195 RF Report 1942, RAC: 36.

an essential piece of information that is not mentioned in the first report. For several (unspecified) reasons, it was not feasible to take motion pictures. The film brought to Brazil was donated to the Museu Nacional to use in its research programmes. The recording project resulted in 166 twelve-inch records, on which a total of 650 songs appear. These are mainly songs of the Afro-Bahian cult groups, many of them with words in African “dialects”. The original records are in the Folk-Song Archive of the National Library. The report states that a copy of it will soon be sent to the Conselho. It is not clear whether this did take place. After that, the report repeats the ethnographic section of the first report. The whole section on Brazilian intellectual life in the first report is left out. It can be assumed that this second section was too confidential to be included in a report destined for the same cohort of officials and intellectuals whose activities were scrutinized in the report.

The report had quite an impact on the Council. The *Diario Oficial* records the reading of the report:

The Council listened attentively to the reading of the report submitted by professor Melville Herskovitz and his wife ... and considered the scientific interest of the work of the scientist and the contribution which they brought to Brazilian ethnology, especially in the field of negro acculturation, and expressed to Professor Herskovits and to his distinguished co-worker, Mrs. Herskovitz, its great appreciation and esteem, congratulating them heartily on the success of their research which will make possible studies of the greatest importance to the field of modern africanology.¹⁹⁶

There is no mention in the *Diario Oficial* of the research and final reports sent to the Council by Frazier and Turner.

For the four scholars, the research in Bahia would be their main and longest field trip abroad. They were all impressed with Brazil and seduced by the black popular culture in Salvador. The city seemed to them a relatively happy and peaceful island in a world torn apart by racial segregation and the horrors of WWII: the ideal place for doing fieldwork, with local and even kind informants available, key informants eager to show them around and local intellectuals and politicians who felt honoured by their visit and who would do their utmost to make their stay as pleasant as possible. As we shall read in the next chapter, their fieldwork highlighted a number of important differences in style and academic influence, locally and internationally. Yet, Bahia would be an awe-inspiring moment in life for the four of them.

¹⁹⁶ *Diario Oficial*, September 21, 1943, section 1, translated by the US Embassy in Rio.

Comparing Styles

Doing research in Brazil and Bahia empowered and affected Lorenzo, Franklin, Frances and Melville. The experience had a strong sensory and emotional side to it. In this they shared much in common. Having done fieldwork in Bahia on similar topics and in roughly the same period naturally would create a special bond between the four of them that would last for the rest of their lives. However, each of them added to their fieldwork experience their own individual agenda and personal touch. It is by comparing fieldwork styles, methodologies and social networks that one sees that Bahia had different impacts on the personality, ethnographic sensibility and future career of the four.

The daily experiences in Salvador of the two black scholars, Frazier and Turner, were remarkable and certainly quite different from everyday life in the United States. Upon their arrival in Salvador by boat they were picked up at the port by the American Consul (apparently a notorious racist who now had to welcome two American black scholars with all the due pomp). Their arrival was announced on the front pages of the leading Bahia newspapers and they checked into the centrally located Palace Hotel (possibly the best hotel in town) in the Rua Chile.¹

Frazier and Turner were given a white driver dressed in a white suit and bow tie, and took individual Portuguese lessons from a woman who lived in the bourgeois Campo Grande square. They enjoyed Carnival and the popular Senhor do Bonfim street festival in the company of a group of light-skinned, middle-class girls. In other words, both of them could circulate at will in popular culture, traditional religious circles and among the elites of Bahia. It is likely that they experienced this freedom because of their American citizenship and hard currency (Sansone 2011).²

Their presence did not go unnoticed by the white intellectual elite; after all, they were most certainly the first American black scholars to carry out

1 From October 16, Turner rented a room at 11 Rua Alfredo de Britto in the Pelourinho neighborhood, for the price of 120.000 Reis per month.

2 This picture of sociocultural mobility in the middle class is not to say that, in those years, the Bahian elite was not segregated. In fact, even Gilberto Freyre, in his positive review of Pierson's essay in the *American Sociological Review* (1940), published in *Correio da Manhã* on January 31, 1940, stated, "Pierson must have for sure encountered racial prejudice in Bahia. In Bahian society endures, hidden and sometimes watered down as bourgeoisie, one of the most endogenic and full of self-protection aristocracies that one has seen in America."



FIGURE 11 The Palace Hotel on 20 Rua Chile, where Frazier and Turner stayed in Salvador, Bahia

PUBLIC DOMAIN

fieldwork in Bahia and perhaps the first in Brazil. In Salvador, the two scholars faced a seemingly confusing situation. On the one hand, because of its provincial setup, the study field of race relations was tense and racialized right from its inception in the late 1930s. This affected Frazier and Turner negatively. In a letter of December 1, 1944³ to Melville Herskovits, José Valladares, his key contact in Bahia as well as a renowned art historian and curator of the prestigious Museu da Bahia, described Franklin Frazier as a “*mulato frajola*”, a showy mulatto.⁴ Even an otherwise politically liberal intellectual such as Valladares, who had published an interesting pamphlet called *Museus Para o Povo* (Valladares 1944), which included black and poor people among the potential visitors of museums, could get annoyed with the presence of black people amid the intelligentsia. The Bahian elite, who had been very welcoming towards white American scholars and travellers, were not as open to black Americans. Even though seemingly shunned by the (near) white elites, Turner and Frazier



FIGURE 12 The Edith Guesthouse at 277 Avenida Sete de Setembro, where Melville and Frances Herskovits stayed in Salvador, Bahia

MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, EEPA 1986-290721

3 Melville Herskovits Papers, Box 36, Folder 2, NU.

4 “Estou muito curioso de ver a conferência de Frazier impressa. Ele é sem dúvida o que se chama um ‘mulato frajola’ e essa gente é capaz de grandes surpresas.” (Valladares to MJH, December 1, 1944)

received an invitation from the ancient and traditional black brotherhood, Sociedade dos Desvalidos, and more generally they enjoyed black solidarity.

A set of family photos of Herskovits with Frances and their daughter, and his correspondence with Mrs Ward of Northwestern, his secretary responsible for forwarding the mail during his Brazilian field trip, suggest that the family rented a small apartment in the Edith Schmalz Guesthouse on Avenida Sete de Setembro 277, on Campo Grande. The building is now known as Casa de Itália and is right in the centre of Salvador. It was comfortable but less flashy than the Palace Hotel.

In Bahia, apart from the assistance of the well-connected José Valladares, Herskovits relied on a different network from that of Frazier and Turner. He had much closer ties with the white Brazilian intellectual elite and maintained these contacts until the end of his life. His primary contact was Arthur Ramos, considered the dean of Afro-Bahian studies (Ramos 1934, 1937), but he also had the endorsement of the director of the Museu Nacional, the famous Dona Heloisa Torres (Sansone 2011).

Even though the four scholars were revolving around the same few cult-houses for their fieldwork, especially Gantois and Bogum, they did not interview exactly the same cohort of people. Let us now compare their style of fieldwork.

Frances' contribution to the quality of Melville's research must not be underestimated. In fact, Parés notes, Frances showed more concern for the social context of the cult-houses than her husband did (Parés 2016:141). Born in Minsk, then Russia, Frances migrated to the US at the age of eight. In her youth she wanted to be a writer, and in the 1920s, for her MA in Anthropology, she attended graduate classes and seminars at the New School of Social Research and Columbia University, where she met Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Elsie Clews Parsons and her future husband, Melville J. Herskovits. Her professional training as an anthropologist continued as she accompanied Mel on most of his trips, to Haiti, Trinidad, Dahomey, Suriname and other African countries. Also, thanks to her writing skills, she co-authored with Melville several articles and five volumes. These included the books *Rebel Destiny* (on the Suriname Maroons) and *Dahomean Narrative*. An indication of her early commitment to anthropology is that she applied for a grant from the Guggenheim Foundation in 1936 to do research for twelve months among the Mandinga of West Africa. She cited no less than Franz Boas and Edward Sapir as references. Apparently, she did not get the grant⁵ but, anyhow, by 1941 she had more fieldwork

5 MJH Papers, Guggenheim Foundation 1929–1942.

experience than most famous anthropologists of the time. Mel co-authored with her an article on Brazil in the *Yale Review* and her name was singled out in the final report, in the press and in the commentaries of most Brazilian colleagues. Melville acknowledged Frances' importance in doing fieldwork also because she facilitated contact with women: "And she's a damn good anthropologist, too – not a formal anthropologist – but damn good."⁶ The only biographical note on Frances I am aware of is Ashbaugh (2001). I thank Kevin Yelvington for having provided this information.

1 Networks, Photographs and Fieldnotes

As we have seen, Turner teamed up with Frazier. Turner had a gasoline-propelled Edison phonograph, an expensive rarity in those days. It recorded on aluminium discs that played for fifteen minutes at the most. He had learned to operate this complicated machine, which was useful for his study of linguistics as well as for his general interest in music and its interaction with language. Herskovits teamed up with his wife Frances. She would eventually transcribe his fieldnotes and interviews and would maintain an interest in Brazil until the end of her life. The Herkovitises, too, had a sound recorder.

The international and Brazilian networks of our scholars were very different too. Frazier relied on the network established by Chicagoan Donald Pierson and later Ruth Landes in 1935–39. Upon arrival, Turner and Frazier had already identified several contacts in the political elites and among the key middle-class families in the black population. Both Pierson and Landes had relied on connections and guidance from the black and communist sympathizer, journalist and self-taught ethnographer, Édison Carneiro. As seen before, Landes made him the central key informant in her fieldwork. Though I have not found evidence in the archives, it is quite possible that Turner's and Frazier's contacts in the Candomblé world, especially those they interviewed in the famous Gantois house, were arranged by Ruth Landes and Édison Carneiro. Herskovits had better connections with the white intellectual elite already from the start and found in José Valladares a great local ally. Turner benefited from his friend and colleague Frazier's contacts and fluency in Portuguese, and Frazier benefited from Turner's recording methods, photographic skills and company.

6 Interview with Herskovits, *Daily Northwestern*, March 13, 1940, quoted in Gershenhorn 2004:255.

2 Frazier's Approach

After spending two months improving his Portuguese and reading secondary sources, Frazier interviewed forty-two families living near the Gantois cult-house and fifteen more from diverse neighbourhoods and social strata to obtain comparative data (Hellwig 1991, 1992; Saint Arnaud 2009).⁷ The choice of informants was not entirely random, as Frazier seemed to imply, and the questions he asked were related to his comparative research on the black family rather than Candomblé, which the Herskovitses would do a year later.

Almost all the interviewees in the leading group were women. Frazier explained this by arguing that men were hardly at home during the day.⁸ The women were mostly illiterate and worked as housemaids or in the homes of more affluent (whiter) people. Many of the interviewees revolved around the Candomblé house (some went there to check what was going on, "*para apreciar*") for counselling, religious needs, social life and food. Roughly half were mestizo. Several had relationships or affairs with white, wealthier men – sometimes married. Most of them had short-lived marriages, often lived "*maritalmente*" (as if married), sometimes followed by a formal wedding at a later age. It was a pattern that, in the 1950s, anthropologists such as M.G. Smith defined as "typically Caribbean" (Smith 1962), but was also common in Latin America and other regions of the world, such as the Philippines (MacDonald and MacDonald 1978). Women experienced a very high rate of child mortality. When they separated from their husbands, they moved back to their mother's house, with whom they created a household. The overwhelming majority of women had menial jobs. Those who were not housemaids did laundry, ironing, cooking or sewing. Some were street vendors or cooks, while others sold whatever they could from a little shop in their residence.

Frazier's interviews show a variety of points of view in the black-mestizo population who lived in the neighbourhood: those who believed in education as the best and only way to upward mobility; a race- and labour-conscious stevedore who said that Candomblé was just to keep the Negroes dancing; and the "*povo de santo*" (the natural family and the most closely related people to the cult-house leadership). The vocabulary they used was that of ordinary people (*seita*, *mãe de santo*, Candomblé, *maritalmente*, etc). Frazier did not introduce expressions to talk about Candomblé but instead registered, often

7 See Appendix 4 for the names of the people Frazier interviewed, living near and around the *seita do Gantois*.

8 This bias, one could argue, could lead to underestimating the presence and importance of men in the household.

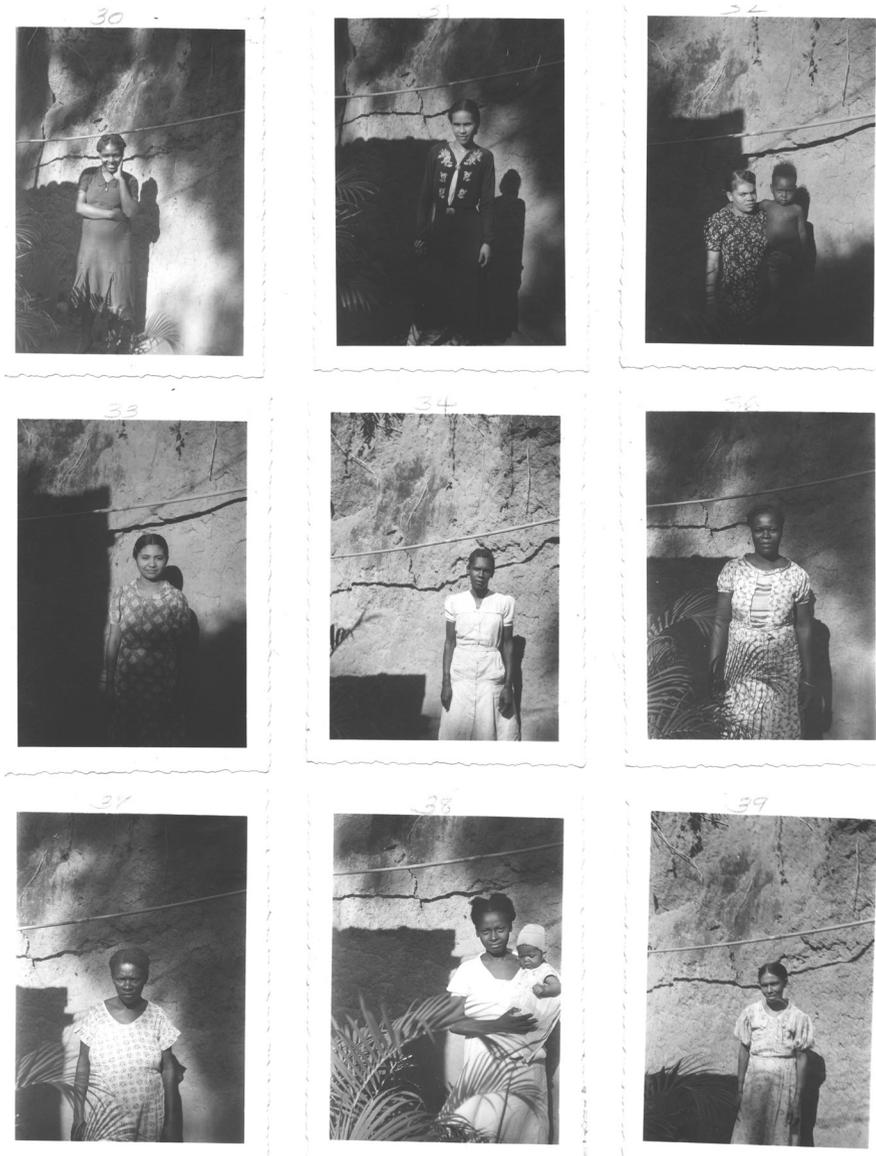


FIGURE 13 Portraits of Franklin Frazier's cases 30–34 and 36–38
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER PAPERS COLLECTION, MOORLAND-SPINGARN
RESEARCH CENTER (MSRC), HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON DC

in Portuguese, people's way of speaking – albeit briefly. The memory of Africa (such as of African words or expressions but also African marriage customs) depended on the *seita* (the sect) and the *mãe de santo* – they were the only

ones who recalled Africa, often proudly. The exception was the Alakija family, part of the second group of informants that was transnational – with members in Lagos and London. Both Frazier and Turner interviewed this family.

On his notepad, Frazier meticulously recorded case number, name, date of interview, physical appearance (hair colour and texture, skin colour, size, mixed/very dark), age, family background, family organization, social relations, children, present status. In doing this, he differed from both Turner and Herskovits. He further noted whether people were satisfied or unhappy with their life, pessimistic or optimistic, whether women had a colour preference in terms of a future partner (most said they did not), and whether the interviewee was a virgin (!) – a question that was candidly answered. Some answers were recorded in Portuguese: *trabalho muito, dinheiro pouco, despesas muitas* (hard work, little money, lots of expenses). Frazier asked explicitly whether the informant knew something about Africa – none seemed to know anything. In Case 10, we read: “She knows nothing of her grandparents, nothing of Africa, and has been told nothing of either or has forgotten what she was told.” Frazier was not assuming that people had any memory regarding Africa in his way of asking questions. He recorded at least twice that the only African terms he found relating to the household were to do with food – *acaraje, vatapa, caruru*. One example is Case 1, Maria:

Knows nothing of her grandparents except the maternal grandmother, whom she knew only slightly. Never heard anything about Africa ... Her family exercised strict supervision over her behavior ... A man who sold milk began to flirt with her and tell her that “gostou” her. He invited her to come to his house. She began seeing him without her mother knowing. When she became pregnant, her mother scolded her severely. ... She lived with the man as his wife for two years ... During the two years, she had two children, both of whom died ... At present, her younger sister and mother are living together as a family group.

Most households were indigent with unstable marital status. Many women were also working in “*casa de familia*” (as housemaids for a better-off family), sometimes met their husband there or became involved with a lighter-skinned man from that family, frequently maintaining a relationship with him and bearing his children. What was noticeable was the high rate of childbirth and the short duration of most marital arrangements – often as a result of the husband deserting his wife or dying prematurely, the young age of the first pregnancy, and the ephemeral nature of courting (it is possible that such details also had to do with the way Frazier recorded them). An excerpt from Case 8 reads:

She met him [the future partner] in the street. He liked her and she liked him. Her mother could tell from her eyes and scolded her. When the mother went to work, the man would slip in and have sex with her. She became pregnant. The mother scolded her and the man. The man took her and her mother to live in a house and provided well for them. She had three children with him. All three are dead – two as small ... After four years, the man died.

For Case 6 Frazier wrote:

Met the father of her children at a *feira*. He said that he “*gostou*” her and she said “*gostei*” him ... During the five years they have been living together “*maritalmente*” she has had three children two of whom are dead. At present she is pregnant. She is happy at the prospect; man is kind and supports her. Streetcar conductor.

Most women started to work at the age of twelve to thirteen and most people were illiterate. Children had, on average, two to three years of schooling. Only a minority attended school, such as Case 10, who described a structured nuclear family with parents and ten children who all went to school and regularly attended both the Catholic Church and Candomblé. There was no other church than the Catholic one for these informants. Only one informant used to go to a Baptist Church but was by then going to Candomblé and a *centro espirita* (spiritualist centre). Most people were local and lived in the house where they were born. About a third came from inland Bahia. There was a lot of mutual help in the neighbourhood particularly in the event of a crisis in a household, such as following the death or departure of a husband. Households were almost always matrifocal.

The colour terms used by the informants reveal a robust racist bias – *moreno limpo*, or clean brown-skinned man (Case 25). Their responses also indicate a strict moral code. So, Case 26 is *solteira* and *honestas* (unmarried but decent), states she wants to marry, is a *filha de santo*, *observa obrigações* (follows her obligations), likes Candomblé immensely, has learned some African words, but otherwise knows nothing of Africa.

Case 28, who wanted to become a *filha de santo*, is one of the few who learned African words not just in Candomblé but also from her mother and aunt. Otherwise, the only thing identified as African was food, especially as eaten on special holy days, such as São Cosme, São Damião (September 27) and São Antonio (June 13). For Case 31, who stated that her great-grandfather

on the mother's side was born in Africa, Frazier recorded that "apparently there has been no transmission of African heritage". Case 36 is as follows:

Black woman, with maternal grandfather born in Africa, bore his tribal marks on face. Spoke African language, but informant never learned it or understood it. ... Was a *filha de santo* and learned some African words. Knows nothing about Africa. Goes to Candomblé and the Catholic Church.

Africa was also a topic in the interview with Case 41:

Maria Francisca, mãe de Zezé, with African great-grandfather and grandfather of African origins, born in the *sertão*. Informant claims to be 55 years of age, but looks older. Tells the following story: When she came to Bahia there was a house in which she lived, where Africans lived under a *pai de santo*. All worked together for the upkeep of the house but engaged in individual enterprises like selling tobacco, peanuts, bananas and fish. The *pai de santo* managed the division of the produce of their labor. They spoke African and practiced African rites. She never learned anything of the language in rites because when 17 married a man who did not like the African practices. Her husband was the son of a gypsy and shared her mother's dislike of African practices. She has had 12 children and only two are living. ... She attends the Catholic Church and the Candomblé

Frazier's fieldnotes include a second set of interviews, called "miscellaneous group", mainly documenting people in the middle class.⁹ Many of these informants were second-generation Africans, born in Brazil, and had close connections to one or more Candomblé houses. An interesting exception was a weaver who had a reasonable living standard but could not be ranked as middle class. He was possibly the last weaver in Bahia to weave using West African techniques. He was aware that his trade was of African origin but did not go to Candomblé.

Those in the middle class often praised their mostly illiterate parents and their commitment to education for their children. They had little memory of past generations and never beyond the great-grandmother.¹⁰ The words they

9 Box 131–133, Folder 8. For a list of Frazier's informants that he categorised as middle class, see Appendix 4.

10 Among the Brazilian poor, only a minority of whom had identity documents or any document whatsoever in those years, such difficulty in recalling the name of any relative beyond the grandparents was quite common.



FIGURE 14 A weaver. Son of Africans. Speaks Yoruba
LORENZO DOW TURNER PAPERS, ANACOSTIA COMMUNITY MUSEUM
ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON DC. DONATED BY
LOIS TURNER WILLIAMS

used seem to come straight out of a speech by Booker Washington. Whoever moved upward socially tended to be married “*civilmente*” and in the church. Being married in church and in a civil registration was highly valued by the majority. They disliked the expression “*maritalmente*” (common-law union) because it had a less “decent” connotation. Most women also had romantic dreams about having a “proper husband” and being able to raise their children together. Poverty and even misery were much more dominant topics in the course of these interviews than anything cultural, Afro-Bahian or African. A key conclusion of Frazier’s research was that African heritage and the practice of Candomblé were less directly related to each other than one might expect and that in those days of celebration of authentic cultures on the part of anthropologists, Frazier was rejecting what he perceived as their exotic-making of the people of African descent.

3 Turner’s Approach

Turner’s fieldwork method was radically different in some ways and quite like that of Frazier and Herskovits in others. He left no fieldwork or methodological notes – in fact, there are no such notes regarding Brazil in his papers at Northwestern or the Anacostia Community Museum. Yet, from the recordings, interview transcriptions, letters, scripts for Afro-Brazilian folklore shows and later recollections of his experience in Bahia, we know that he showed his informants a list of words (and perhaps expressions) he had gathered from the Gullah, and played them his recordings of the African-influenced speech of the Gullah (Wade-Lewis, 2007:130).

Turner recognized in the Bahia speech several expressions he had heard from the Gullah and his informants also identified words in the written lists and recordings. Several African terms were similar in both contexts – and in this respect Turner’s research technique was well advanced and appropriate for the time. With the hindsight of history, one wonders today if in this process of recognition of African words and heritage it should not also be taken into account that the informants wanted to give a socially satisfactory answer to the friendly, well-educated and African-oriented black American linguist (Sansone 2011).

Turner’s informants can be divided into four main groups: *povo de santo*, *capoeiristas*, musicians and language informants.¹¹ There were no clear-cut

¹¹ See Appendix 4 for the categories and list of names Turner recorded.

divisions. Some Yoruba speakers were also part of the *povo de santo*. Turner tried to record all possible regional accents. All the recordings were done in Salvador apart from that of Mário de Andrade, and were done outside the religious context, usually on Fridays and Saturdays. This probably had to do with the sheer size of the recording equipment. Part of the recording was done at Radio Sociedade, which had an antenna and a small recording studio about 50 metres from Gantois, on top of a small hill. In 1940, the first radio station in Salvador was taken over by Odorico Tavares, a promoter of local folklore and one of the first influential journalists to be open to Afro-Brazilian culture (Ickes 2013, 2013a).¹²

Besides the photos and the recording, Turner left us a set of transcriptions of tales and proverbs that he tidied up and reorganised several times in the 1950s and 1960s in the hope of getting them published as a collection of “Yoruba tales and proverbs in Bahia” and /or as part of a more general book on Yoruba tales in Nigeria and Brazil.¹³ As far as I know, this material has never been researched and catalogued by anybody besides Turner himself.¹⁴ A large part of

12 I appreciate the help I received on this topic from the French independent scholar, Pol Briand (personal communication, August 25, 2005).

13 We found 415 documents, loosely organized, in 15 folders. Each folder is divided in 9 themes: author/source, location, songs, proverbs, story, riddles, scholar; translations and texts in Yoruba. There are also 4 summaries of the organization of the chapters, suggesting that Turner was planning a publication: theological stories, stories with a moral/Yoruba stories, satirical stories, and stories involving magic. None of them is complete or ready for publication. Forty sources are mentioned, 35 African and 5 Brazilian. The African material was collected in 7 Nigerian cities: Ibadan, Ijebu-Remo, Ilesha, Igebu-Ode, Ogbomoso, Oshogbo and Ado-Ekiti. The Brazilian interviewees were all from Salvador: Manoel da Silva, Martiniano do Bonfim, Anna M. Santos, Julieta Aurelina Nascimento and Manoelzinho. The transcription of these Brazilian recordings is dated July–August 1950 – it was done in the summer break because, as we know, Turner had no time for research during the teaching period. This part consists of a dictionary, “*Africano e Português*”, an exposition concerning the Yoruba in Bahia, history, songs, reports and the biography of Julieta Aurelina Nascimento. Furthermore, there are 17 documents concerning songs and biblical psalms in Yoruba, 20 proverbs, 173 stories, 4 riddles, 7 lectures/classes, 10 translated documents and 10 texts in Yoruba. Most of the documents are in English, with translation in English and Yoruba. Contextualizing these documents is a real challenge that will need to be done as a collective enterprise. It should also involve contemporary informants, Yoruba speakers, historians of the Yoruba language as well as, whenever possible, access to the sources used by Turner. I thank PhD candidate Diana Catarino for the preliminary scrutiny of these documents.

14 I am indebted to David Brookshaw, Librarian of the Melville Heskovits Library at Northwestern University, for having made me aware of such a precious register that had sat in the library unexplored since the entry was made of the donation of Turner's papers, and for having been so kind as to send us a large box with a copy of them to Bahia. It is such

the transcription was done in 1950 when Turner transcribed many stories told by Martiniano and his well-known “Recollection of Lagos”. In July and August of that year, Turner benefited from the help of a Nigerian student at Roosevelt College, Adu, who checked the transcription quality in the Yoruba language. Adu marked “OK” against everything related to Martiniano, but not the story told by Manoel do Bonfim whose Yoruba he considered not all that polished.¹⁵ In Box 39, Folder 1, there are Martiniano’s folktales, a lot of them relating to Yemanjá, and a draft of a paper, “The role of folklore in the life of Yoruba in Southwestern Nigeria”, which was never published. Box 40, Folder 1 contains the recordings done in Nigeria of Miss Obisanya, Ade Isola and Arowsegbe, mostly to do with animals and humans, narratives of intertribal wars, and proverbs by Olowe. Turner transcribed these interviews during his field trip to Nigeria in the 1950s. He considered the Yoruba people as a transatlantic whole, with an African and a Brazilian component. It was a pioneering idea that nowadays resonates with many scholars of the transnational Yoruba nation.

Despite their exceptional value, Turner’s recordings and photos remained invisible and unknown to most Brazilian scholars, until recently. In 2012, the digital repatriation¹⁶ of copies of his pictures and recordings of the Gantois and Axe Afonja Candomblé houses – in sessions organized by the Digital Museum of African and Afro-Brazilian Heritage of the Federal University of Bahia – allowed the older people in Bahia to recognize most of Turner’s informants.¹⁷ They were moved by the opportunity to hear the voices of such important people in the Candomblé community and viewed of great value the recordings of voices of long-ago religious leaders (Sansone 2011). This project is giving new relevance to Turner’s work in Bahia. More recently, Turner’s beautiful photos

rich material, which we hope to be able to analyse in the near future with the help of a scholar who is also a native Yoruba speaker.

15 Turner’s papers, Box 38, Folder 6.

16 This digital repatriation received the support of the Archives of Traditional Music (ATM) at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, where the collection of Turner’s recordings is housed; the Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies at Northwestern University and especially the Anacostia Community Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, which houses most of the photographs and artefacts Turner collected in his research (Sansone 2011).

17 This process of recognition and recollection was very much in line with what Olivia Gomes da Cunha did in 2003 with Ruth Landes’ photos (Da Cunha 2020). In our case, because of our arrangement with the NAA, we could leave copies of the photos on a DVD with the Gantois and Axe Opo Afonja houses, and made the pictures and small excerpts of Turner’s recordings available online. Our agreement with the ATM allowed for only small excerpts of 3–5 minutes. The Facebook page of the Afrodigital museum had over 15,000 followers in September 2020.

and recordings received their well-deserved acknowledgement through a travelling exhibition of his work organized by Alcione Amos of the Smithsonian Anacostia Museum, in the book edited by ethnomusicologist Xavier Vatin, of the Federal University of Recôncavo da Bahia (2017), and even a 76-minute documentary, “Memorias Afro-Atlânticas”, directed by Gabriela Barreto in 2019.

3.1 *Mel's and Frances' Fieldnotes*

The Herskovitses' fieldnotes are much more voluminous than the single notepad left by Frazier and, of course, Turner's few scattered notes. The fieldnotes kept by the Schomburg Center come in two formats: handwritten and transcribed. The transcription is quite literal and is the text I studied.¹⁸ It consists of one large notebook with 260 pages and six notebooks with interviews and notes of participant observation. Each small notebook has 100 to 120 pages and comprises the same information as the larger book but is reorganized according to themes. Notebooks I to IV contain the description of a visit to the cult-houses and their feasts and rituals. The other six notebooks, marked A to F, contain the edited transcription of the interviews (Parés 2016). Mel and Frances kept no list of names of the informants, but these can be deduced from reading the fieldnotes¹⁹ or in the list of payments in their final report (Appendix 1). In notebook A, on pages 12–13, however, there is a list of “proper” (orthodox) Candomblé houses that have better “knowledge” (“*conhecimento*”) according to Manoel da Silva, one of the main informants. Men: Bernardino – Angola, Congo, Jeje, Ketu; Joãozinho “*não é feito mas compreende muito*”, Caboclo, Ketu (agora Ketu, “*era caboclo alguns anos atrás*”); Manoel Menezes – Jeje; Gonçalo – Angola; Vidal – Ketu; Procopio de Ogun – Ketu; Ciriaco – Ketu; Co...[unreadable] – *depois do Engenho Velho* – Ketu; Eduardo – Ijexá. Women: Engenho Velho – Tia Massi – Ketu; Gantois – Tia Menininha – Ketu “*mas muito competente para todas as nações*”; Oshumare – Cotinha, Jeje; Maria Nene – Congo; Candomblé de São Gonçalo “*a 'senhora' que encontramos com Vidal cujo nome ninguém parece saber*” – Ketu; Idalise – Estrada de Rodagem – Angola; Maria de Ogun – Jeje, Ijexá.²⁰ This list highlights divergent opinions around the ethnic origin or “nation” membership of some cult-houses and *pais* and *mães de santos* – the most prominent and publicly known of whom was

18 Olivia Gomes da Cunha's recent and very comprehensive book (2020) suggests that analyzing the original handwritten notes might reveal differences between them and the transcribed notes – which are also more organized and, at times, have a more linear narrative.

19 See Appendix 4 for a list of these informants assembled from the fieldnotes.

20 MJH and FSH papers, fieldnotes, A 12–13, SC.

perhaps Joãozinho, who had associated himself with the Angola nation but had very recently become part of the Ketu nation.

The notes also include a detailed list of permissions issued by the police to cult-houses for the three years 1939 to 1941. From this list (see Appendix 2), one can see that most houses identified with the Angola or the Caboclo nation. However, in a trend that would grow in the successive decades, many houses of the Angola and Caboclo nations little by little became Nago-Ketu – that is, they joined the minority of cult-houses of the nation that was believed to be, together with the Jeje, the most orthodox and purely African (Gois Dantas 1988; Teles dos Santos 1996). Such a thing, wrote the Herskovitses, is what happened with famous priest Joãozinho da Gomeia, who was Caboclo and became Ketu²¹. This change from one nation to the other received much criticism, especially from the senior members of the most orthodox houses who were, in general, more reluctant to change. The informants complained of new houses being opened by people who were too young, sometimes even without proper initiation. Another phenomenon that was frowned upon was men dancing and being possessed by the *santo*, because possession indicated that they were “*passivos*” – and thus homosexuals. In the seniors’ orthodox houses, dancing was self-controlled and done for appropriate lengths of time, usually limited. Not everybody was supposed to dance all the time.

Here is an excerpt from the Herskovitses’ notes about the difference between Candomblé nations:

Caboclo: Joaozinho made the point, very definitely, that caboclo is different from Angola and Congo – in that it is Guarani. MJH’s impression was that his attitude was deprecatory when he talked about caboclo as against the other *seitas*. When FSH joined, he said that caboclo did everything more simply and less expensively ... The *matança* [ritual killing of animals] was done in the open, in front of everyone, instead of reserving a special time and having a private ceremony. ... Caboclo *santos* have no *preceitos*. While the African *santos* work with *folhas*, caboclo saints work with *raizes*. ... The songs of the caboclo are not in African, they are in Portuguese, and they are very *bonito* ... The songs are not fixed. Each *santo* makes up his own. We said they reminded us of the songs of the *Evangelicos*. He laughed, but he did not disagree.²²

21 According to Jeferson Bacelar, in a personal conversation on September 29, 2020, Joãozinho never actually became Ketu.

22 MJH and FSH fieldnotes, Box 6, sc.

Mãe Menininha, the famous head of the Gantois cult-house, suggested to the couple that if they wanted to go to a Caboclo feast, they should come to Gantois, where their feasts were serious.²³ It must be added, said the Herskovitses, that the Gantois cult-house was well known as being very hierarchical, and the *mãe de santo*, *Menininha*, quite authoritarian. In that house, the function and roles of *ekedis*, *vondunsi*, *filha de santo*, *mãe pequena* and *mãe de santo* were kept very different. Confirmation was hard to obtain and could take a very long time.

The Herskovitses gave an excellent and detailed description of the hierarchies (of respect), offerings arrangement of the house (and of *peji*, or shrines) and processes in Candomblé religion – for example, how to open a new cult-house, starting from a *roca* (an orchard). They clearly noted who did or did not do what in the house. It was a description from personal observation and from what they were told in the interviews. The couple asked each informant what their *preceitos* (religious obligations) were to the particular saint of his/her own house: type of feast, food, social obligation, clothing, space (the *barração* and the surrounding yard) and key sacred shrines (*peji*), time, duration of initiation (the longer, the more traditional the house could be considered), etc. Each informant assumed that their *preceitos* were correct and that other houses might do it differently. It was a differentiating dynamic typical of Candomblé. One house existed simply because it was different from another one. For this reason, the general federation of Candomblé houses, founded by Édison Carneiro in 1938, had only a short, troubled life. Instead of official alliances, blood or spiritual genealogies have always worked better, liaising one house with others.²⁴

In the Herskovitses' interviews, unlike those of Frazier's, or of Turners' recordings and notes, there is little or no personal information on the interviewees. This information has to be gleaned through the detailed descriptions of rituals, animal sacrifices, ritual baths with specific leaves in water and *causos* (occurrences, usual mishaps due to error or not following what the saints expect from you) in your or other houses. MJH also used *notas* (lists of food types), amounts of money (*dinheiro de chao*) and objects that a saint required as offerings for a specific purpose.²⁵

23 Box 21.

24 Box 6.

25 See, for example, Box 14–15. None of the three seemed to be worried about granting a degree of anonymity to the informants, even when it concerned sensitive issues. I wonder whether in those days that was the canon in the social sciences when doing research with “other” or foreign groups and populations.



FIGURE 15 A goat about to be sacrificed in a Candomblé ceremony
 MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON PHOTOGRAPHIC
 ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, SMITHSONIAN
 INSTITUTION, EEPA 1986-290794

The Herskovitses' description of the correct practices was always neutral. It was the transcription of what they heard, taken at face value. Sometimes there is a note between brackets with a remark, such as "we need to ask more about this". Here is a typical example: "When a member of the family is to become a *feita*, relatives give presents. It is impossible to say just how much because they buy articles of clothing. Etc. Some give money, but those who know the Candomblé know what to give."²⁶ The transcriptions record literally what an informant said. What interested the couple was primarily the function of each saint, the composition of each ritual, the many taboos (as to food, clothing, behaviour, dance, etc.), the difference between houses and Candomblé nations (and between Ketu, Jeje, Angola and Caboclo), the funeral and death rites, the initiation, possession (who is possessed, how the community relates to it), and the opening of a new Candomblé house. In this, they always asked which words were used, especially African words. They tried to draw links with

²⁶ Notebook C:19.

previous places where they had done research, especially in Dahomey, Haiti and Suriname.

The description of burials was very detailed, especially that of *Mãe Senhora*, a highly respected priestess: the coffin, preparation of the body, what went into the coffin, food and songs, how to walk the coffin to the cemetery, ritual steps, what to do after the burial, how to dispose of the possessions of the deceased, etc. It was also crucial in their research in Dahomey (1938). In the notes, they took care to transcribe as many African words as possible used in the interviews.

They also asked a lot about Exu, a Candomblé “entity” similar to Hermes or Mercury in Greek and Roman mythology, the messenger that also opened up and protected one’s path, even though outsiders often represented it as the devil. A similar entity, called *bakru* in Sranan Tongo, had attracted attention in their research for the book *Suriname Folklore* (1936). Melville and Frances would have some small metal statues of Exu made for them by the blacksmiths at the market.²⁷ Alas, this is part of the collection that went down with the torpedoed ship. Their ethnographic sensibility was nurtured by their transatlantic research experience and the constant pursuit of ethnographic similarities, rather than singularities, between the different locations.

Other topics captured the couple’s curiosity, such as the process of numbering in the Jogo do Bicho (number game), of which they provide a very detailed description,²⁸ and the phenomenon of *amaziado*, common-law unions, which they depicted as much more structured and based in African traditions than Frazier had portrayed a year earlier. The *amaziado* would be teased out in a specific paper (Herskovits 1945a).²⁹ The Herskovitses also explained the important difference between *ogan de ramo*³⁰ and *ogan confirmado*. The latter has rights and obligations. The first had none of this and was rather an honorary role. Each student of the Candomblé cult who was “initiated” (from the first ethnography of medical doctor Raimundo Rodrigues in the late 1890s onwards, many scholars became *ogans* and were publicly proud of it) was an

27 Today, such metal statues can still be purchased in the same São Joaquim Central Market. During his last visit to Bahia in 2010, my father Agostino also bought a number of these metal images of Exu and piled them up in the corner of my house. When visitors see these Exus they are always impressed. Some are scared, but all of them ask why the Exus are there.

28 Box 3A.

29 Largely based on René Ribeiro’s MA research on the same topic (Ribeiro 1945).

30 According to Jeferson Bacelar, in a personal communication on September 29, 2020, in recent times, this function is called *ogan suspenso* (provisional *ogan*).

ogan de ramo; becoming an *ogan confirmado* carried much more responsibilities and was very time-consuming.³¹

In the papers and reports they would publish later, Frances and Melville tended to shun the topic of homosexuality and hardly registered the (conspicuous) presence of homosexuals in and around cult-houses or their ceremonies and feasts. Nonetheless, there are several references in the fieldnotes to a strange occurrence.³² In discussing the powers of the *mãe de santo* and the extent to which they could be “spoiled” by being used for evil purposes, they used the example of the mother of *Mãe Menininha*. She was a *mãe pequena* and was killed by a *feitico* (fetish). She had been having relations with one of the *filhas*, something that, as Ruth Landes showed, was not uncommon in those days in the Candomblé houses dominated by women. But then she was attracted to a man, a butcher who lived just up the street from the *pensão* (the guesthouse where the Herskovitses were staying) and started living with him. Her woman lover became angry and also took a man but swore to the mother of *Mãe Menininha* that she would “give her an answer”. She went to Tio Ojo, one of the Africanos who dealt in sorcery and obtained a *feitico* that killed *Menininha’s* mother. Pulqueria (a powerful priestess) was still living, but she could do nothing in this case.

Another example of the fact that they registered homosexuality was their description of a feast at Procopio’s cult-house on April 19, 1942. Procopio, one of the few informants who, according to the couple, was very fluent in Yoruba, entered the dance: “On the head, he had a blue-green hat of the kind Ogun wears, but more turban shaped, and the whole effect being of an African prince – not at all of an effeminate being. Nor was the dancing.”³³ These are (private) admissions of the relevance of homosexuality in the houses, something Melville would later publicly condemn in his criticism of Landes’ study, which emphasized the centrality of women in Candomblé (1947). Besides several references to the relevance of homosexuality in Candomblé, there are many mentions of race and racial discrimination in the fieldnotes. They noticed homosexuality and racial discrimination as well as black consciousness but were not interested in developing these controversial issues in their publications – it was not part of their project.

31 Notebook B:29. Over the last three decades, with the growing interaction and interconnection between anthropology and Candomblé, things have changed, in the sense that a few initiated people have received formal training in anthropology and even degrees in the discipline, while a number of anthropologists have become initiated in Candomblé.

32 Notebook B:30.

33 Notebook v:62.

The fieldnotes also hint at many topics that show that the Herskovitses had broader interests and recorded impressions and remarks that were somehow at odds with their general study of African survivals. These would not find a place in the papers the couple published relating to Brazil. Let me tease out these somewhat contradictory observations. Gossip and questioning each other's knowledge and actual allegiance to one specific nation is part of Candomblé culture. The reasons for gossip are plenty: when to have a feast or not, what the *feira* looks like, the success and failure of a *feira*, the spiritual power of a cult-house. Also, the presence and action of other researchers could be a reason for such gossip. For instance, Frances remarked, "Aninha's house ... Ruth Landes had been there with Carneiro. She said she wished to become *feitá*. At that point, the on-looking *mae de santo ketu* laughed...."³⁴ The presence of foreign scholars did not pass unnoticed: "Mae Senhora announces proudly the American foreigners entering the room and the president mentioned proudly the other Americans who have been there Pierson, Landes, Turner, Frazier, and said the people from far off appreciated this religion, but not those near at hand!"³⁵

The couple noticed several Dahomeyan influences at *Mãe Senhora's*, even though these were not generally recognized and incorporated in Nago/Ketu rituals and objects. At the cult-house of pai Vidal, the couple constantly asked people to point out deities that resembled Dahomeyan gods. The people they interviewed often saw a resemblance. They also compared these similarities with their findings in Suriname and Haiti: "What has happened to the Dahomeyan gods here is like what happened in Haiti – they have become somewhat blurred in form and function, and sense of place has been lost." In documenting their talk with Vidal, who wanted to know if the Jeje still existed in Africa, they noted: "Why have Nago survivals been so precise?" Frances had the answer: "I think the continuing contact with Lagos, as against none with Dahomey. But why have all the Brazilian students overlooked this material? Because they did not know what to look for?"³⁶ The Herskovitses carried their two Dahomey books with them during the visit to the cult-houses and showed them whenever possible to create momentum and register how people reacted:

Showed Vidal Dahomean volumes. He was most impressed with coloured pictures of Aida Wedo, which he called Oshumare, and called a young woman to see it – possibly a filha de Oshumare. Also, the Hoho, which

34 Notebook 11:16.

35 Notebook v:41.

36 Notebook 1: 22.

he called Kohobi. Also commented on the chiefs' big clothes and the umbrellas over them. He liked the bronzes and woodcarving. Did Africans themselves do it?³⁷

The Herskovitses were very excited when they encountered Africanisms. Here is an example: "On the way, there was another nice Africanism – we passed the lame drummer and Raimundo stopped the car. Vidal leaned forward, his hands on his lips – 'Don't tell him where we are going. Let us see first what he is doing' ...".³⁸ Or: "Vivi opened with a song in a falsetto that impressed me ... my associations were with Northern Nigeria, i.e. I thought of Kano when he called the gods, but Ogun in particular."³⁹ Of a ceremony, Mel wrote "all of it reminded me of the Dahomean Legba".⁴⁰ And they found the black Catholic brotherhoods quite impressive because "the heads, with their staves of office, looked like African potentates". In other words, whatever looked African or reminded them of Africa was African. Throughout the notes, there are remarks on Africa – things or rituals that reminded them of Africa, such as, in commenting on a Lorogun feast at Procopio's: "is this a survival of the annual 'war' of West Africa?"⁴¹ International comparison is everywhere: "There are more shrines I have seen except for Africa and the Suriname bush";⁴² "Does her *santo* have an African name? Yes, it was Ainle. She pronounced it perfectly, and I exclaimed. I said I knew it from Africa, that it was a very important *santo* there ... They were really impressed."⁴³ In describing a lower-class neighbourhood, Frances said "that is sheer Africa".⁴⁴ Status played a key role too:

Several stories followed the usual pattern we know from elsewhere – how many automobiles come bringing people to the *festas* they give, and how, on one occasion, a white girl got possessed, and the distress of her mother (the story told beautifully, what an actor the man is!), how he went to ask for a drum permit and was told "Two things I won't allow here, *jogo do bicho* and *macumba*" and other tales of official interference; or various high officials, who (in the past, as always) were affiliated to the cult.⁴⁵

37 Notebook II:1.

38 Notebook IV:44.

39 Notebook V:41.

40 Notebook V:43.

41 Notebook V:18.

42 Notebook II:12.

43 Notebook II: 17.

44 Notebook II :2.

45 MJH and FSH Bahia fieldnotes, MJH & FSH papers, Box 18, Folder 110–113, SC.

From this, one can surmise that the couple did not entirely trust what they heard and that they therefore double-checked this display of status and power by the Candomblé leadership.

I do not know whether it was intentional or by accident that the couple was in Salvador at the time of year when *festas* in the cult-houses were most concentrated – November to March, or Easter. In a single day, they visited five cult-houses! Most of the several lists in the notes (of objects and animals to be purchased for a specific ceremony, average payments for different types of labour, of ritual prescription for a specific ceremony, of hierarchical positions in a cult-house) would appear in the four articles on Brazil that would be published later.

The Herskovitses were generally polite and, before presenting a gift, they asked the important leaders about the kind of present (money) they could give to a house. They also negotiated to take a photograph, which was not always allowed. The fact that the couple had shown photos taken by themselves in Dahomey and printed them – in their books – made their plea for more photos to be taken more acceptable. Mentions of books, images, photographs and recordings are recurrent in the notes. The couple showed their Dahomey books and Vivi (an informant) showed a copy of Nina's *Os Africanos no Brasil*, adding that everything he did and his divining came from his *santo* that he called on; nothing was written down. Mel added an important detail, which indicated that Vivi was illiterate: "Vivi held the book upside down and backside forward when he commented on it."⁴⁶ There is more evidence of how much photos and recordings by foreign scholars were perceived as quite important in the Candomblé houses:

March 4, Visit of Joazinho's: Joazinho dropped on this afternoon with a 'boy friend' (everybody was aware of Joazinho being gay). He brought in a couple of records Turner had given to him – Turner left copies of his records with his informants ... without fibre needles, we could not play his records, but we played some of our own. He knew most of the songs and (typically) responded by dancing to them.⁴⁷

There was quite some intermixing between the various Candomblé nations. Most people would agree that there were more of the traditional (orthodox) cult-houses. Representatives of the less orthodox houses would try to get the support of a representative of one of the traditional houses to lend them

⁴⁶ Notebook v: 3.

⁴⁷ Notebook v: 18.



FIGURE 16 Joãozinho da Gomeia
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greater legitimacy, for instance, by inviting them to attend their feasts and ceremonies: Gantois, Bogum, Oxumare, Engenho Velho (Casa Branca), Manoel de Ogun, São Gonçalo (Opo Afonja), Manoel Branca de Neve. Joãozinho moved between various nations. In terms of space, there was no particular “type” of construction for any given *seita*. Even in the most renowned ones like Sabina’s, Caboclo houses interacted with spiritualism and held annual “mesas” (sessions calling on the souls of deceased people). The fieldnotes show a continuum between Ketu-Jeje-Angola-Caboclo-Espiritismo, in a line that went from more to less hierarchical, complex to simple, leadership based on genealogy to one based on inspiration or free choice, and from longer to shorter periods of initiation.⁴⁸ There was much movement along the continuum, but there was also a process of constant re-creation of the dogmas, lists, sanctions, etc. of the cult, with the possibility of invention often presented as an innovation or a sign of distinction.

48 However, nowadays, a sizeable part of the Candomblé community would argue that the Jeje nation is even more orthodox, hierarchical and demanding in terms of initiation than the Ketu nation.

Approximately half of the Herskovitses' notes report short interviews or brief encounters with many people the couple met, sometimes several times, in different houses and ceremonies. The rest of the report contains interviews with a select group of key informants, particularly those on the paying list (see Appendix 1). For the Herskovitses, the Gantois house played a much smaller role than other orthodox houses, particularly the Bogum (of the Jeje nation, which originated in Dahomey), especially when compared to Frazier's notes. They mention *Mãe Menininha*, the high priestess of Gantois, at several points, but they do not seem to have had a formal interview with her.

Most anthropologists and collectors of ethnographic records in those days did not focus on individuality or authorship. Their emphasis was on the phenomenon, not on people, and even less on individuals. So, the Herskovitses gave no names of the informants in the pictures taken, the published papers or the music recordings. However, some individuals are named in the fieldnotes



FIGURE 17 Offerings to the saints. Terreiro do Bogum, Salvador, Bahia
MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON PHOTOGRAPHIC
ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, SMITHSONIAN
INSTITUTION, EEPA_1986-290736

and through them, some context can be obtained: Eduardo was one of the musicians recorded on April 19, 1942,⁴⁹ and *Marinha de Nana* was the lead singer in the Manuel group.⁵⁰

The Herskovitses did not import into Bahia the terms *babalorisha* or *babalorixá* and *babalão*, since these were already in use (as can be seen by the list of words noted in the interview with Leonardo).⁵¹ But the terms were of a second, internal and more sacred order – to be used by the people of the cult-house or those who had been initiated. The discovery of such terms of obvious African origin, by important outsiders such as the Herskovitses, meant that they started to be used in public, politically, to state or buttress cultural differences. The couple were facilitators of this process, in effect the political anaesthetization of Candomblé (Sansone 2003). Similarly, Frances and Melville often referred to their previous research in Africa and told their Bahia informants what a particular thing or saint was called in Dahomey – and sometimes in Haiti or Suriname. Throughout the notes, one can read the sentence: “We proceeded to show him the Dahomey books, and he was very interested ...”. In general, the informants were very curious about Africa and wanted to see a picture of Dahomey.⁵² The couple’s prior knowledge of African cultures gave them a specific broader understanding, and certainly greater power, in their relationship with the informants. However, in looking for Africanisms in Bahia, sometimes the couple got confused. A case in point was the rotating credit system. At first, they asked if people knew *esusu* (I guess from Dahomey). People answered that this it was called *caixa* in Bahia and was used chiefly among seamstresses. Other professions created a system called *sociedades*. Later on, however, the Herskovitses referred to rotating cash systems (*caixas*) and *sociedades* (saving societies) as being specific to Bahia, and made no connection to their parallel across the Black Atlantic.⁵³

Despite what we could call their Africanism bias, which emphasized what they saw as an existing and often repressed local memory of Africa, their detailed description of what they heard in the interviews and what they saw is of great use for those who are interested in the practice of Candomblé in the 1940s. As we can read further on, even though the fieldnotes were never fully exploited as they would have been had they been turned into a book, some of them were used in articles and chapters on the social organization of

49 Notebook v:64.

50 Notebook v:20.

51 Notebook B:25.

52 Notebook I:3.

53 Notebook B:34.

Candomblé and other themes, such as music and drummers, the *panan* and the organization of a Candomblé house. These texts would not only inspire important authors like Roger Bastide and Bahia anthropologist Vivaldo da Costa Lima (2003) but would also contribute to establishing a new research agenda on Afro-Brazilian religious systems, updating the one Nina Rodrigues (1932) had established four decades earlier, as well as a (new) canon of correct and “more African” practices within the core of orthodox cult-houses.

This movement towards a new authenticity and Africanness was also generated from within the cult-houses. One more good reason for the acceptance of the Herskovitses in what were then defined as the most orthodox cult-houses was that they associated the existing local polarity of Caboclo–Ketu to the traditional polarity in anthropology between impure–pure and Dionysian–Apollonian.⁵⁴ This polarity was assumed among certain senior figures of the Candomblé community as well as among the growing group of local and national “organic intellectuals”, but it was also central to the interpretation of cultures and personalities by the homonymous school of anthropology in the US in the 1930s and 1940s – of which Mead, Benedict, Linton and Herskovits were the most prominent characters. The polarity also fit the Brazilian interpretations by Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos and Édison Carneiro, and would later inspire foreigners (Bastide and Verger) and the first generation of Brazilian anthropologists with US training (Galvão, Da Costa Eduardo, Ribeiro and Coelho).⁵⁵ Emphasizing such a polarity was also useful to the internal power dynamics of the Candomblé community in Bahia and Northeast Brazil in general (Gois Dantas 1988).

4 Comparing Details

Not only did the four scholars have different emphases (structure for Frazier, language for Turner, and culture for the Herskovitses) but, as said before, they also had different networks. Turner and Frazier got in touch with many of the same key informants who would be helpful also to the Herskovitses a year later. Even though they mostly researched the same neighbourhood – around the Gantois house, with some incursions into other Candomblé houses and their immediate surroundings, in the neighbourhoods of Engenho Velho and São

54 On this polarity, see Gois Dantas 1988, Capone 1999 and “From Africa to Afro” in Sansone 2003.

55 This is also reminiscent of Palmie’s description of Cuba in his essay “The Cooking of History” (2013).

Gonçalo – in terms of informants, the scholars had a different focus. Frazier concentrated on the community, Turner on some specimens, and the Herskovitses on the leaders and experts of the Candomblé houses (the *povo de santo*).

Frazier's style as an academic-political project can be discerned through his fieldwork notes. For defining characters, positions and manners of the Candomblé religion, he used native terms, such as *casa* (house), *seita* (sect) and *zelador* (caretaker) to refer to the temple, the religion and the priest and priestess. He seemed to bestow relatively little importance on Africanisms and sometimes downplayed African memories outright. In his interviews, he asked people what they knew of Africa, their African words, and whether their origin was African. His comments consistently suggested that daily actions, survival strategies and family arrangements were informed by present circumstances much more than by any African past. All of Frazier's fieldnotes and interview transcriptions contain the name and primary data of the informant. He also took pictures of all the informants, even the simple people of the *povo de santo*, the followers of the Gantois Candomblé house. Every photo is numbered and has the name of the person portrayed written on the back and a number on the front to help identify the informant. This is the method he had used in his research on the black family and church in the United States (Sansone 2011).

Keeping details about the interviews, such as the name of the informant and the interview date, is evidence that Frazier meant this short but intensive pilot study to be continued and expanded. It is as though he had plans to get back to the same informants.

The Herskovitses' style and project speak just as well through their fieldnotes and music recordings, which are catalogued according to themes. All the fieldnotes were also coded according to themes. The record of one interview was divided up into several themes. It must have been a tough job for Frances to retype the whole set, dividing it up into specific themes! The names of informants are scarcely mentioned, except when it concerns important characters of the Candomblé religion. Unlike Turner, who in his music recordings always indicated the name of the author or musician, the Herskovitses' music recordings, which were later published in a compilation by the Folkways series of the Smithsonian, never mentioned the name of the musician but just to which *orixá* a particular drumbeat was dedicated, for example.

Like Turner, Herskovits submitted to his informants lists of words in African languages, especially relating to the religion he had researched while doing fieldwork in Dahomey (presently Benin) and writing the two homonymous volumes (Herskovits 1938a). In these lists,⁵⁶ Herskovits gives several terms in

56 Unfortunately, I have not found such lists in the archives.

Yoruba, such as *babalorixá*, which referred to the priestess of the Candomblé. As stated earlier these words were used only on certain occasions in Bahia at the time but came into everyday use by scholars afterwards. Other terms used by Herskovits were not native but started to be used by Brazilian scholars – for example, “religion” instead of “sect” (*seita*), and *terreiro* (yard) instead of *casa* (house). In many ways, one can say that Herskovits had a mission to portray Candomblé as a true religion rather than as a syncretic cult which mixed African elements with popular Catholicism and practices to ward off the evil eye, as it was often portrayed in the local press. In doing so, Herskovits broadened the description of Candomblé, made it more sophisticated and elevated it to the category of religion by frequently comparing it to religious life in West Africa and referring to the research of Brazilian scholars Arthur Ramos and Édison Carneiro, whose work he was very familiar with. Similar to Turner, Herskovits tried to waken African memories in his interviews and contrived to find Africanisms.

Turner and Frazier also interviewed some key people of the well-known black families who had relatives in Nigeria or Dahomey. Especially important was the Alakija family. Turner gained the trust of these families and one can imagine that it is because of this that he was able to obtain from his middle- and upper-class informants’ copies and originals of a passport for Bahia blacks returning to Africa and pictures of these families in Bahia and Lagos.⁵⁷

A few years later, the black elite would become one of the key topics of research carried out by Bahia anthropologist Thales de Azevedo (1996 [1953]). The project was sponsored by the State of Bahia, Columbia University and UNESCO (see Chapter 3). My impression is that De Azevedo relied mainly on the black families who had been contacted by Pierson (and possibly Landes) and were later photographed and interviewed by Turner and Frazier. Whereas Turner and Frazier identified their contacts in their fieldnotes, interviews and photo captions, neither Pierson nor De Azevedo, who published books containing several pictures of black middle-class people, mentioned their names, but made do with captions like “Outstanding Bahian gentleman, a descendant of Africans” (Pierson 1971:243) or “Intelligent and sympathetic cult priestess, the old leader of one of the most prestigious Candomblé in Bahia” (Pierson 1971:317).

57 This family was and still is successful in both Brazil and Nigeria, where some of its members became lawyers after training in the UK. Babatunde Alakija was the first black African pilot in the RFA during WWII – his extraordinary story was told by George Padmore in an article about the colour bar in the US military (Padmore 1941). I owe thanks to Julio Simões for such an interesting piece of information.



FIGURE 18 Porfirio Maxmiliano (Maxwell) Assumpção Alakija and family in Bahia. Turner wrote: "Sir Maxwell Assumpção Alakija of Bahia, Brazil, and family. He is the brother of Sir Adeyemo Alakija of Lagos, Nigeria."

LORENZO DOW TURNER PAPERS, ANACOSTIA COMMUNITY MUSEUM ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON DC. DONATED BY LOIS TURNER WILLIAMS

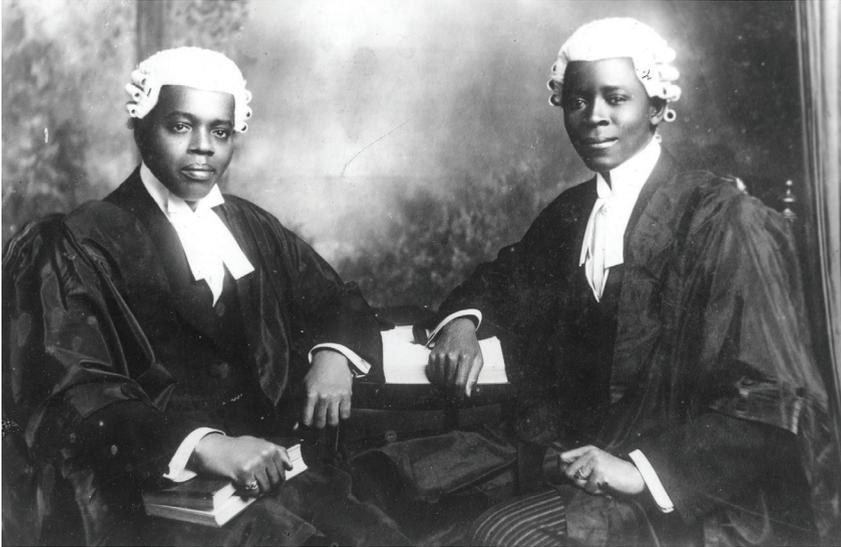


FIGURE 19 Emile Assumpção Alakidja (left) and Placido Assumpção Alakidja (right) of the Lagosian branch of the Alakija family. Turner wrote: "Brothers of Sir Maxwell, They never came to Brazil. Studied law in London." Placido became Adeyemo Alakija, an important Nigerian politician and businessman
 LORENZO DOW TURNER PAPERS, ANACOSTIA COMMUNITY MUSEUM ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON DC. DONATED BY LOIS TURNER WILLIAMS

Herskovits focused his research on the priestesses (*mães de santo*), their immediate followers (daughters of the house and religious assistants), and the male character of the *ogans* (protectors of the house). In this he was very much in line with Ramos and Carneiro, who studied religion whereas Turner and Frazier concentrated on the community around the Candomblé house (Sansone 2011).

The Herskovitses kept an excellent weekly, sometimes daily, account of their expenses, from the moment they left Evanston to the moment they returned there.⁵⁸ It was all very carefully noted in the large balance sheets of the Brazil Field-Trip 1941–42 Expenses Account (see Appendix 1).⁵⁹ The expenses were listed in six columns: Travel Expenses (boat, train, plane, taxi and hired car); Equipment Replacement (books, films, mail); Informants; Translation, etc.; Living expenses in the field; and Miscellaneous. Most of the expenditure was

58 In the archives, I could not find any equivalent for Frazier or Turner.

59 MJH Papers, Box 24, Folder 168, sc.

for travel and living expenses, then came equipment (mainly technical equipment, recording material and books), informants' fees and miscellaneous.

Living expenses was the largest category. It incorporated clothes (the couple purchased an entirely new wardrobe), medical expenses, hotels and rent, laundry, excursions and local transportation to all events (ceremonies, meetings, processions, or feasts such as Bonfim and Conceição da Praia). The Travel column records that, in Salvador, they spent quite a lot to hire a car for the whole period with a driver, Raimundo, who also seemed to be an informant. They also paid 500,000 *milreis* for his *alvara* (driver's licence). The car hire would cost more than their accommodation at the Edith Schmalz Guesthouse.

In the Informants column, there is a substantial amount paid to Mrs Cabral in the US, for Portuguese lessons and translations. Then there are small amounts paid out in Rio, for a present to a *mãe de santo* (50 US cents), for buying traditional medicine from the Penha Church (USD 1.75) and USD 4.5 to a certain Helena Oliveira. In Recife and Porto Alegre, they spent very little on informants. Most of the money was paid in Salvador, where the Herskovitses paid Manoel and Zezé weekly for their information, hired Zezé as a babysitter, paid the singers and drummers of their recordings, regularly made gifts to several Candomblé priests and priestesses, and paid relatively high amounts twice for the "*terramento*" of their saints.⁶⁰

Under Miscellaneous is listed a relatively high amount for school fees, for the American School in Rio, which Jean attended during the first two months of their stay. They also paid for having their future told and their *orixá* revealed, bought beads and shells (*buzios*), had *orixá* dresses made for them (later to be shipped to Northwestern University), paid for typing and assistance by the personnel at the Museu do Estado where they made their recordings, and even "lent" money to one or two people who were not to pay it back. They entered that spiralling mechanism of unequal and unbalanced exchange in joining Candomblé that is quite typical for outsiders, particularly those of a higher class, who tend to be regarded as a financial resource for the cult-house.⁶¹ The Herskovitses were captivated by Candomblé and the charisma of a few of its spiritual leaders. They showed respect (the attitude required to gain access to the proper care of a Candomblé priest or priestess, which included waiting, listening carefully and accepting menial tasks, such as cleaning toilets and

60 The term is actually *assentamento* and means the grounding of your *orixá* in a particular house.

61 An experience that is quite common among foreign visitors to Candomblé houses and that, at the beginning of my stay in Bahia, I found difficult to avoid.

helping in the kitchen of the Candomblé house) in exchange for having their future told, spiritual protection and inside information.

One wonders whether they received anything that could be called “objective” information in return. Or whether, instead, they were given the kind of information the informants thought they wanted, answering questions in a manner that they knew would have left the Herskovitses satisfied. Similarly, they may have been provided with the kind of inside information that the priest or priestess merely thought convenient to give. In many ways, what took place was something reminiscent of Marcel Griaule’s (1948) encounter just a few years earlier with the old sage Ogotemmelí, in his pioneering study of the Dogon religion in Mali: the sage tended to please the curiosity of the interviewer.

According to the final accounts, informants received very little, only 5.5% of the total budget. But the distribution of money, however tiny by Western standards, is revealing of the kind of relationship the Herskovitses established in the field, especially with the Candomblé community and some of its most prominent voices and authorities. Moreover, in a situation of relative or sometimes absolute poverty, such payments often meant much more to the receivers than one can imagine. Handing out money, in some cases through regular weekly payments such as to Manoel, or being able to hire Zezé, a *mãe de santo*, as a housemaid (actually a babysitter, a *babá*) for several months, indeed established a certain relationship of power as well as the commercialization of the information gathered. The book, *The Root of Roots*, by Richard and Sally Price, deals with the Herskovitses’ work in Suriname in the year just before their trip to Brazil. Paying for information and keeping a detailed list of all payments (in this case from the moment they left New York to the moment they came back) was not an uncommon practice in their fieldwork. Turner, too, set aside part of his budget to pay his informants – something not unusual among linguists – whereas, as far as I know, Frazier spent no money on his interviewees.

There were a few other differences regarding the relationship of these scholars with their informants and the research subjects. In Frazier’s and Turner’s papers, there is no trace of any correspondence related to Brazil after their fieldwork in that country.⁶² The Herskovitses stayed in contact with some of their key informants in Bahia. The MJH papers at the Schomburg contain some letters by Candomblé priestesses asking for financial donations to their houses of worship.

62 In the MS Archive, Gomes (2020) found a letter sent in 1942 from Martiniano to Frazier, which I was unable to trace.

Schomburg Center for the Study of Black Culture and History
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Bahia 3 de Setembro de 1947

Minha amiga Franca.
 Foi com grande satisfação, que peguei não perna
 para lhe dar minhas notícias, e saber as suas
 de Tim e de seu esposo. Precisei a importância
 que me mandaste fiquei muito agradecida, pois
 foi em ocasião preziosa, pois foi no mes da comi
 da de santa Barbara, me serviu bastante tomá
 ra Deus que sempre que precise, seja tão feliz.
 Deus que lhe abençoe, junto com seu marido e filha
 Madame Franca estão viuva tomando conta
 das filhas de Kannel a vida aqui está difícil.
 Já tenho a roca da minha santa e já recebo com
 tar todos os santos e deu comida a minha san
 ta já recebi 6 Yaou e tenho mais para recolher.
 Madame lhe espero breve traga os 12 Yaou
 que me prometeu nem ver minha roca e
 no Nordeste de Amaralina roca 4 chigan
 do de frente do quartel sobre a ladeira. Se encon
 tra Sr Frazier e Trozes dei meu endereço.
 Me dispeseo com um alertado a braços de amiga
 Marinalva manda beijos para Tim. Com abra
 ças ao Professor Procorites.

Viva Maria José da Silva.

FIGURE 20 Letter from Zezé to Frances. Zezé was one of the couple's most important informants and took care of the Herskovitses' daughter, Jean, on the 1941–42 trip to Brazil
 SCHOMBURG CENTER

My impression is that Turner and Frazier were well accepted by their informants for different reasons than the Herskovitses were: apart from being competent scholars, and American, they were black and showed an interest in Brazilian blacks. Another difference was that Turner and Frazier, though quite interested and respectful of the hierarchy, discipline and mission of the Gantois, and Candomblé in general, never took the formal position

of *ogan* – (that is, the protector of the house), which had been offered to Melville Herskovits and other scholars before him. This position was given to well-known writers, such as Jorge Amado, politicians and scholars doing research in or around the Gantois and other prestigious Candomblé houses. Among them were Nina Rodrigues and Arthur Ramos, in earlier years, and Roger Bastide, Alfred Métraux and Pierre Verger afterwards. It is possible that because of the racial politics and discrimination prevalent at the time, black foreigners, even if American citizens and well-known scholars, were simply not easily invited to become *ogan*. Another possibility is that Turner and Frazier, because they were black, did not need to take such formal positions to gain acceptance in the Candomblé community.

Last but not least, the scholars differed in how they photographed their subjects. In the composition of his photographs, Herskovits is never portrayed next to his informants. When there is a portrait of him in Bahia, he is next to his family, fellow anthropologists, or José Valladares – his main contact person. Herskovits, moreover, took many more photographs of objects, such as offerings to the gods, magic trees, sculptures of *orixás*, and musical instruments. He photographed very few people other than those within the Candomblé community, unless they were large groups at feasts and popular events.

Frazier was twice portrayed next to his informants, even holding a small child's hand. Turner took photos of ordinary Afro-Brazilians, besides his informants. He attached a short description to each picture, often referring to whether the subject spoke Yoruba or another African language.

All of Turner's recordings and many of the photos he took also have names and descriptions, which allow the informants to be recognized. In this, his fieldwork style resembled Frazier's. Turner and Frazier were undoubtedly interested in social and cultural phenomena but were inclined to name and humanize their informants more than the Herskovitses. They saw the people who were part of and behind these phenomena. Moreover, it is evident that in those days the photos they took were possibly the first and only portraits that these often-destitute people had of themselves. It helps explain why all the informants appear dressed up in the photos taken by Frazier and Turner in Bahia.⁶³

63 To understand the importance of Turner's photographs, one must remember that in those days and until the present, a popular expression in Brazil for taking a picture of a person was "*tirar retrato*" (making a portrait.) This is a reminder of a recent past in which most poor Brazilians had only one or two pictures of themselves taken throughout their whole life. One was taken at their wedding and the other, for men, was a snapshot on their work permit. The original photographs taken by Turner are held by the Anacostia Community Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. Most of the photos taken by Turner, Frazier and Herskovits in Bahia can be viewed at the Digital Museum of African and Afro-Brazilian Heritage, www.museuafrodigital.ufba.br.



FIGURE 21 The beginning of the Bonfim Feast pageant, January 14, 1942
 MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON
 PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN
 ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, EEPA_1986-290725



FIGURE 22 Musicians at the Nosso Senhor do Bonfim feast, January 15, 1942
 MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON
 PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN
 ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, EEPA_1986-290726



FIGURE 23 January 1, 1942: Boats clustered in the harbour in front of Mercado Modelo (Cidade Baixa) for the Bom Jesus dos Navegantes procession and street feast
MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, EEPA_1986-290777



FIGURE 24 January 1, 1942: The crowd gathering in the harbour in front of Mercado Modelo (Cidade Baixa) for the Bom Jesus dos Navegantes procession and street feast
MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, EEPA_1986-290796



FIGURE 25 A gathering for the Yemanjá feast, February 2, 1942
 MELVILLE HERSKOVITS COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON
 PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN
 ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, EEPA_1986-290758



FIGURE 26 Frazier with children from the Gantois neighbourhood
 E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER PAPERS COLLECTION, MOORLAND-
 SPINGARN RESEARCH CENTER (MSRC), HOWARD UNIVERSITY,
 WASHINGTON DC



FIGURE 27 Frazier wrote on the back of this postcard: "Pescadora, pecadora" ("fisherwoman, sinner")
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER PAPERS COLLECTION, MOORLAND-SPINGARN RESEARCH CENTER (MSRC), HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON DC



FIGURE 28 A Candomblé drum band, with a famous drum (*atabaque*). Frazier's driver is the white man with a bow tie
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER PAPERS COLLECTION, MOORLAND-SPINGARN RESEARCH CENTER (MSRC), HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON DC



FIGURE 29 Afro-Brazilian woman carrying a baby in the African fashion
LORENZO DOW TURNER PAPERS, ANACOSTIA COMMUNITY MUSEUM
ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON DC. DONATED
BY LOIS TURNER WILLIAMS



FIGURE 30 Musicians of Bahia

LORENZO DOW TURNER PAPERS, ANACOSTIA COMMUNITY MUSEUM ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON DC. DONATED BY LOIS TURNER WILLIAMS

Turner made recordings as linguists do – of songs, music, proverbs, modes of speech, pronunciation and interviews (see Appendix 4). He had modern recording equipment and the sound quality was excellent for the time. However, Turner did not have the social connections the Herskovitses had to publish his recordings, as they did with the Folkways at the LOC. He did not even try to make them public because he saw them as research documents. Turner's recordings were forgotten after his death, until 2007, when his biography by the late Margaret Wade-Lewis was published. Then, in 2011, Alcione Amos organized a symposium dedicated to Turner for the Anacostia Museum. That symposium resulted in a special issue of the journal *The Black Scholar*, "The living legacy of Lorenzo Dow Turner: The first African-American linguist", and in the travelling exhibition, "Gullah, Bahia, Africa", organized by the Anacostia Museum in cooperation with the Pedro Calmon Foundation of the State of Bahia in 2016.

The Herskovitses recordings have a somewhat different history. They were made as part of the programme of the Archive of Folk Song, Music Division, Library of Congress (LOC):

The Folklore Foundation of the Library of Congress will make records of half a dozen of the best recordings. Following the custom, there will be



FIGURE 31 Young group in the carnival of 1941, Bahia

LORENZO DOW TURNER PAPERS, ANACOSTIA COMMUNITY MUSEUM ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON DC. DONATED BY LOIS TURNER WILLIAMS

an added honorarium for the singers whose records are used, and I shall be writing to you soon to ask you to see that this money is distributed. I am sure it will not be unwelcome. I am, incidentally, carefully seeing to it that the names of the singers will not go on the records.⁶⁴

Why was it that the names should be left out? Was it for royalty reasons, or because the oeuvre should be a collective one, focused on the music genre rather than the musicians?⁶⁵ As indicated in the final report to the RF, the Herskovitses' recordings were done in the Museu da Bahia, which was kindly made available for such purpose by its director, José Valladares. The Herskovitses would use these recordings in their future research. For instance, they took them on their trip to Africa in 1953:

64 MJH to Valladares, February 4, 1943.

65 In a letter of June 12, 1949, Melville asks Valladares to give the money he will be wiring to the six to eight singers that will appear in the records edited by the Archive of Folk Song of the Library of Congress.



FIGURE 32 Woman dressed as Iyansá. Turner wrote: "Wife of Sangô, the Yoruba god of thunder - Bahia, Brazil."

LORENZO DOW TURNER PAPERS, ANACOSTIA COMMUNITY MUSEUM ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON DC. DONATED BY LOIS TURNER WILLIAMS

We took along some of our Brazilian recordings to play in West Africa, in the Congo and Angola, and everywhere they created quite a sensation. It was fascinating in the Congo and Angola, where we played songs to deities, all of whom were recognized by Africans. There is certainly a magnificent field for work here. Why don't you get yourself a grant and go to Angola?⁶⁶

It must be noted that the recordings were done mostly in Ketu houses, which would have been quite different from the sounds familiar to people in the Congo and Angola houses. Franklin Frazier's interesting pictures just sat in his archive after 1941. Until the moment of my research nobody had seemingly shown any interest in them.

5 Publications

None of our scholars produced the book on their research in Brazil that they were supposed to publish. However, each of them published several articles on Brazil that are worth scrutinizing: Frazier published six articles or chapters, Turner five and Herskovits ten. Herskovits published an article on the social structure of Candomblé, one on drumming in Candomblé, and one on the southernmost outpost of Africanism in Porto Alegre – the result of a “*pesquisa relampago*” (quick research). However, most articles or book chapters by the scholars celebrated the supposed relative tolerance of Brazilians, in most cases resulting from their engagement with the GNP as part of the war effort. In analyzing Frazier's writing on Brazil, David Hellwig (1991) concluded that Frazier's research was, in fact, a bit superficial. As shown below, I tend to disagree.

5.1 *The Roots of the Black Family*

Of all the articles and chapters on black culture and race relations in Brazil mentioned above, those with the greatest impact, in my opinion, were those of Frazier and Herskovits in the *American Journal of Sociology* and Turner's text on Bahian-Nigerian family connections.

The contention about the structure and origin of the family arrangement, usually defined as “black family”, resulted from diverging interpretations of family life in the neighbourhood of Federação, and, more specifically, the surrounding community of the Gantois. Gantois is one of the five leading

66 MJH to René Ribeiro, October 19, 1953.

so-called traditional Candomblé houses in Salvador (and possibly the one that has historically received the largest share of social scientists among its visitors). Herskovits read a paper at the Faculdade de Filosofia da Bahia on May 6, 1942, just a few days before leaving for Recife (reported in “*A primeira festa cultural da Faculdade de Filosofia*”, published in the daily *A Tarde*, May 7, 1942), titled “Ethnological Research in Bahia”.⁶⁷ It became the best known of his papers on Brazil.

Herskovits’ paper contained the essence of what would be teased out in articles published later. He praised Bahia in many ways, for being the ideal location for an institution of higher education, for its “natural cordial spirit” and for the wealth of ethnographic material it offered – especially in terms of cultural survivals from different regions in Africa. He and Frances were convinced that they had just studied only a small part of the themes and aspects that could be drawn from such a wealth of data. In many ways, Bahia was the ideal location for the study of acculturation, a topic Herskovits developed internationally together with Ralph Linton (see their statement on acculturation, 1938):

Here one finds one of the largest concentrations of descendants of Africans in the New World. Moreover, on account of the traditional tolerance with which in Brazil all forms of life were and still are considered, many African institutions and customs are preserved. The contact between Bahia and West Africa, on the other hand, has been more steady and has lasted longer than in any other part of the New World (...) Less known is the preservation of traditional African craftsmanship in woodcarving and iron mongering.

HERSKOVITS 1938: 92

67 The paper, written in English and translated by José Valladares, was soon published in Portuguese (Herskovits 1943d), reprinted in the journal *Afro-Ásia* in 1967 and published again by the Museu da Bahia in 2008 (with the addition of the speech of the Dean of the Faculdade, Isaias Alves, and of the original text in English). Several of Herskovits’ papers would soon be translated into Portuguese. But today, no translation is available of Turner’s and Frazier’s articles on Brazil. In fact, until very recently, the only article by Frazier in Portuguese was the translation of “Negro Harlem: an Ecological Analysis” (1937), which came out in the large book edited by Pierson, *Estudos de Ecologia Humana* (462–479), under the title “*O Harlem dos negros: estudo ecológico*”. However, at the end of 2020, the new journal *Ayé: Revista de Antropologia*, edited by the University UNILAB, devoted a timely special issue to the translation of the Frazier-Herskovits debate on the black family in *The American Journal of Sociology*. The translation is preceded by a good commentary by Pires and De Castro (2020). The journal is freely available online at <https://revistas.unilab.edu.br/index.php/Antropologia/issue/view/22>.



FIGURE 33 Herskovits' lecture to the senate of the Faculdade de Filosofia da Bahia, 1942. Seated to his right, in the foreground, are Thales de Azevedo, his wife Frances Herskovits, and the Secretary of Education of Bahia and Dean of the Faculty, Isaias Alves

ARQUIVO DO MUSEU DE ANTROPOLOGIA E ETNOLOGIA (MAE), UFBA,
SALVADOR, BAHIA

To discover the origin of African slaves in the US, we have to go through painstaking research. In Brazil, this is self-evident.⁶⁸ Herskovits suggested a comparative ethnology method that draws connections across different locations in Africa and the New World based on the names of people, objects, animals, places and phenomena (1938:99). In Bahia, Africanisms, wrote Herskovits, could be found in several aspects of life. Still, arguably, the main four were as follows. 1) Cooperation in the marketplace and the world of work, such as the preparation of food to be sold, the collaboration among fishermen and the function of *cantos* (groups of African-born men, or their descendants, who met in a particular space and who were organized based on a specific skill – such as porters or plumbers – and/or provenance from a specific African

68 Still in the 1930s, the US National Ethnographic Bureau was recording the voices of former slaves and taking pictures of them. None of this happened in Brazil, despite the much higher number of descendants of Africans and their more recent arrival.

nation). 2) In family life, through the *amaziado* system and the collaborative care by mothers for children born from different wives or partners of the same man – which should account for the continuation of polygamy among blacks in Brazil. 3) Funeral and burial rituals. 4) Candomblé, which despite the evident syncretism and adaptation to the Brazilian context was the most critical practice and location for African survivals (1943:93–97).

The descendants of Africans in Bahia were much more interested in talking about theology and liturgy than any other aspect of life. For this reason, Herskovits argued, it occupied them a great deal. The Candomblé cult made sense of life. It provided individuals with the feeling that they had deep roots, offered positions based on prestige, and satisfied the need for social and spiritual order. Obedience to norms was an African characteristic, said Herskovits. In the Candomblé house, newcomers knew their place: they did not speak or stand; they bowed their head and kissed the hand of those in a superior position. In closing, Herskovits argued against considering possession as psychopathology – even though he understood that this view had its roots in the medical background of the first researchers of Afro-Brazilian cults in Brazil (1943c: 102).

Frazier also published an article in 1942, in the *American Sociological Review*, which was much richer ethnographically than would have been expected from a sociologist. His argument was based on information from fifty-five informants, interviewed two to three times, always in Portuguese. Forty of them represented families, primarily women, who lived around the Candomblé house. Fifteen people from different backgrounds, mostly from the middle and upper classes, were interviewed in other neighbourhoods as a control group. He started the article with the statement: “The designation ‘Negro family’ has certain connotations for Americans, misleading regarding race relations in Brazil” (Frazier 1942:463). Subsequently, Frazier positioned himself on African survivals in a way that many of his later critics would not have expected, showing that he was neither blind to nor uninterested in what Herskovits defined as Africanisms. Frazier claimed that, “unlike in the US, Negro slaves were able to re-establish their traditional social organization and religious practices in Brazil. (...) many elements of African culture survived especially spiritual practices that are perpetuated in the Candomblé” (1942:466). He was convinced that the high degree of miscegenation in Brazil had its leading cause in the absence of race prejudice, which was why it was not common in the US (1942:467). Miscegenation, he argued, led to a weak racial consciousness: none of the people he interviewed regarded themselves as Negroes, but simply as Brazilians ... they used the term “black” to identify themselves concerning colour but not as race (1942:469). Information about their ancestry was limited – I would say that this is still something that any researcher doing fieldwork

among the lower classes in Brazil would recognize. Frazier's main point was that African culture survived only in folklore. African religious practices and African words were not transmitted through the family but were acquired through the Candomblé. In many families (but also in the large hotel patronized by Brazilian intellectuals and businesspeople), African foods were eaten as a daily habit, not as a cultural tradition or associated with any African rite.

Frazier described the community around the Gantois house as very close-knit, and the *mãe de santo* [*Mãe Menininha*] as the head of the community. African patterns of family life had disintegrated or become lost and family life now resembled a conventional Catholic one for the lower classes. Living "*maritalmente*" enjoyed a status similar to an actual marriage and these relationships could be pretty stable and long-lasting: "We find no consistent cultural pattern but rather accommodation to Brazilian conditions ... the family arrangements appear to be similar to Negro folk in the southern part of the US" (1942: 475).

Frazier quoted Robert Redfield's folk-urban continuum (1940) as a source of inspiration: the interviewed families exhibited the same characteristics as folk and peasant societies in other parts of the world (1942:476), where the family developed as a natural organization, with some families incorporating adopted orphans or abandoned children. Frazier saw his research as a pilot study that needed further testing if only because he was working in a virgin field, "since investigators interested themselves in African survivals in Brazil have been concerned with studying religious practices and beliefs, music, dances and folklore" (1942:470).⁶⁹

Still, he ended with a firm, perhaps a sweeping, conclusion:

Among the poorer classes clustered about the Candomblés, the family, often based on common-law relationships, tends to assume the character of a natural organization. Whatever has been preserved of African culture in the Candomblé has become part of the folklore of the people, and, so far as family relationships are concerned, there are no rigid, consistent patterns of behaviour that can be traced to African culture. As Brazil becomes urbanized and industrialized and the mobility of the folk increases, the blacks will continue to merge with the general population.

FRAZIER 1942:478

Frazier's ambition was to detect similar family patterns in the black population across different locations in the New World. Such populations belonged, by

69 Here Frazier quotes Arthur Ramos (1934).

and large, to the poorer classes, and this social background determined their organization much more than African survivals.

Herskovits (1943d) was quick to react in the same *American Sociological Review*. His main arguments rested on what then was his more recent book, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941). The African past mattered much more than was commonly held by scholars of the Negro. He accused Frazier of bringing the techniques of North American scholars to the study of his problem. "In doing so, however, he imported the methodological blind-spot that marks Negro research in this country. No reference to any work describing African cultures is made in his paper and only oblique references to the forms of African social structure are encountered" (1943d:395). Mel then sketched what he considered the West African family pattern to be and suggested that the Bahia case should be studied in that light. Herskovits resented what he felt was a picture of almost complete disorganization of the Afro-Bahian family. He argued that "what we seek are Africanisms, without reference to their degree of purity; that we are concerned with accommodation to a new setting; that our aim is neither prescription nor prediction, but the understanding of process under acculturation" (1943d:397). According to Herskovits, darker parents exerted even more surveillance on their daughters; however, "survivals of African family types in institutionalized form cannot be discerned" (1943d:399).

Africanisms in the Afro-Bahian family could be detected in the survival of essential points of West African social structure: tolerance and proximity of a father to the offspring of former unions and even with his ex-partner, patterns of polygyny, sexual independence of women, and the relations between mother and children. The *amaziado* relationship that Mel's student, René Ribeiro, would later research for his MA in anthropology (Ribeiro 1949) could also be interpreted as an aspect of Africanism: "African patterns of polygyny have by no means disappeared. Plural marriage is not called as such ... The *amazia* mating provides the mechanisms which permit the traditions to remain a living one" (1943d:399). Mel also held that the interview technique used by Frazier was inadequate for his research and went on to give a different reading of the data presented by Frazier in his article. Herskovits came to an entirely different interpretation: the informant was not disengaged from African traditions and gave a list of over 100 words and phrases in the Yoruba tongue. Plus, on hearing them he recognized dozens of African songs (1943d:401). In conclusion:

We are dealing with an acculturation situation, and the past of Afro-Bahian being what it is, greater variation in any phase of custom is to be looked for than in the indigenous cultures either in of Africa or Europe. But in studying this situation, it must never be forgotten that variation

does not mean demoralization, and that accommodation, institutional no less than psychological, is not prevented by the fact of cultural syncretization.

HERSKOVITS 1943d: 402

In his rejoinder, Frazier (1943) almost seemed offended by Herskovits. After all, in his article he had not expressed himself negatively about the notion of the family as a natural organization, nor had he ever used the expression “demoralization”:

This rejoinder to Professor Herskovits’ criticism of my article is written simply because the facts which I gathered in Brazil do not support his conclusions. It is not written because, as he stated in his *The Myth of the Negro Past* (p.31), I belong among those Negroes who “accept as a compliment the theory of a complete break with Africa”. It is a matter of indifference to me personally whether there are African survivals in the United States or Brazil. Therefore, if there was a methodological blind spot imported from the United States, it was due to my ignorance of African culture or my lack of skill in observing it. However, it should be pointed out that (...) Professor Herskovits was interested in discovering Africanisms and that I was only interested in African survivals so far as they affected the organization and adjustment of the Negro family to the Brazilian environment.

FRAZIER 1943:402

Obviously, Frazier resented the way Herskovits had used his knowledge of Africa to support his argument and somewhat disqualify Frazier’s, and added that he “found no evidence that their behaviour [of the families he interviewed] was due to African customs. White men and women of the lower class form the same type of unions. ... The amount of surveillance is a matter of class” (Frazier 1943:403–404).

Moreover, Frazier argued that *amaziado* is a much more casual union than *viver maritalmente* – and, in correcting this, he entered into an argument, started by Herskovits, over the accurate use and knowledge of Brazilian Portuguese and its grammar. In analyzing the case of Martiniano do Bonfim, of whom Herskovits knew but had not interviewed, Frazier agreed that he had been raised according to African customs but that once Martiniano had settled in Brazil for the second time, he behaved according to Brazilian standards in terms of sexual unions and family life. Frazier added that his data had been checked with the findings of Dr Ruth Landes, “who spent over a year

in Brazil and was intimately acquainted with this family” (Frazier 1943:404). He said that if it were easy to observe and record African survivals in the case of the Candomblé, Herskovits’ position concerning African family survivals was chiefly based upon speculation rather than sociological evidence. This was a struggle for ethnographic authority in which elements such as previous knowledge of Africa, ethnographic style and colour played a role. It was a struggle that had been initiated a couple of years earlier and would go on for several years. However, the two scholars, then adversaries, never actually became enemies.

The exchange between Frazier and Herskovits on the causes and origin of black family arrangements, based on the interpretation of field data gathered from the same cohort of people, became international and determined the discourse on the black family until at least the 1970s. I had become acquainted with this debate during the research for my PhD in the 1980s, which dealt with the black family in the Caribbean and in communities of Caribbean origin in Europe. In those years, every discussion on matrifocal family arrangements was based on a polarized opinion of its causes – whether poverty and durable inequalities or African survival – started by Frazier and Herskovits (MacDonald and MacDonald 1978). Yet, this debate and the academic papers that fuelled it had minimal impact in Brazil. Melville’s papers were published and republished, but by the 1990s were almost forgotten. Frazier’s were simply unknown in Brazil – at least until I took a photocopy of his article to my department and started using it in my classes. That was 1990.

5.2 *The Herskovitses’ Publications*

At the same time that the debate was raging, the Herskovitses together published an article in the prestigious *Yale Review*, the oldest literary journal in the US, written in a different, less academic and more journalistic style. It described in detail a feast in one of the more “orthodox” Candomblé houses (see Herskovits 1943, especially, pages 275–7). If I may say, I identified entirely with the description: it reflects what I have experienced often and shows that they had started a research tradition in Candomblé, which is called “researching from within the house”. They emphasized the brilliance of the colours used and that, in Bahia, Africa was no mythical land as referred to in Haiti or Guyana but a living reality (1943:266). Surprisingly, they argued that nothing distinguished Brazilian blacks in their speech – there was no form of “black Portuguese” spoken (1943:268). However, Africanisms can be found in the Portuguese that all Brazilians speak today, regardless of colour. The Herskovitses concluded by writing that Candomblé, “... of fascinating psychological implication ... may be regarded as a supreme expression of that adjustment to

the wider patterns of living which, in their secular as their religious ways of life, has been achieved by the Afro-Brazilians” (1943:279).

Their four-day research visit to Porto Alegre allowed Herskovits to gather enough material to produce an article in the prestigious journal, *American Anthropologist* (1943b). That this journal was open to publishing a report based on just four days’ research, a pilot study, testified to the high reputation Herskovits held in US anthropology. A lesser-known researcher would not have been given such an opportunity. It is worth stressing, anyhow, that the article left its mark in paving the way for the development of Afro-American studies in Southern Brazil and the Rio de la Plata region. Herskovits noted that in 1941 Porto Alegre had forty-one registered “Centers of African Religion”, none of them Caboclo. Certain songs he heard there were strikingly similar to the ones he had heard in Dahomey. Cult-houses named after Catholic saints (such as the Santa Barbara Society), were much smaller than in Bahia or Pernambuco, and their shrines were less elaborate. In addition to their public name, the houses also had an African name. The initiation process was shorter and the head of the initiated was not entirely shaven. The paper comes to a close with a familiar message in Herskovits’ writing: “The data from Porto Alegre teach how tenacious African custom can be under contact ... Yet African culture, it must be repeated – perhaps all culture – does not give ground as readily as has been supposed” (1943b:215).

In 1944, Herskovits published an article on drumming, in the journal *Music Quarterly*. Titled “Drums and drummers in AfroBrazilian cult life”, it was the first detailed description of both the instruments and the players:

At the drums, his manners radiate confidence, in himself and the power of his instruments. Relaxed, the drum between his legs, he allows the complete rhythms to flow from his sure, agile fingers. It is he who brings on possession through his manipulation of these rhythmic intricacies, yet he never becomes possessed (...) though he often seems on the verge of possession. As the music becomes “hotter”, he bends to his instrument and the chorus’s swelling volume, and the dancers’ movements, respond to the deep notes of the large drum, whose voice commands the god themselves. Spectators may give their attention to the dancers and listen to the singing; yet the drummer knows that, without him, the gods would not come, and worship could not go on.

HERSKOVITS 1944a:188–85

Herskovits detailed the position of the drummers in the Candomblé ceremony, how the dancers always faced the drummers, and how all the participants

revered the drum and the drummers. He then teased out how the drums were made, how they were preserved and how they were “fed” annually. The drum had magic powers and access to it by outsiders should be prevented. The *alabe*, or drummer, and the *alabe-huntor*, the drummer-singer, were essential functions. From observation and several conversations with African residents in the US who made it clear how drumming was vital in West Africa, Herskovits concluded that in Bahia drumming represented the survival of a West African pattern (1944a:194). The complexity of the process and the music inspired a reasonable antiracist conclusion, which was especially important given the prestige and character of the journal: “Acquaintance with these patterns of disciplined musicianship destroys completely any idea one may have regarding the fortuitous or casual nature of primitive music, or any conception of African rhythms as spontaneous improvisation” (1944a:196).

Herskovits also wrote the brochure that accompanied the record, *Afro-Bahian Cult Songs* (1947), edited by the LOC. It starts with a staunch statement: “The music of the Negro cult groups of Bahia follows the fundamental pattern of West African and New World Negro music everywhere.” It adds that nowhere in the New World where African music has been retained does it have as rich a presence as in the Northeast of Brazil. Such music has a pattern and:

The melodic phrases are usually short. The music is to be thought of as polyrhythmic rather than polyphonic. Percussions take on such importance that the singing is to be thought of as an accompaniment to the drumming than the contrary, which is taken for granted by listeners trained to hear Euramerican music. Drums and iron gongs play the rhythm for the West African and Congo-Angola rites, while Caboclo groups employ the large calabash and the rattle.

HERSKOVITS 1947:1

The brochure was written for laypeople and shows Herskovits’ real enthusiasm for the quality of the music and the beauty of the dance and ritual dresses of the *orixás*. He stressed the beauty and purity of the African music played in Bahia, such as the Jeje music for the *orixá* Gbesen, which is in the best Dahomeyan style. It was so superbly rendered that it would call forth admiration in Dahomey itself (1947:3). Congo-Angola music, in contrast, is “jazzy”, and one can see why it is the regional influence that most inspired Negro music in the New World (1947:4). Between the lines, the text suggests that in 1941–42 the Candomblé world was quite dynamic and creative, despite claims by most “orthodox” houses in favour of African purity and their general disdain for houses that were seen as less authentic (such as Angola and Caboclo). The text



FIGURE 34 “Rum, Rumpi and Le”: the Candomblé drum set. The drums were often dated and given special names

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gives two good examples of this. The number of Caboclo houses was growing, but they tended to become more established, less fluid, and imported many training features from the more “orthodox” cults. Another point of creativity concerned African languages. The public use of African languages was generally confined to a limited number of older people. Nonetheless, certain creativity and approximation in their use and possibly the invention of new African languages and vocabulary seemed to be relatively normal even in the most “orthodox” houses: “Certain of the cult heads can give a more detailed translation, but they show no eagerness to do this, preferring to explain the choreography that is related to the song rather than the words themselves” (1947:8).

A later article by Herskovits, “The Panan, an Afrobahiana religious rite of transition” (1953), starts with the statement that the Jeje (then only a minority) were the most orthodox of all Candomblé houses. At the moment of writing this book, the Ketu houses represented the great majority of the orthodox houses. The Congo-Angola groups, said Herskovits, were linked to the less “orthodox” Caboclo cults,

... wherein Indian and Portuguese names of deities abound, initiatory periods are truncated to a few days or more weeks, and wherein the most

diverse African and non-African innovations are present. Finally, the continuum moves to the “Spiritualist” groups and to full-blown European beliefs and practices, which are syncretized into even the most “orthodox” aggregates.

HERSKOVITS 1953:219

It is this continuum, from pure to less pure (or outright impure) rites, which had already been established by Nina Rodrigues and his followers, that Herskovits would reestablish and incorporate into his writing and communicate to his international network.

Later, the paper moved on to a detailed description of the *panan*, “a series of major rituals, each of which symbolically reproduces some act which the emergent initiate will perform in daily life” (1953:219), such as cooking, getting married, having sexual intercourse and bearing a child. In a way, the *panan* was the ritualized performance of scenes and moments of daily life. It was a quiet, almost intimate rite, performed for a relatively small group of onlookers (usually no more than two dozen people) consisting of the relatives of the initiate and the inner circle of the house.

In 1954 MJH wrote his most complete paper on Candomblé for reading at the Congress of Americanists in São Paulo. It would be published in *Phylon* in 1956. The text was a synthesis of his and Frances’ research in 1941–42 with some additions from later research carried out by Herskovits’ PhD students, Da Costa Eduardo (1948), Ribeiro (1952) and Bastide (1948), and the UNESCO-Columbia project in Bahia (Wagley, De Azevedo and Costa Pinto 1952). The article stated that there was no part of the New World where research into Afroamerican culture had been carried out with greater intensity or more continuity than in Brazil. Religion was the focal aspect of these cultures, and it was thus scientifically valid to focus on this aspect (Herskovits 1954:148). However, the holistic approach to culture made it imperative to focus on the Afro-Brazilian subculture’s social structure and economic base. For this reason, what should be analyzed was the proportion of the membership that lived within one or two kilometres from the cult-house, or the extent to which that house was also the focus of the social community around it. These were topics that Édison Carneiro (1948), Nunes Pereira (1947), René Ribeiro (1952) and Da Costa Eduardo (1948) had started to research, but for which they now needed more detailed data.

The text then described the hierarchy of the house, with the *babalorixá* (priest) or *ialorixá* (priestess) at the head, below whom were the initiates, among whom women were the overwhelming majority. Herskovits argued that such female predominance reached back to African custom (Herskovits

1954:152). The initiate started as *abian* and later could become *yawo* and even *vodunsi* – the final stage of initiation, a free agent capable of creating her new cult-house. The *vodunsi*, besides advising the novices, also functioned as a source of recruitment for the cult groups (1954:155). The second-largest category was the *ogans*, who were male. They could be *ogan do ramo* (uninitiated, but acting as protectors and sponsors of the house) or *ogan confirmado* (initiated and a senior of the house). Between the initiates and the priest or priestess, there was a system of officials, often called general staff, for whom, at the time and in the orthodox houses where the Herskovitses did research in the Yoruba language, there were different terms – five for men and seven for women. MJH stressed that this type of Candomblé existed only in the cities, possibly as a transplant of the kind of houses that exist(ed) in the urban centres of Dahomey and Nigeria, and that more research on them needed to be done in rural Bahia (1954:159).

The initiation could be sponsored by *ajibona*, a person from the cult-house or even another house, who would maintain a relationship with the initiated person for many years, as a saint godfather or godmother. The initiation could be done for a group of novices, called *barco* (boat), who established an in-group brotherhood/sisterhood. Cult-houses developed complex relationships with one another, ranging from respect and alliance to disdain and animosity. As Herskovits said, in Candomblé, there are lines within lines; one needs time and patience to learn how to behave according to the proper lines and rules. He summed up the core of his approach as follows: “To understand the nature of Candomblé as a cohesive social entity, we must look in two directions. We must consider now how it is set among the other elements of the society of which it is a part, and also indicate those mechanisms of interpersonal relations that are operative inside it” (1954:161). Candomblé can be so powerful that its influence reaches beyond the Afro-Brazilian circles. Participating in it is not only related to the power of the spiritual sanction but has important psychological consequences:

The aesthetic and emotional satisfaction afforded by cult rites also enter, in terms of the release from tensions they provide, and the excitement and dramatic suspense that attends them ... the expansion of the ego-structure that results from identification with the achievements of the Candomblé must not be overlooked. (1954:165)

In closing, Herskovits reiterated his central tenet: “Adequate analysis of Afroamerican culture cannot be attained without due regard for the role of the traditional African component in setting its present configurations” (1954:166).

The article “Some economic aspects of the Afrobahian Candomblé”, originally published in 1958, was Herskovits’ last text on Brazil. For the first time, he described the economics and market around Candomblé:

Must be thought of not only as a socially integrated unit, organized for the worship of the forces that rule the Universe but in economic terms as an institution which functions pragmatically to protect the best interest of its members and affiliates, with its activities comprising a significant sector of the total economy of the community.

HERSKOVITS 1958:254

He then described the importance of magic protection for the women who sold food in the street, who in those days were almost all initiated in Candomblé. Selling in the street, where there were so many competitors and and so much jealousy, one needed the protection of gods. There was also a detailed description of the type of goods sold for every specific ritual and function, with prices (1958: 256–259).

Nothing is for free in Candomblé, goes a famous and popular proverb. Initiation went together with lists of goods that needed to be bought. The man who was confirmed as an *ogan* covered the high costs of initiation, a prelude to the stream of contributions he would be called on to make as time passed (1958:259). There was a whole section of the marketplace that catered for these offerings:⁷⁰ two-legged and four-legged animals of different colours for ritual sacrifice, palm oil, cowrie/shells, necklaces, beads, cola nuts, *pano da costa* and several other products from West Africa, images of saints in clay and wood, and Exu made from iron.

In closing, Herskovits said that although such an economy also existed around religious rituals in West Africa, the pecuniary evaluations had become more pronounced in Brazil due to the “Euroamerican orientations towards the role of economic resources in ordering social position” (1958:264). The power of the house and the *zelador*, therefore, also dwelt in their economic power and in their ability to gather resources that were publicly displayed, sometimes in ostentatious fashion, during rituals: “The economic theory of the Candomblé

⁷⁰ This is still the case at the moment of writing even though, obviously to a lesser extent, if only because street markets are no longer the only or main outlets for goods. Already in 1938, Pierson (1942:309–310) noted that African cultural forms in Bahia were disintegrating rapidly. However, Herskovits stated in footnote 5 that this was wrong, “as was evident in the flourishing condition of the Candomblé found during a visit to the city in 1954”.



FIGURE 35 A street market, by the port
*MJH & FSH PAPERS, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK
 CULTURE, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, HARLEM, NY, 1996709*

thus has implicit in it the concept of a kind of equilibrated interplay between the command of resources and the action of the supernatural” (1958:265).⁷¹

5.3 *Frazier's Publications*

Franklin Frazier's publications about Brazil are in a very different style. His article in the prestigious journal *Phylon* (1942b), which Du Bois had set up in 1940, shows two important things. Frazier was abreast of the most recent literature on race relations in Brazil and used his trip to Brazil to socialize with and interview black political leaders, especially in São Paulo, where he presumably fraternized with the Frente Negra Brasileira activists. In the first part of this article, Frazier emphasized the relevance of black people and their cultural heritage in the civilization of Brazil. He used citations from Freyre and Ramos abundantly, as well as those of Manuel Querino (1938). He also argued that “Unlike the slaves

71 Beside the articles and chapters mentioned here, in Brazil Herskovits published several essays in non-academic journals or newspapers, mostly translated into Portuguese (Herskovits 1941a, 1942a, 1942b, 1943c). The complete list of Herskovits' publications dealing with Brazil is given in chronological order in the References.

in the United States, these negroes were able to reestablish to some extent in the New World, their traditional social organization and religious practice" (Frazier 1942b:290). In many ways, Frazier agreed that in Brazil there were many more Africanisms (although he did not use this term) than in the US.

After emancipation, Frazier continued, the pure-blooded Negroes became more mobile and lost much of their African culture. In the absence of race prejudice, such as existed in the United States, the increasing mobility of the Negroes accelerated the mixture of the races (1942b:291). Then he adds a fascinating statement: "It is exceedingly difficult to discuss and make intelligible to Americans race relations, involving white and Negroes, in Brazil" (1942b:290). There was, he argued, a certain amount of colour prejudice in Brazil since social distance based on colour was maintained by a subtle system of etiquette, but skin colour did not determine one's place in the social organization (1942b:291). Bahia, in many ways, stated Frazier, was comparable to Charleston and New Orleans in the 1890s: there was a large mulatto community. In the labouring masses, race mixture took place on a large scale. However, there were signs of discrimination among the elites, with no black people attending the tennis club, the yacht club or the larger more international hotels. The fact that the Americans and British often did not like to see blacks in such places influenced the attitude of white Brazilians towards blacks.

In making such considerations, Frazier drew heavily on Donald Pierson's thesis – which had been supported by Robert Park, possibly the most important of Frazier's mentors. Towards the end of the article, Frazier reported on his meetings with some leaders among the blacks. These were (ex)members of the Frente Negra Brasileira, the most important political black movement that was active in the early 1930s, as well as associates of other black (cultural) associations in Rio and São Paulo:

The organizations in the south are sharply differentiated from those in the north. In the south (where they suffer from the economic competition of the European immigrants, especially the Italians), they are fighting discrimination and are seeking to integrate themselves into the social and economic organizations. On the other hand, in the north, they have cooperated with whites in studying the cultural contribution of the Negro and have fought for religious liberty for Negro cults, as well as the improvement of the social condition of blacks. It appears that the Negro organizations in Brazil lack the drive and motivation of similar organizations in the United States. This is doubtless since racial discrimination is not as strong even in southern Brazil as in the United States.

FRAZIER 1942b:294

In the same year, Frazier published a highly polemical article in the journal *Common Sense*, "Brazil has no Racial Problems". It was written entirely in the spirit of the war effort. In it, Brazil is, in fact, a backdrop, a system of opposition to the US racial context. The text aimed to show that in Brazil, against all odds, the racial system had not removed humanity from the Negro. The opposite could be said of the US. The text anticipated several issues later developed in his classic, *Black Bourgeoisie*: black people were not taken or judged seriously in the US, but instead as childish and less mature people.

In fact, the Negro has never been taken seriously or treated as a mature, intelligent human being ... Since most Negro leaders have been forced to make their living behind the walls of segregation, the threat of starvation has been enough to bring submission (...) A character only develops when men are accustomed to responsibilities and Negroes have never been required or permitted to acquire serious responsibilities (...) The whole system of race relations in America has tended to rob the mass of Negroes of a sense of personal worth and dignity and to rob their leaders of character (...) As if to compensate for the denial of freedom and justice, America has, through its philanthropies, spent millions of dollars in uplifting the Negro. But this has failed to solve the fundamental problem of integrating the Negro into American economic and social life (...) Whereas in Brazil, black, brown and white people know each other as individual human beings, in the United States they only know the Negro as a symbol or stereotype (...) All this points to one conclusion: caste and democracy cannot exist in the same society without perpetual conflict.

FRAZIER 1942a:125-128

Frazier went on to argue that it was only through struggle and by making use of moments of crisis, such as during WWII, that the Negro would be able to become emancipated.

Our attitude to the question of race is due to our provincial outlook. Our provincialism regarding race relations may be broken down as we are forced to treat the colored people of Asia and become more closely tied to Latin America. On the other hand, it is conceivable that we may attempt to impose our attitudes upon these people. If the latter happens, we shall not be able to assume moral leadership in the post-war world and will alienate the countries of Latin America. While we may provide Brazil with technical skills and capital, Brazil has something to teach us with regard to race relations.

FRAZIER 1942a:129

One can only remark on his international and broad-minded stance when Frazier is compared with the much more nationalist and isolationist black leaders in their political missions across Latin America – I was witness to the visits to Brazil of John Hope Franklin, Jesse Jackson and Spike Lee in the 1990s.

In 1944 Frazier published his last article entirely dedicated to Brazil and it is mainly along the same lines as the one in *Phylon*. He argued that in Brazil no violent civil war accompanied the abolition of slavery, as in the United States. There was no sharp boundary of territory between the free and enslaved person, nor was there a well-defined conflict between an agrarian and an industrial economy (Frazier 1944:87). Moreover, the dependence of the Portuguese upon the labour of the Negro was greater and many of the slaves were better skilled and more literate than the Portuguese (1944:91). In Brazil, the lower status of women compared to the US South, and the less puritanical habits, created fewer obstacles to concubinage, and children born out of wedlock were more often recognized as legal descendants. It led to a situation in which the entire structure of Brazilian society, both from a racial and an economic standpoint, was to preclude the possibility of a biracial framework. In turn, and as an indirect reference to Herskovits' focus on Africanisms, Frazier stated that African culture had survived much more among the enslaved Brazilians where it was not necessary to engage in speculation concerning African survivals (1944:94). African influences were apparent in the language, diet and music of Brazilians.

These influences were regarded not as quaint or exotic outgrowths but as an integral part of the culture of Brazilian society (1944:96). Frazier quoted Nina Rodrigues, Manuel Querino, Édison Carneiro and Arthur Ramos to support his statement. He then commented⁷² on the trajectories of the writer Machado de Assis and the chief engineer of the empire of Brazil, André Rebouças. Both were mulattos who, rather than being what Robert Park would have called “marginal men” or living in a segregated coloured community, were not considered a “Negro writer” or a “Negro engineer”. Instead, they were deemed to be Brazilian specialists in their fields (1944:98): “This is quite different from the situation in the United States, where there are Negro writers, journalists and even biologists and chemists and a different standard for evaluating their achievement” (Ibid.). In drawing such a conclusion, it was evident that Frazier was expressing his dissatisfaction with the pigeonholing of the black intellectual in the US – a topic of many of his essays and, more forcefully, in his last essay, “The Failure of the Negro Intellectual” (1968). To him, Brazil's system of race relations seemed to offer hope for a better future, as it did for the US,

72 Here Frazier quotes two very recent books: Lucia Miguel Pereira, *Machado de Assis* (1936), and Ignacio José Verissimo, *André Rebouças através de sua auto-biografia* (1939).

evident in his conclusion to the essay: “As the attempt to maintain a caste system becomes less effectual because of urbanization and the general educational and cultural development of the Negro, the racial situation [of the US] will likely approximate the situation in Brazil” (1968:102).⁷³

I have detected only one article written by Frazier regarding his five-month stay and research in Haiti and Jamaica on the way back to the US from his fieldwork in Bahia. It is a short overview of race relations in the Caribbean, which mixes secondary sources and first-hand impressions. As much of his writing on Brazil was, it was part of a general plan to, so to speak, provincialize race relations in the US by showing the uniqueness of its polarization and violence. Rather than being the norm, as many US observers liked to think, such a sharp division between non-whites and whites was unique to the US, he wrote. The text “Race Relations in the Caribbean” is the third chapter in the critical compilation, *The Economic Future of the Caribbean*, that Frazier edited together with none less than Eric Williams (1911–1981), the Marxist scholar who in 1956 would become the first prime minister of independent Trinidad. These are the main conclusions:

I am not convinced that if these areas are brought within economic control of the US, it will mean an improvement in the economic standard of living. I am not convinced it will be an improvement or even preservation of the social or human values in the islands today. I am referring especially to the question of race relations and the effect of the influence of North Americans on race relations in these islands. Even in the British West Indies, where Anglo-Saxon ideas concerning the white and the coloured races exist, the blacks and the mixed-bloods have never been the object of lawlessness, violence, and contempt exhibited against people of Negro descent in the United States. A white minority in the British West Indies has maintained “white supremacy” and European culture without making a travesty of its law courts and resorting periodically to acts of violence. In the Spanish and, more especially, the French colonies, the respect which is shown to blacks and people of mixed ancestry is regarded by the average white citizen of the United States as a sign of weakness or even depravity ... This only shows that the traditional North American attitude of caste is bound to negatively affect human value in the sphere of race relations in these areas.

FRAZIER 1944a:30

73 In those years, Frazier also reviewed books on Brazil (Frazier 1950a, 1952).

This short but radical article is yet another piece of evidence of the international and comparative project on race relations that Frazier had in mind, and the kind of network he was establishing with radical scholars from different countries.

Frazier would write again on the Caribbean and, more generally, on plantation America and Brazil as part of this region (1957b), in his introduction to a prestigious compilation edited by Vera Rubin. Frazier was in the good company of, among others, George E. Simpson, Charles Wagley, M.G. Smith, Eric Williams, Frank Tannenbaum and Raymond Smith. He started, typically, with a provocation: Why was Plantation America not designated Negro America, since in this area the Negro had been the chief ethnic or racial group? (Frazier 1957b:v). Frazier then linked the Southern part of the US and plantation society as described by Freyre. The main difference between Brazil or the Caribbean and the US was that, in the US, a conspicuous class of poor whites was present. He proceeded to show that in terms of African survivals, he had finally come to a more challenging position:

The problem of African survivals among Negroes in the United States was once the subject of much controversy on the part of anthropologists and sociologists. It seems fair to say that as the result of this controversy, the sociologists gained a deeper knowledge of the persistence of certain phases of African cultural traits among Negroes and the anthropologists gained knowledge of the social history of Negroes which restrained their speculations concerning African survivals. ... Probably, there is general agreement that there are more African survivals in South America and the West Indies than among American Negroes ... But the real problem is more difficult ... to what extent are African survivals influencing the character of these new societies which are coming into existence? Can their stagnation or development be explained in terms of African survival? ... The real problem is not the discovery of African survivals but rather the study of the organization and role of the Negro family in changing society or in a new society that is coming into existence. ... Moreover, these family traditions have been reinforced by the expectations and traditions of the class position of the family in the community.

FRAZIER 1957:VIII

Two words appear in Frazier's terminology that were not then in use in the literature concerning racial hierarchies in the US: "development" and "class". His radical socialist past and his years in Paris at UNESCO, where the term "development" was ubiquitous, were very evident in his mature years.

In 1958 the journal *Présence Africaine* published a special issue, “Africa from the point of view of American Negro scholars” (Davis 1958). Frazier contributed the piece “What can the American Negro contribute to the social development of Africa?” Defined as an “astringent article” (Shepperson 1961), Frazier clearly saw the possibilities in a negative light, and was vitriolic in his criticism of the conditions of the black intellectual in the US at that time. Even though African heritage had not been erased from the minds of many US blacks, “much of the talk about the contribution of American Negroes to the development of Africa rests upon sentimental grounds or represents a type of wishful thinking” (Frazier 1958:264).⁷⁴ (...) “Negros as a group are poor and unable to provide Africa with the capital which is needed there...” (1958:265). Frazier argued that US blacks also lacked the industrial, technical and political education that Africa required. The reason for this, he stressed once again, was that US blacks had been segregated in American life and had lacked real political power. A few American Negroes with professional competence, such as Hildrus Pondexter, had rendered service to Africa, but the number of such scientists was small (1958:269). Frazier was quite optimistic about the Harlem Renaissance and poets such as Langston Hughes and Richard Wright, but he maintained that much of the spirit of that Renaissance, with its acceptance of a “racial identification without apologies”, had faded by being absorbed into the otherwise “asleep” black middle class. His angry judgement of the US went on:

One must take into account how the fact of their African origin has been communicated to Negroes. For the great masses of Negroes, the fact of their African origin has been regarded as a curse (...) This attitude was emphasized when Marcus Garvey attempted to organize what was the only really nationalistic movement to arise among American Negroes. The movement was supported largely by West Indian Negroes, and American Negro intellectuals denounced Garvey largely on the ground

74 The acidity of his comment singles it out from the otherwise laudatory tone of all the other articles to the special issue, to the point that Alioune Diop, in his preface to the issue, somehow apologizes for Frazier's toughness. It is worth mentioning that Frazier wrote this article after two important moments in his life, both associated with his two years spent at UNESCO in Paris. In 1952–3 he became acquainted as never before with African intellectuals and activists as well as with (mostly French) Africanists, such as Balandier; and he wrote and published in French (in Paris, with the publisher Plon) his most polemical book, *Bourgeoisie Noire*, in 1955. He would translate the book into English and publish it as *Black Bourgeoisie* in the US three years later (Teele 2002:3).

that he resurrected and emphasized the fact of their African origin⁷⁵... Therefore, we shall begin by showing how the treatment of Negroes has impaired their usefulness as spiritual or moral leaders of Africans.

FRAZIER 1958:273

Frazier's assessment of the organization of the black community and its two main pillars, the church and the school, was devastating: "The truth of the matter is that American Negroes have never been free, physically and psychologically" (1958:274). They had instead been reduced to childlike, clownish and sly human beings, he said. Frazier also insisted that some type of self-esteem and racial identity was essential in fighting this racial condition. Instead, most of them "insist on being only Americans, they become nobody" (1958:275).

In conclusion, he favoured two black radicals: "There are rare exceptions like W.E.B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson (the most outstanding black member of the US Communist party), but they are considered dangerous by white people. Therefore, middle-class Negroes regard them as dangerous." Publicly defending Du Bois and Robeson would not only single out Frazier as one of the very few well-known black intellectuals to do so, but it would also be one of the reasons he was later accused of anti-American activities by McCarthy (Hellwig 1992). The last part of the article went even further in its excoriation of the status quo of US race relations. American blacks lacked the capital and technical and political skills to assist Africans, "who have a long experience of political struggle and are assuming a position of responsibility not open to Negroes in the US" (1958:278). The main problem, said Frazier, is that:

The general outlook of American Negroes is dominated by provincial and spurious values of the new Negro middle classes. They live in a world of make-believe and reject identification with the cultural tradition of American Negroes as well as with their African origin (...) Their attitude towards the future is that of the gladiators and slaves in the Roman arena, who cried: "Hail Cesar, we who are about to die to salute you". On the other hand, the African has a future in this world and has a place in shaping a new world as an African.

FRAZIER 1958:278

75 Frazier's positive assessment of Garveyism in the 50s and 60s, when the movement was no more, contrasts with Du Bois' incisive criticism of Garveyism in the 20s, when the movement was at its heights.

It was evident that Frazier had observed race relations in the US both from within and without. His fieldwork in Brazil, his trip to Jamaica and Haiti, his stay at UNESCO in Paris and his missions to several African countries had made him even less provincial and more unsatisfied with the status quo than ever before. No wonder that, presented with an article containing so much radical acerbity, Alioune Diop, in his preface to the special issue, felt that he had somehow to apologize for publishing Frazier's opinions together with the other contributions by American blacks (who included St. Clair Drake, Turner and many others), who took a much softer stance on race relations and the celebration of black identity in the US. After all, the special issue was meant by *Présence Africaine* to bring US blacks and African leaders closer and to create new opportunities for US support for African independence.⁷⁶

5.4 *Turner's Publications*

As regards Turner, none of his published texts contains a detailed reference to his research as a linguist in Brazil. One article, possibly the most interesting, deals with the family connection between Salvador and Lagos, whereas the other two on Brazil seem to be written in the spirit of the GNP and celebrate Brazilian race relations as more lenient and much less segregated than the US. The slaves in Brazil enjoyed many advantages that were denied their fellows in the US or the West Indies (Turner 1957:232), such as finding it easier to achieve manumission. Africa and Brazil, moreover, were kept closer by the constant exchange of slaves, ex-slaves, returnees and migrants, especially between Lagos and Bahia. In Brazil, African religious practices were never seriously interfered with and as a result, in these religious communities, one could still see authentic African dance. Turner's article in the popular *Chicago Jewish Forum* (1957) finishes with a statement that summed up his feelings: "Since the emancipation of the slaves, the Negro has participated fully in Brazil's social and family life. There is no law prohibiting such participation or the exercise of any legitimate function of the citizen. Racial friction in Brazil is at a minimum. One is scarcely aware of one's own color" (1957:235).

Soon after returning from Brazil, Turner presented the paper "Some contacts of Brazilian ex-slaves with Nigeria, West Africa" at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, in Columbus, Ohio, on November 1, 1941. The paper was published in the *Journal of Negro History* in 1942. Its central argument is that "students of African cultural survivals in the New World need not expect to make much progress in their investigations

76 For critical scrutiny of the relationship between the spirit and tradition of the Harlem Renaissance and the journal *Présence Africaine*, see Mudimbe-Boyi 1992.

without first learning something about the culture of the African tribes brought here as slaves" (1942:55). However, Turner argued, constructing such a genealogy in Brazil was made difficult by the destruction of documents related to slavery in 1890, following a decree signed by Ruy Barbosa, Ministry of Finance.⁷⁷ But there remained an important, authoritative source of information regarding the ties between Brazilian Negroes and West Africa: Brazilian ex-slaves and their descendants.

Turner's paper centred exclusively on the Yoruba and described the binational families that had evolved, especially those related to both Lagos and Salvador. Before the abolition of slavery, one way of keeping in touch with Africa was for a male slave to purchase his freedom and that of his wife and children and take his family back to Africa. "... many families who did this remained in Africa until after slavery was abolished in Brazil and then returned to Brazil" (1942:59). Sometimes, part of the family remained in Africa but kept in close contact with the Bahian section of the family. Turner then went into a detailed description of these links in the case of a couple of his key informants in Bahia – the well-known Martiniano do Bonfim (who Turner described as "one of the most colourful figures in Bahia today... many people seek his advice and follow it religiously")⁷⁸ and his wife Anna Cardoso Santos, both of whom had travelled twice to Lagos and back to Bahia. Turner received as a present the originals and paper copies of travel documents of ex-slaves from Bahia who had returned to Africa, as well as their wedding and death certificates. The text of the paper comes to a close praising the commitment among these families to preserving Yoruba culture and language (especially in folktales, bedtime stories and food and cooking), not only in Salvador but also in the smaller towns of Cachoeira, São Felix and Muritiba. They did not only speak Yoruba fluently, but "as leaders of the fetish cults, they use their influence to keep the form of worship as genuinely African as possible" (1942:66). What struck Turner was that most Brazilian ex-slaves of Bahia and their descendants were genuinely proud of their African heritage.

The quality of the information Turner gathered and the simple fact that he had been given the originals of personal papers and photos demonstrated the support and enthusiasm his fieldwork stirred among these Afro-Brazilian

77 As contemporary historians know very well, this destruction, reported in Arthur Ramos' (1939) first book translated into English, was less effective than people believed in the 1940s.

78 Martiniano, who died in 1943, played a central part in the narratives of a score of scholars, including Frazier's and Turner's, but for some reason not in the Herskovitses'. Perhaps Martiniano's poor health in 1942 is the explanation.

families. His pioneering research on these binational families would be rediscovered in recent years and start what is now a research tradition on returnees from Brazil and Cuba in West Africa, by scholars such as Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, Alcione Amos, Felix Omidire, Milton Guran, Lisa Earl Castillo, Luis Nicolau Parés and Rodolfo Sarracino.

In December 1950, Turner published a relatively lengthy review of *The Negro in Northern Brazil: A Study in Acculturation* by Octavio da Costa Eduardo (1948), in the *Journal of American Folklore*. Besides being quite thorough and severe, the review is an excellent book report. It emphasized that the culture of present-day Negroes in the State of Maranhão occurred against the background of sustained contact with African culture brought to Maranhão by the slaves. On the whole, the rural community had been less conducive to maintaining African religious practices than their urban counterparts. Despite defining the book as a very good model for future research in the New World, Turner made two criticisms, so to speak – one in line with Herskovits and the other in line with Frazier – and in this, he showed a degree of intellectual autonomy. He objected, as would possibly Herskovits, who had been Eduardo's supervisor, to "how the contact of African and Brazilian cultures has affected other phases of the cultures of Negroes in Maranhão, such as music, folk literature, language, art, etc. is revealed only slightly in the author's discussion of religion" (1950:490). The other criticism, reminiscent of Frazier's ideas, concerned the *amaziado* arrangement and the organization of black families more generally: "Are these types of a relationship more prevalent among other groups of similar socio-economic status? If they are widespread among these, is this the result of borrowing from Africans, or have non-Africans and these other groups brought similar family forms from the Old World?" (1950:491). In other words, generalizations about the organization of the black family required a comparative analysis of all racial groups or groups of colour in the population of one specific community – not just the black population.

Turner, with his symbolic connection to the spirit of the Harlem Renaissance, and Frazier, with his focus on the relationship between colour and class and on the psychological damage that segregation created for the black mind, represented two essential variants in the US black political thought of their time, possibly the most relevant and radical. Nowhere is their different emphasis on the past and future of black people more evident than in their contribution to the special issue of *Présence Africaine* dedicated to "Africa from the point of view of American Negro Scholars" (Davis 1958). For Turner, the preservation of cultural diversity was both a reason for emancipation from stereotypes and a tool to counteract racism:

A study of the influence of African culture upon the Western Hemisphere reveals that the slaves on reaching the New World did not wholly abandon their native culture, but retained most of it with surprisingly little change. (...) Those aspects of African culture which have been most tenacious throughout the New World are survivals in languages, folk literature, religion, art, the dance and music; but some survivals from the economic and social life of the Africans can also be found in the New World.⁷⁹

TURNER 1958:102–3

He then expands, based on his research and publications in Brazil and adds: “African linguistic survivals are most numerous in Brazil than anywhere else in the Western Hemisphere ... In Bahia, I found Yoruba spoken as much as Portuguese” (1958:107). (...) “In and around the Nago or Yoruba cult-houses in Bahia, for example, the atmosphere is so unmistakably African that one has difficulties realizing he is in the New World” (1958:112). Turner described music, dance, folktales and woodcarving in Bahia, all cultural forms that maintained their African origin. His political message can be summed up in the conclusion of his article for the journal:

Far too little attention is being given to objective studies of those aspects of the native culture of Negro Africa – especially the arts – which are and have been exerting, for more than four centuries, a significant influence upon Western civilization. More such studies would go a long way toward destroying in the minds of other people of the world many deeply rooted stereotypes regarding Africans – stereotypes due, in great part, but not wholly, to lack of knowledge of the native culture of Negro Africa.⁸⁰

TURNER 1958:116

Two compilations of the work of Frazier (1968) and Herskovits (1966) were published posthumously, edited by G. Franklin Edwards and Frances Herskovits, respectively. Only one of the twenty chapters that comprise Frazier’s compilation deals with Brazil, whereas in Herskovits’ compilation five

79 At this point, Turner quotes Herskovits’ *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941).

80 It is worth mentioning that, to support his argument, Turner quoted Herskovits’ *Myth of the Negro Past* repeatedly, as well as Donald Pierson. However, in footnote 1 he stressed that “Dr. Pierson, not well acquainted with the native culture of the Africans, has greatly underestimated its influence on Brazilian culture.”

of the thirty texts deal with that country – one-sixth. No such anthology was published posthumously in the case of Turner, but Margaret Wade-Lewis' very comprehensive biography of Turner (2007) is a skilful general assessment of his work. The chapter on Brazil fills about nineteen pages, including the notes, of the total of 325 pages. These numbers give an idea of the lesser impact of Brazil on their career.

In terms of the influence of these four scholars on the Brazilian social sciences, while acknowledging his merit, Mel, and also Frances, who co-published articles with her husband and published an edited volume in 1966, were overquoted; Frazier and Turner were almost ignored. Another conclusion to be drawn from the above publications is that Brazil was for them a backdrop against which they could stage and corroborate their central arguments. For Frazier, these were that class division is a universal condition and that there is no analysis of race relations independent of class structure; and that race relations in Brazil were less dehumanizing and made the Negroes less childlike than those in the US. For Turner, of key importance was that African survivals in speech revealed the complexity of black cultural expressions in the New World. For Herskovits, Africanisms were predominant not only in religious life and cultural expressions but also as an explanatory factor in the social organization and the family structure of the black population. More than any "real Brazil", what mattered was how their representations of Brazil and its race relations could be useful in their political-academic struggle in the US.

6 Different Perspectives on Racial Inequalities

The four scholars had different political and personal agendas. From the early 1930s, Herskovits' central point was reminiscent of the observation by Arthur Schomburg in the compilation edited by Alain Locke, *The New Negro*: "The Negro has been a man without history because he had been considered a man without a worthy culture" (Locke 1925:237). While using the notion of cultural focus, Herskovits argued that religion was focal for West Africans while economic relations were focal for the slave-owners. Therefore, the greatest proportion of African survivals was in practices that concerned the supernatural (Jackson 1986:112). According to Herskovits, Turner would argue similarly, except that, for West Africans, music was even more important than religion. Frazier, instead, was not convinced that religion and music, even if of undeniable African origin, were per se liberating forces from racism in the New World.

Thus, the anthropologist (Mel) and the linguist (Lorenzo) stressed cultural differences and considered the strength of culture and its capacity to be

resilient to change, versus the sociologist (Frazier) who emphasized the universality of the human condition and the intrinsic changing character of all cultural and social forms. Did black people deserve respect because their culture and personality were intrinsically different or, to the contrary, because they were human beings like any other? The point of difference was how freedom from racism was seen as resulting from the struggle of individuals against it or in acknowledging the differences and the distinctions of black people's culture – which was mostly seen at the time as a collective without individuality (Sansone 2011).

Turner's biography is evidence of how much the issue of African survivals concerned black intellectuals and artists, at least from the time of the Harlem Renaissance in the early 1920s (Wade-Lewis 2007). Frazier's uncommon and rebellious trajectory reveals the dynamics among black intellectuals in the US (Platt 1990, 1991) and is reminiscent of specific contemporary black sociological thought in the US at the time, such as that of Julius Wilson. Herskovits' commitment to African survivals and racial equality had a different origin and was in line with liberal ideas among US non-blacks of his time, especially Jewish intellectuals (Yelvington 2000; Gershenhorn 2004).

Brazil had an essential, if not central, place in the fieldwork experience of these scholars, and would bear on their writing, activities and networks for the rest of their career. Still, there is hardly any mention of it in their biographies – nor in the recent critical appraisal of Herskovits' work, such as the documentary "Herskovits – At the Heart of Blackness" (2014) directed by Llewellyn Smith, and in Jean Allman's lecture entitled "#Herskovits Must Fall" (2018 and 2020).

The four scholars also differed in terms of their antiracist agenda. Turner and Frazier were not only black scholars with an antiracist plan, they were also interested in meeting important black people, the black elite. The Herskovitses had an antiracist agenda but were much less interested in black agency and even less so in the black elite – in fact, Mel, as we know, was quite suspicious of black intellectuals. In line with mainstream anthropology of the time, one can imagine that he preferred "authenticity" in Africanisms rather than black people in the New World who, according to him, behaved in many ways as white intellectuals or the white upper class would.

Behind these different approaches in their research methods, there were somewhat diverging positions regarding the African heritage of their research subjects. Turner and Herskovits were convinced that the African past offered the kind of cultural grandeur that black people needed in their struggle for liberation in the United States. Frazier was not at all convinced that the past or cultural heritage were potential allies for black liberation. In this, his position

was surprisingly reminiscent of Frantz Fanon's interpretation of the past as a fetter, which the oppressed, who were victims of the colonial terror, had to break by means of a symbolically violent rupture (1961). Frazier was more interested in the future, in the place of Négritude within modernity. This attitude was primarily a political stance against what Frazier saw as the stereotypical generalizations of the reconstruction of black grandeur based on the past.⁸¹

The four scholars had a relatively similar comparative international perspective and had plans to further develop this by researching in other countries of the New World and the African continent. However, they did not have the same opportunities for such projects. For a start, their universities were of quite different standing. Howard was a black university (the top one, but still a black university), so was Fisk, and Roosevelt was a relatively small, engaging, liberal and racially integrated university, but still just a small one – which paid relatively poor wages (Turner 1946; *Chicago Defender*, May 3, 1947:13). North-western was where, formally speaking, African studies were first established with substantial funding.

The four regarded Africa and Afro-America as a single area (Frances Herskovits 1966a:x), more so Turner and Mel, who considered it one cultural (and in many ways also social) whole: this was possibly their main merit. Frazier was also a universalist, but different: class analysis and the consequences of industrialization for black people and the people of postcolonial societies were part and parcel of his agenda.

In this context, Herskovits had the upper hand. He had spent more time doing fieldwork and his approach to African culture in Brazil fit very well with the renewed attempt of several Brazilian intellectuals to redefine national popular culture. Moreover, he had better and more powerful connections within the rising Brazilian anthropology community in Bahia and at the Escola Livre de Sociologia, the University of São Paulo and the Museu Nacional in Rio (in those days, the absolute national centre of Brazilian anthropology). Herskovits also had greater access to funding for research abroad and was better positioned to invite Brazilian scholars to visit the United States.⁸²

81 Turner and Frazier would hold their diverging positions on possible Africanisms in black American culture and yet would be interested in the future of post-independence Africa for the rest of their lives. They would both contribute to the special issue of the journal *Présence Africaine*, edited in book format and dedicated to the theme of American blacks and Africa (Frazier 1958; Turner 1958).

82 Lack of funding hampered Turner's and Frazier's plans to do research in Africa and to develop African studies in their institutions (Fisk University and later Roosevelt College for Turner, and Howard University for Frazier.) For example, while Herskovits was able to use the help of a number of PhD students, Turner had to rely on African informants

As we know, Herskovits left his mark on the anthropology of African-American cultural expressions in the New World. He was also attractive to Brazilian academia, so much that, as described earlier, in May 1942 he was invited to give the keynote speech at the opening of the Faculty of Philosophy of Bahia (today the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences, FFCH of the UFBA, where I work).⁸³ Herskovits appealed to the canon of anthropology of his time, especially the romantic notions of the Culture and Personality School with its passion for Apollonian groups and cultural forms (Stocking 1996). These ideas fit well with the Yoruba/Ketu claim of uniqueness, purity and authenticity in religion and the national process of selective incorporation of Afro-Brazilian cultural expressions in the public representation of the nation. It was a process which meant that those expressions that, according to the Ministry of Culture and Education, deserved to be incorporated were selected and other forms held as less authentic, less purely African, or simply less sophisticated were marginalized. In his speech, Herskovits elaborated on the research agenda set prematurely by Nina Rodrigues and developed from the mid-1930s foremost by Arthur Ramos and José Honorio Rodrigues (1961). His central idea of Africanism, of cultural retention, of culture deriving its force from its authenticity and close-knit inner logic and structure appealed to most anthropologists of his time, especially in Latin America. It somehow fitted the process of the cultural integration of the Negro into the narrative of the nation.

“I always hold the possibility of returning to Brazil as a comforting thought, and will, of course, put the thought into action eventually”.⁸⁴ Even though MJH

in the United States and had fewer opportunities to do research in Africa. Turner finally went to Africa in 1951 with a Fulbright grant and later worked on the Krio language in Sierra Leone with grants from the Peace Corps (Wade-Lewis 2007:165–188). Frazier had to wait until his year at UNESCO in Paris in the 1950s to be able to work with Africanists and African scholars in the organization of the first conference on industrialization in Africa and other projects, mostly concerned with the issue of decolonization.

83 The text of his speech is in Frances Herskovits, ed. *The New World Negro: Selected Papers in Afro-American Studies* (1966) and translated into Portuguese by José Valladares. It was the text presented as a final research report to the Museu Nacional in Rio and first published in Brazil in 1944 by the Museu de Arte da Bahia, with a foreword by Isaias Alves, the first head of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Federal University of Bahia. The journal *Afro-Ásia* published it again in 1957 (www.afroasia.ufba.br) and the Museu de Arte published it a third time in 2008. In contrast, no translation into Portuguese is available for the articles written by Turner and Frazier. Of course, one can wonder about the effects of these politics of translation for the construction of the hegemony of Herskovits' paradigm on Afro-Brazilian studies and Afro-Latin studies in general (see Yelvington 2006). This paradigm was buttressed by a number of prestigious scholars who followed its path, such as Pierre Verger and Roger Bastide.

84 MJH to Bastide, September 20, 1959.

intended to return to his field in Bahia until the end of his life, he never got back to his Gantois informants for the second fieldwork session. The only time Melville went back to Brazil would be in 1954 for the International Americanists Congress.⁸⁵

As we have seen, between 1941 and 1943 Frazier published six articles on race relations in Brazil and the black family in Bahia. Brazil became pivotal in supporting his argument about the black family and race being the real American conundrum. These were the years that led to the preparation of Gunnar Myrdal's epochal book, *An American Dilemma* (Myrdal 1944). Frazier contributed to this book (Jackson 1994). However, Frazier's work on Brazil did not go down in the history of the social sciences as powerfully as Herskovits'. Even in recent biographies of this great sociologist, who liked to define himself as a "race man", there is little or no mention of his work on Brazil or the Caribbean. He is generally described as more national than Herskovits. I argue that Frazier was a cosmopolitan polyglot and internationally oriented scholar who, in many ways, wanted to do the same kind of grand international comparisons that Herskovits had. Frazier failed to leave an enduring influence on the Brazilian social sciences, though he spoke to the Frente Negra's cultural politics (the Black Front). This group, in the thirties, was the leading strand in black Brazilian thought. It also stressed the universality of the human condition rather than cultural difference and claimed a valuable place for blacks within modernity. In 1940 Frazier met several leaders of the Frente Negra in São Paulo, although there is no detail of such an event in the papers.

Despite these significant differences, these scholars also had several key similarities. First, they all celebrated the relatively open and relaxed style of Brazilian race relations, especially in Bahia, which was determined more by class than caste. Such celebration became more visible during the war effort and the heydays of the GNP. The race relations were almost canonical: most Brazilian and US intellectuals of the time reiterated them. For instance, the long front-page interview with writer Vianna Moog in the *Herald-Tribune* (September 12, 1943) carries the following emphatic headline: "Race problems are lacking in the life of Brazil. Prejudice finds no echo there as nation rejects racial superiority idea."⁸⁶ Second, they used their experience and findings in Bahia and Brazil as stepping-stones to founding African studies in the United

85 His daughter Jean, who was with her parents in Bahia as a young girl and later became an Africanist, told me that when he went back to Bahia on that occasion he did not go to the Candomblé house (the Gantois) that was so important in his fieldwork and that also had become important in his personal life.

86 After the War Effort, and especially from the 1950s, Frazier became more critical and less supportive of the so-called mildness of race relations in Brazil.

States. Turner and Frazier played a key and pioneering role in the establishment of departments of African studies – Turner at Fisk in 1943 and later at Roosevelt University in 1951, and Frazier at Howard in the mid-1940s. Herskovits established the first interdisciplinary African studies programme in the United States at Northwestern University in 1948.

Herskovits' programme would grow and soon develop into the leading one in the United States (it is not by accident that the library specializing in African studies at Northwestern is named after him). However, one should not underplay the pioneering role of Fisk, Roosevelt and Howard in creating African studies and attracting African scholars to the United States (Sansone 2019). Turner and Frazier also helped to develop African studies through activism in associations that supported Africa and its independence, extracurricular activities in the community, professional associations (among others, the African Studies Association), international US-based institutions, such as the Fulbright Foundation, the Ford Foundation and the Peace Corps, and UNESCO. Frazier's and Turner's efforts were significant in internationalizing traditionally black universities. Third, Turner, Frazier and Herskovits came to Bahia to test research produced elsewhere and corroborate their hypotheses on the African origin of black culture and survival strategies. The Gantois house was the standard test case and the primary cohort of informants, consisting of influential spokespersons in the Candomblé community and, for Frazier, the families who lived close to the cult-house. As it turned out, they all found in Gantois the causality of what they were looking for, respectively, slavery and adaptation to poverty (Frazier) and Africanisms (Turner for language and Herskovits for family structure.) These scholars also had in common that none of them made Brazil and Bahia the cornerstone of their studies, as they had proposed in funding applications for their research. They never wrote the book on Bahia they had planned.

In other words, Bahia was, for them, a testing ground for hypotheses generated within the American political, moral and racial context. As regards the issue of the black family, already in 1939, before he had any personal knowledge of Brazil, MJH insisted in a letter to Bastide that:

We are very badly in need of information concerning the less spectacular but equally important aspects of Brazilian Negro social and economic life. The organization of the family, particularly the relationship between a mother and her children as against that between a father and his children, the possible survival of any clan organization as cooperative work societies, and problems of this nature are practically untouched.⁸⁷

87 MJH to Bastide, October 11, 1939.

Bastide had asked for information on the New Negro in the US and insisted on the centrality of the black family. MJH suggested that Bastide read Frazier's *The Negro Family in the United States*, which had just come out:

Frazier disagrees entirely, I may say, with my own position concerning the retention of African elements in the Negro culture of the United States, and he does this so emphatically that I suspect there is something of an emotional tie-up. However, the book discusses very adequately the present condition of the Negro Family and its background in slavery times, and is the most comprehensive that has been written to date.

So, despite somehow disqualifying Frazier's position as emotional, in a context where the proper scholar was deemed to control his or her emotions, Herskovits recognized the value of Frazier's work on the black family and the solidity of his know-how more generally.

In those days, black speech and the black family structure were American concerns, not Brazilian. Then and now, scholars and laypersons agree that there is no "Black Portuguese", but indeed, the use of a language usually defined as Yoruba in Candomblé ceremonies and of a plethora of terms of Bantu origin in the Portuguese that is spoken in Brazil. As for the "black family", the phrase is still not in use in Brazil, where matrifocality is associated either with poverty or with social mores, not with Africanisms or African survivals (Woortmann 1987; Marcellin 1999). The research on black culture in those days concerned an American battle that was being fought on Brazilian soil; it never got back to Brazil as it should have.⁸⁸

Although Wade-Lewis gives space to Turner's year in Brazil in her biography of him (2007), surprisingly there is little to no mention of Frazier's and Herskovits' fieldwork in Brazil in the many otherwise detailed and excellent biographical reconstructions of their lives (Saint-Arnaud 2009, for Frazier, and Simpson 1973 and Gershenhorn 2004, for Herskovits),⁸⁹ despite the importance of Brazil in their future career and writings. Nevertheless, Frazier's fieldwork in Brazil does come up in several of his later publications, such as his review of *Social Theory and Swing and Rhythm* by Howard Odum (Frazier 1950:167)

88 In fact, when I took up my position at the Federal University of Bahia in 1992 very few or none of my colleagues in Bahia knew of the two articles by Frazier and Herskovits in the *American Sociological Review* until I left a photocopy of them with the library of my Institute.

89 Somewhat ironically, Allan Merriam's long obituary of Herskovits gave more attention to Melville's involvement with Brazil than the more recent biographies (Merriam 1964).

and the book where he teases out his international perspective, *Race and Culture Contacts* (1957). In this book, Brazil and Latin America more generally represent one of the six variants in race relations in his comparative analysis. Brazil is indicated as a positive case of race relations when compared to the US, in Frazier's participation in the University of Chicago Roundtable on Race Tensions, broadcast in cooperation with the National Broadcasting Company on July 4, 1943. Frazier debated with Robert Redfield, Carey McWilliams and Howard Odum how to counter racial segregation in the US.⁹⁰ As for Turner, on the one hand he conveyed a positive picture of race relations in Brazil as a political tool during the war effort because it could be used to force better conditions for African Americans in the US; on the other hand, Brazil would stay in his mind and research plans for the rest of his life.

In her book, *Brazil's Living Museum*, Anadelia Romo (2010) produces ample evidence that scholars like Frazier, who advocated that little of an African tradition remained in black Brazilian culture, were edited out of the discussion and given little credence in Bahia. Even scholars such as Ruth Landes, who argued that the past needed to be understood alongside an equally dynamic process of contemporary change, were controversial. The Afro-Bahian culture was a meaningful building block in Bahia's past, but it was an uncomfortable, unresolved issue for Bahia's present and future (Romo 2010:11). I add that such a use of the past was in the interest of the "haves" and has penalized subaltern and strange voices today. Furthermore, Herskovits gained a receptive audience for his ideas in Bahia because of the undeniable grandeur of his research and because he focused on themes and topics dear to the Bahian intellectual elite and their trends. It is not by accident that Herskovits was embraced as the father figure of Brazilian anthropology, and thus Isaias Alves insisted that he inaugurate the Faculty of Philosophy. However, I disagree that Frazier and Landes were two failed researchers, as Romo says (2010:114). In many ways, both have withstood the passing of time better than MJH. Landes was recently rediscovered by feminist anthropologists and scholars who were critical of the canonical anthropological authority in ethnography (Cole 1994). Frazier might have left little influence in Brazil compared to Herskovits, but as soon as he came back from Brazil he secured a prominent position in Gunnar Myrdal's project, in 1948, and was the first black person to become president of the American

90 The lively debate took place on the eve of the "zoot suiter" riots in Los Angeles, in which organized groups of sailors attacked groups of very well-dressed and stylish Chicano and black young men and accused them of not supporting the war effort and trying to dodge conscription. The debate then raised the question of why black Americans felt effectively disenfranchised.

Sociological Association. In 1949, he was invited by Arthur Ramos to join the UNESCO Committee on the Statement on Race, together with Montagu, Costa Pinto, Comas and Lévi-Strauss and from 1951 to 1953, he was director of the Division of Applied Social Sciences of UNESCO.

7 Observing While Being Observed

The trajectory of the four scholars reveals a double tension: Bahia – that is, its exotic and tropical popular culture – had quite an impact on them; in turn, their presence, resources and network had an impact on Bahia. It is also important to detail how their experience and research in Brazil influenced their careers. Turner had travelled to London and other cities in the northern hemisphere before coming to Brazil and Frazier had travelled abroad before, especially to Denmark, but the trip to Brazil must have been deeply impressive for both. I do not believe that their laudatory texts on Brazil were just the result of a politically motivated choice. Brazil was attractive as a country where they could dream and envisage a post-racial context in the US. Richard Pattee, who had translated *O Negro Brasileiro* by Arthur Ramos into English, got to know the country in the late 1920s and became interested in the subject. Indeed, Turner and Frazier were not the only two prominent African Americans to be politically and emotionally invested in Brazil. Before them, in the 1930s, Ralph Bunch wanted to conduct his doctoral research comparative between US and Brazilian race relations, but was vetoed by the Rosenwald Fund which believed that black Americans might have “dangerous” ideas in Brazil. He was sent to Africa instead (see Hellwig 1992).

Perhaps we should ask ourselves what kind of emotions Brazil and its race relations stirred up in Frazier, Turner and the Herskovitses. These emotions were felt differently by them and had to do with both exoticism (or exotic celebration of the tropics) and a sense of freedom. The Brazilian tropics were exciting for all of them, perhaps, especially for Frazier and Turner, for whom Brazil was the first tropical country they researched. The Herskovitses came to Brazil after other tropical experiences, in Suriname, Dahomey, Haiti and Trinidad. Frazier and Herskovits travelled with their wives. Turner, whose wife did not accompany him for a year, seems to have had more fun, but the sense of freedom, and perhaps of relative transgression, was a feeling that I reckon was more pronounced for Frazier and Turner, who sometimes felt relieved from the racial tensions of their daily life – they could taste, imagine or dream of what a less racist everyday life might be like.

Herskovits, as much as Turner and Frazier, came to Salvador to test the results of research he had carried out elsewhere. Predictably, he came to opposite conclusions to those of Frazier and concluded that Africanisms explained the matrifocal family arrangements of the Bahian black and poor. Matrifocal

arrangements were something enslaved people had taken from West Africa, a cultural trait, to use a popular term of those days. As is well known, this sociology (Frazier) versus anthropology (Herskovits) context would have a significant impact on the debate on the causes for the matrifocality of many black families and the relationship between poverty and culture in the black population in the United States (Sansone 2011). It was especially apparent during President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty effort. In that context, the family, and especially the "broken (black) family", was a very politically laden concept. Despite its vague and moralizing connotations, it is still a concept that inserts itself into the electoral context in the US in many ways.

In terms of theoretical approach, Turner's work fell somewhere between that of Herskovits and Frazier, even though it tended towards Herskovits' notion of Africanism. He believed that the strength of black culture and its language rested in its capacity to retain elements of its African past in the present. Compared to Frazier, Turner was less concerned with structure and more with culture. He was convinced that the dignity of blacks had to be based on their capacity to experience and be proud of their culture. To him, black cultural expressions in the New World were an essential asset for the populations of African descent; their social integration largely depended on their capacity to experience and exhibit their culture in public.

Frazier and Turner never went back to Brazil. They immersed themselves in other projects for the rest of their life. Mel, too, did not return to the field, except for a short visit in 1954. Partly this was the result of his broad interest in many other countries. Nonetheless, possibly because of its continental size, Brazil was quite different from the other tropical countries the Herskovitses had researched in, in that it had a local intellectual and academic scene, though much weaker than in the US, with which the couple maintained contacts at least until the late sixties. They all had plans to publish a book on Brazil. On September 6, 1951, MJH wrote to Verger saying: "I wish I knew when we were going to be able to get at our field material. However, from the look of it, it will be a while yet before we can get released from other more pressing duties". There have been several speculations on why these books never came out. In many ways, the reason MJH never published the book on Brazil he had promised to himself and the foundations that had supported him is that, as his former student James Fernandez said concerning the book on cultural relativism he also ended up not writing: "This would have been something for his retirement years [MJH died of a stroke and presumably had plans to live longer]. In full career until the day he died at the age of sixty-eight, he was too much a man of the world to find time to do so" (Fernandez 1990:141).

One crucial question this book asks is how the presence of these foreign scholars in so few cult-houses affected the life, authority and self-image of

the priest or priestess and the *povo de santo*. I wonder how the gathering of information and the picture rendered of Brazil by these key informants was influenced by the unequal basis of this intellectual exchange (Palmie 2002:2). In many ways, this is a question I struggle with when it comes to social scientists in Brazil nowadays. I have the impression that most Brazilian intellectuals, then and now, tend to tell American visitors – white and black – precisely what the latter want to know and “discover”. However, change was not just in one direction. The outsiders, especially the anthropologists who visited the Candomblé houses, were also affected: it was (and is) quite an emotional encounter. Both the outsider and the Candomblé priests and priestesses are aware of the spectrum of emotions involved, and this gives the Candomblé community a sense of its relative power that stretches beyond the insiders to outsiders. Moreover, according to many observers, today’s anthropologists are well trained and can tell the authentic, genuine and traditional houses from the less orthodox ones.

The reasons for the lasting success of the Herskovitses’ field trip in Brazil, even though their book on it did not materialise, are manifold. First, their fieldwork method was painstaking, detailed and focused, and they benefited from the experience, reputation, images and recordings they had built up and gathered elsewhere in the Americas and Africa. Moreover, MHN’s kind of findings and respect for local authorities made him much more acceptable. Second, the notion of African survivals or Africanisms was politically convenient and fit the priorities of the local modernist elites smoothly. The Herskovitses’ emphasis on authenticity, simplicity and elegance, as well as their predilection for things Yoruba or Dahomeyan, fit into the aesthetic project of Bahia-based cultural entrepreneurs such as Odorico Tavares and, in a different way, Jorge Amado, Valladares, Carybé and Verger (Ickes 2013:99–142). These artist-intellectual-cultural activists displayed some of the modernist sensibilities that Vivian von Schelling and William Rowe characterized as typical of that stage of Latin American modernization (Von Schelling and Rowe 1991). Such an aesthetic project did not stand on its own but was related to a sort of cultural-social contract that the elites tried to create with the “have-nots” (Jocelio dos Santos 2004). Third, their presence and interest were convenient to the Candomblé community – if Frances and Melville needed access to the cult-houses, the cult-houses used the Herskovitses as leverage for local political support. One could say that Frances and Melville, rather than Frazier and Turner, were the right people, with the right ideas, at the right time and place. My final point concerns the Herskovitses’ entanglement with social scientists and intellectuals in Brazil. One of the key motives for their conclusion on the survival of Africanisms in Bahia is that it also spoke to the priorities of the modernist component of the local intellectual and political elites and the

agenda related to the birth of anthropology as a discipline in Brazil. We will see below how the long-lasting relationship with Brazilian intellectuals and politicians not only placed the Herskovitses at the forefront of patronage in the development of the social sciences in Brazil but also helped to establish their idea of Africanisms at a political-institutional level internationally.

The comparison of the style, methodology and ethnographic sensibility of the four scholars illustrates important differences and nuances. In this second chapter, we have seen that their fieldwork in Bahia exacerbated the differences between the four scholars in terms of methodology and perspectives on racial hierarchies and fighting racism. Frances, although less in the limelight than Melville, co-authored (formally or informally) most of his publications, and her ethnographic sensibility and curiosity were conspicuous throughout the several volumes of the Brazilian fieldnotes, which she not only typed out but also edited and coded. They returned to the US convinced that they had managed to corroborate their initial hypotheses in Bahia. At the same time, having “made” Brazil and Bahia roughly in the same period and having shared so much of the same emotions, places, ethnographic situations and even informants, would create a unique and lasting bond between the four of them. Brazil and especially Bahia would remain in their minds.

Bahia: A Place to Dream with, 1942–1967

In a few days, we shall send you a copy of the research plan for the Brazilian survey which was established by Klineberg and Coelho. We would appreciate your comments and especially your criticisms. After all, you are the “great old man” in this field.¹

•••

I shall be more than glad to look over the plan for the Brazilian survey which you care to send me. I am delighted that Coelho has taken on so well. I was sure that you would enjoy knowing him and having him work with you.²

••

In the preceding chapter we saw why and how Brazil and Bahia were important in the life and careers of our four scholars. Now we shall see how they paved the way for the future generation of scholars – and, to a lesser extent, black activists – engaged with the transnational making of Afro-Brazilian studies, from the late 1940s. We shall also see that many of the ideas, theories and contacts they developed in Bahia would later affect and be part of Afro-American studies and even African studies developed in the US, since all of them moved on to African studies later in their career. Still, the impact of each on them on Afro-Brazilian studies would not be the same.

One of the main differences between the four is that Frances and Melville maintained frequent correspondence with Brazil until the late fifties. Even though Turner and Frazier remained interested in Brazil, they ceased their correspondence with Brazilian scholars after sending their (short) report and published papers to Dona Heloisa Torres of the Museu Nacional. The plentiful correspondence between Herskovits and Brazilian academics illustrates the conditions for intellectual production in Brazil in the forties and fifties, which

1 Métraux to MJH, September 21, 1950.

2 MJH to Métraux, October 2, 1950.

is one of my interests in this book. In the Melville J. Herskovits Papers, there is correspondence with almost all of the prominent names in the social sciences of his time, many of whom were one way or another connected to Brazil: Alfred Métraux, Roger Bastide, Otto Klineberg, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Pierre Verger, Edward Sapir, Michel Leiris. The long list of his correspondence in the MJH Papers at both Northwestern and the Schomburg is revealing.

Melville's correspondence with Brazil and Brazilians can be divided up into three categories: the politicians mentioned above and intellectual politicians he had corresponded with to ease his trip to Brazil, mainly in Bahia; correspondence with many renowned Brazilian intellectuals – foremost, Freyre and Ramos, Dante de Laytano, Vianna Moog and Thales de Azevedo – and with foreign scholars concerned with Brazil, such as Bastide, Métraux and Verger; the letters concerning his great commitment towards young scholars for whom he had helped to secure a grant and, in most cases, was supervising, like José and Gizella Valladares, Octavio da Costa Eduardo, Ruy Coelho and René Ribeiro. The tone and style of the first category are polite and respectful; the letters to the second group, with the possible exception of those to Freyre, are usually top-down as they reveal a difference in academic standing and the fact that the Brazilians still lacked formal training in anthropology.

In many ways, Herskovits became the patron of Brazilian anthropology because he created conditions for the first Brazilian doctoral students in anthropology to study in the US (Sansone 2019). For example, from the Rockefeller Foundation he obtained a grant for Da Costa Eduardo (whose sponsors were Cyro Berlinck and Donald Pierson), Ruy Coelho³ and José Valladares (whose sponsor was Aristidis Novis, Secretary of Education of the State of Bahia), who was also supported by a combination of Northwestern funds, ACLS, the Ford Foundation-sponsored Institute of International Education (IIE) and the Carnegie Corporation (CCNY). Melville put them in touch with each other all the time. It was, in fact, a network – in many ways, a family network in which sentiments and affections played a crucial role. The correspondence with his PhD students was less that between equals and is typical of the style and tone of the (eternal) supervisor: friendly, paternal and inquiring.

3 Coelho qualified for his PhD in June 1949 and, in July, he accepted a position at the University of Puerto Rico, Rio de Piedras. From there, in June 1950, he would go on to UNESCO, where Métraux hired him to work on the 1951–1952 UNESCO Project in Brazil. In 1952, he returned to Brazil. Coelho would finally and exceptionally defend his doctorate on the Black Caribs of Honduras in August 1954 at the USP in São Paulo – profiting from MJH's and Wagley's presence at the Congresso de Americanistas in the same city (Coelho 2002).

The correspondence with these Brazilian graduate students shows that MJH was an excellent supervisor, maintained an extensive exchange of letters with all of them – especially when they were in the field or in the final part of the writing of their dissertation or thesis – and, more or less subtly, insisted that each of them developed his thesis on African survivals in the New World. If you were MJH’s student – especially if you had received a grant because of his support – you had to firmly believe in such a thesis.⁴

Moreover, as Ramassote indicates (2017) in his study of the correspondence between MJH and Eduardo, his supervision also meant that his students had to work through the “arsenal of concepts moulded by him such as acculturation, cultural focus, cultural resilience and reinterpretation” (2017:237). At the Rockefeller Archive Center, there are essential documents relating to Octavio da Costa Eduardo, the first Brazilian to obtain a PhD in anthropology. There are also numerous references to other Brazilian or Brazil-based intellectuals (among them, Gizella and José Valladares in Salvador, Ruy Coelho, René Ribeiro in Recife, Curt Nimuendaju and the powerful Dona Heloisa Torres, director of the Museu Nacional in Rio) who applied for grants with assistance from Herskovits or whose applications were evaluated by him. These findings, resulting from research at the RAC, the CCNY archive at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of the University of Columbia, and the Schomburg Center, complement my research in other archives, in the US, France (especially the UNESCO Archives) and Brazil. Other colleagues have carefully analysed the correspondence with Arthur Ramos and Octavio da Costa Eduardo – respectively, Antonio Sergio Guimarães (2002) and Sergio Ferretti and Rodrigo Ramassote (2017). In the following, I touch briefly on letters to and from Arthur Ramos and Eduardo before focusing on the others.

1 “The Professional Bahiano”: Herskovits Internationalising Brazilian Scholars⁵

Mel and Ramos started corresponding in December 1935. Mel reacted enthusiastically to the publications he had received from Ramos: he could recognize in the pictures of the Candomblé altar several objects almost identical

4 “*E’ visível, na versão final do estudo e nas cartas, a obstinação em encontrar evidências empíricas que corroborassem a origem africana dos domínios investigados – os africanismos retidos e reinterpretados no Novo Mundo*” (Ramassote 2017:240).

5 In MJH to Carlton Smith, October 12, 1945, Box 32, Folder 2, NU, Herskovits presents himself as a “professional bahiano”.

to those he had seen in Haiti. There followed a nearly frantic exchange of books. Mel quoted Ramos and Carneiro extensively in his paper to the second Afro-Brazilian Congress. In 1936, MJH teased out to Ramos what would be the core of his future fieldwork in Brazil:

... have wondered if it might not be worthwhile to pay some attention to other than the religious aspects of Brazilian Negro culture. I realize that isolating African elements in such phases of New World Negro behaviour is more difficult than it is in religious life. However, I found both in Haiti and Guiana, as students of mine have recently found in the Virgin Islands, Martinique and Jamaica, that there are many phases of the economic and social life which are as African as their religious beliefs.⁶

Later in 1936, Ramos introduced Édison Carneiro's work to MJH as the work of his disciple. Books were exchanged regularly. Among them were *Suriname Folklore*, *Life in a Haitian Valley*, *Dahomey*, *Acculturation*, *Economic Life of Primitive People* and the paper "The Significance of West Africa for Negro Research" for *O Negro Brasileiro*, *Estudos Afro-Brasileiros I and II* and the paper "*As Culturas Negras no Novo Mundo*". Both scholars pledged to promote one another in the US and Brazil. Ramos lent MJH several images from his *O Negro Brasileiro* for a new publication in French.⁷ MJH also asked Ramos to provide questions relevant to Brazilians for his student William Bascom, who was going to Oyo and Ife for research.⁸ On August 17, 1937, Ramos sent Mel a list of ten questions about the Yoruba for Bascom, who he called "your disciple". The questions are revealing of Ramos' curiosity and preference for Yoruba over elements of what was then called Bantu cultural survivals:

1. What is the percentage of people who speak Yoruba in Nigeria?
2. Has Yoruba remained pure or deformed by cultural contact (with other neighbouring languages)?
3. What is the extent of the written literature (e.g., in Lagos)? Are there any reading books in the Nagô language?
4. To what extent have religious cultures remained pure up to the present day?
5. Have the Yoruba myths been preserved in oral tradition to the present day?

6 MJH to Ramos, March 26, 1936. Box 19 Folder 14, NU.

7 Ramos to MJH, May 11, 1937, Box 19 Folder 14, NU.

8 MJH to Ramos, May 8, 1937.

6. Is it possible to assess whether there has been secondary contamination in religion and folklore due to commercial activities?
7. Do the famous tales of the tortoise cycle (*awon*) have a totemic origin?
8. Is Brazil still in the memories of the black people in Nigeria?
9. If so, does it survive in oral tradition?
10. I would like to have information about collections of tales, proverbs, and epigrams that survive today between the blacks of Nigeria.⁹

Soon Ramos would start asking for support from MJH: "I would like to spend one year close to your work, but alas, our cultural institution provides no funds for long travels".¹⁰ MJH would try to have this arranged for Ramos and would eventually succeed. In turn, on April 11, 1939, MJH wrote to Ramos about a student of his, Joseph Greenberg, then in Northern Nigeria, who had plans to research the Male sect or what was left of it in Bahia. In January 1940, MJH inquired of Ramos about Landes' behaviour in the field.¹¹

By the end of March 1940, Ramos and Mel shared the same wrong impressions regarding Landes' work in Bahia and her report for the Carnegie-Myrdal project. Ramos was asked by Carnegie to review Landes' report, entitled "The Ethos of the Negro of the New World". After pointing to long rows of (significant) mistakes and inaccurate interpretations, Ramos' review was caustic:

The work of Dr. Ruth Landes is affected by errors resulting from observing wrongly, sweeping statements, false conclusions concerning the magic and religious life of the Negro in Brazil. It is a pity that certain conclusions, such as over matriarchy and the control of religion by women in Bahia, and ritual homosexuality among Brazilian blacks are already circulating in the academic world and are even announced as part and parcel of future publications in technical journals. When published as the result of long-lasting observation and "fieldwork", these statements can cause trouble and confusion for the honest and carefully controlled studies of the Negro personality in the New World.¹²

MJH helped Ramos to get a Rockefeller Grant to spend time in the US: "I think I have the man for you to try initiating the programme for Brazilian fellowship. It is Arthur Ramos".¹³ On August 24, 1940, Ramos and his wife travelled

9 Ramos to MJH, August 17, 1937.

10 Ramos to MJH, May 30, 1938.

11 MJH to Ramos, January 16, 1940.

12 Ramos to MJH, March 14, 1940.

13 MJH to Moe, June 20, 1938. In the course of his career, MJH also recommended Turner (1936), Frazier (1940), Romulo Latchanere (1941), Vianna Moog (1942) and others for different grants.

to New Orleans for a one-year stay in the US. Until January 31, they would be based at Louisiana State University. For this, he received USD 4,000, high pay by any standard, according to MJH.¹⁴ The rest of the stay was covered by a relatively small Guggenheim Grant. It was a good deal, according to Herskovits, but in two letters Ramos asked for more support from Melville to be able to spend three months at Northwestern. Seemingly annoyed with this attitude by Ramos, who had also tried to get additional funds to travel to the North of the US from Louisiana, MJH wrote to Moe of the Guggenheim Foundation: “It would seem that either Ramos has the Uncle-Sam-the-millionaire stereotype pretty firmly in his mind, or he has been made a bit panicky by the cost of living in this country – even Louisiana – as compared to what he knows in Rio”.¹⁵ Furthermore, despite being altogether quite helpful, MJH, at some point, in a letter to the magazine *Time*, complained of being overwhelmed with requests for speakers and stated: “I am not a lecture bureau handling speakers on Latin America”.¹⁶

In 1941, before going to Brazil, Mel helped to organize a Ramos lecture tour through the US; Ramos would travel with his wife after spending a semester at Louisiana State. Ralph Linton had asked Ramos to give a lecture at Columbia. There Mel introduced him, among others, to Klineberg, Boas, Du Bois, Mead, Benedict, Elsie Clews Parsons, Ralph Linton, Carter Woodson and Kardiner. Not bad! Richard Pattee of the Department of State, who Ramos already knew and had just translated his *O Negro no Brasil* into English, would also help.¹⁷ Ramos would lecture at Howard University, too, where he met the historian Carter Woodson. Ramos acknowledged the lavish attention and wrote from Brazil, saying that he and his wife would welcome the Herskovitses on their arrival in Rio on September 10.¹⁸ Mel would keep corresponding with Ramos until his sudden death in 1949.

Antonio Sergio Guimarães’ scrutiny of this correspondence (2008a) adds a few interesting details – for instance, on the change of focus to cultures in Africa rather than African cultures in the Americas in the latter part of Mel’s career. Was this related to a certain lack of interest in pursuing his studies about black culture in Bahia, provoked by some inexplicable idiosyncrasy? Jerry Gershenson suggested, based on the information provided by Herskovits’ daughter,

14 MJH to Moe, October 22, 1940.

15 MJH to Moe, October 25, 1940.

16 MJH to Pratt, March 21, 1941.

17 In fact, Ramos wrote to MJH that this book in translation was just a quick summary of the history of the Negro in Brazil and his contribution to material civilization in Brazil. The publisher wanted a booklet written in simple style for a broad US audience (Ramos to MJH, June 1, 1939).

18 Ramos to MJH, July 10, 1941.

Jean, that some sort of superstition or fear of black magic played a key role.¹⁹ My interviews with Jean indicate something close to that (see Appendix 3).

Ramos' sojourn in the US had a lasting effect on his professional identity. After he attended Herskovits' seminar and familiarized himself with the North American anthropological scene, he felt he was an actual anthropologist. In turn, Herskovits' meeting with Ramos opened doors to the Brazilian intellectual scene and Bahia's "African" world (Guimarães 2008a:58). Guimarães maintains that, despite the equality established through each other's expertise, this was an exchange between a medical doctor, who wrote (mostly in Portuguese) from his address using a typewriter, and an established professor, who replied (always in English)²⁰ from his university office, also using a typewriter but keeping carbon copies in his files. Looking at this exchange, the correspondence between these two scientists reveals Herskovits' interest in obtaining data, information and knowledge about black people in Brazil, mainly through the books Ramos sent him. In contrast, if Ramos was at first motivated by a similar interest in North American black people, he quickly became interested in deepening his knowledge of the study of cultural anthropology by seeking a temporary position with Herskovits' Northwestern University (Guimarães 2008a:60).

19 "Herskovits's daughter, Jean, believes that her father wrote less about Brazil than his other field trips because of the scary association of Brazil with his heart attack. Due to Herskovits's work for the Bureau of Economic Warfare during World War II, his all-consuming focus on the Program of African Studies after the war, and his reluctance to interrupt his daughter's schooling, he never undertook another ethnographic field trip after Brazil" (Gershenhorn 2004:259–260). Bastide (1974:111–2) had another explanation: "When asked why he [Herskovits] didn't publish a book on Brazil, Herskovits answered that he would first have to do some research in Portugal so that he would not mistake the origins of cultural traits he had patiently inventoried among blacks."

20 In our context, the language and style in the correspondence are revealing and are part of a power struggle. So, Gilberto Freyre always wrote back in English, mostly in handwritten letters – a mixture of local and global style, I would suggest. Verger did the same – his letters were always handwritten, which was part of his "natural" style. Thales, who could obviously read English and French, always wrote in Portuguese, mostly typing his letters on his personal paper which referred to him as "medical doctor". Anísio Teixeira wrote back mostly in English. He had been trained in education at Columbia, after all. Ruy Coelho and Eduardo always wrote to MJH in English, usually in typed form. René Ribeiro mostly typed his letters, but they were all in Portuguese. Verger and Bastide sometimes wrote in French, also to non-French native speakers. Métraux wrote mostly in English – he had become a US citizen but grew up as Swiss French. All the non-Brazilians used a sprinkling of Portuguese in their English or French, especially when it came to rendering "local colour" or showing familiarity with the world and deities of Candomblé. This use of languages creates an interesting hierarchical map of communication in correspondence.

Melville's relationship with José Valladares was of a different stock. The correspondence between the Herskovitses and José and Gizella Valladares is described earlier, in Chapter 1. Let me add here a few crucial details. Valladares dedicated to MJH his book, *Museus Para o Povo*, which was an edited version of his report for the RF for his thirteen-month grant. But Herskovits, even though supportive, did not seem much interested in museums: in his letters to Valladares, he was interested in Candomblé and the Brazilian social sciences community. In his writing to the RF in 1943–44, Mel showed great support for Valladares, even more than he did for Eduardo and Beltran. Valladares and Zezé were the principal connections to the world of Candomblé in Salvador (see Romo 2010:103). In their correspondence in 1943–54, as we have seen, Valladares repeatedly referred to Herskovits as “the *babalorixá* Mel”, a joking compliment. Valladares hung around Candomblé houses and was proud to introduce outsiders to cult-houses.²¹ Together with several other (non-black) intellectuals in Salvador, he was convinced of the cult-houses' magical power and community function; they were not just a curiosity or an aspect of folklore. Still, he was not a believer.

René Ribeiro qualified as a doctor in 1936 and specialized in psychiatry. He was one of the first intellectuals in Recife to associate themselves with Gilberto Freyre (Motta 2007:39). His academic life was constructed with the help, and the limitations, of Freyre and Herskovits, in terms of funding for research and securing a teaching position. In the 1930s, Ribeiro became closely associated with the Recife School of Ulisses Pernambucano. In his first letter to MJH on March 15, 1944,²² he anticipated his future study on the *amaziado*. On April 15, MJH replied, stating his great interest in the research notes and asking permission to publish them in the *American Journal of Sociology* (Ribeiro 1945). Ribeiro, who wrote to him as *amigo* and signed his letters “your disciple and admirer”, supplemented information for Herskovits' thesis on the organization of the black family: “I tested and the difference that Frazier sees between *amaziado* and *viver maritalmente* is entirely false”.²³ On August 21, Herskovits wrote back with some satisfaction: “It would be interesting to see what Frazier has to say about your findings” (Motta 2007; Hutzler 2014).

In 1949 Ribeiro obtained a Master's in Social Sciences at Northwestern, with a dissertation on the Afro-Brazilian Cults in Recife, initially published in English and published in Portuguese in 1952. It was the first anthropological study of

21 According to Jeferson Bacelar (personal communication, 29.09.2020), it was Valladares who introduced Vivaldo da Costa Lima to the world of Candomblé.

22 Box 30, Folder 14.

23 Ribeiro to MJH, no exact date, 1944, Box 30, Folder 14.

Xangô in Recife and, according to Roberto Motta (1978), is still the most thorough study of the subject. In his dissertation, Ribeiro focused on Xangô as a moment of acculturation, very much in line with Herskovits' approach, and as a vital part of the pursuit of the psychological state of tranquillity in the mostly non-white lower classes of Recife (Motta 1978:XIII). Less focused on identifying supposedly pure African traits than his fellow psychiatrist Arthur Ramos would do in the same years in Bahia, Ribeiro's study would heavily influence George Simpson's study of Xangô in Trinidad (1965). Ribeiro would not pursue a PhD after that, the most likely reason being his heavy involvement in the creation and development of the Nabuco Foundation and Training Institute in Recife, where he tried hard, also with the support of Herskovits, to set up a project for the Institute to receive American PhD students in residence.²⁴ On December 12, 1954, the Joaquim Nabuco Foundation sent to MJH a project proposal for student and faculty exchange to the Institute of African Studies at Northwestern, offering visitors accommodation, a grant and local transportation for up to twelve months. MJH promptly responded that it would be challenging to get funding from their side for such exchange projects. As is detailed later, US institutions were more interested in Brazil as a "field station" than in establishing fertile exchange with Brazilian faculty and students that could empower Brazilian academia.²⁵

In November 1952, in concluding his collaboration with the Columbia/State of Bahia/UNESCO project, Ribeiro wrote a report on religion and race relations in Recife (1978 [1952]). Its primary conclusion, very much in line with Freyre's views, was that racial prejudice existed in Brazil, but its harshness was softened by the intrinsic tolerance of Luso-Brazilian culture and the variant of Christianity that was dominant in Brazil.²⁶ In this publication, Ribeiro's concept of racial etiquette appeared for the first time: a set of codes, the purpose of which was to weaken racial prejudice and sometimes turn it into euphemism (Motta 2014:172).²⁷

Ribeiro wrote to Mel giving detailed descriptions of the Brazilian academic context, Brazilian Anthropological Association meetings and *concurrosos*, as well as suggesting exchanges of books and projects to translate into Portuguese, such as Herskovits' book, *Cultural Anthropology* (this was a suggestion first

24 RR to MJH, May 30, 1951, Box 54, Folder 8.

25 My impression is that the project did not go ahead because US universities were not interested in establishing a collaboration in which the Joaquim Nabuco Insitute paid for living expenses locally and the US institutions covered the travel costs.

26 RR to MJH, November 1952, Box 6, Folder 11.

27 It is close to my concept of racial habitus (Sansone 2003).

made by Darcy Ribeiro). This flow of information certainly added to Melville's reputation among Brazilian academics.²⁸ On November 19, 1953, René Ribeiro reported positively on the first congress of the ABA. He also sent him information on São Paulo, the Museu Nacional and Thales de Azevedo. Ribeiro said that Thales had benefited a lot from his trip to the US but was quite sceptical of the methods of the (US) sociologists and anthropologists at work in Bahia.

In 1954, MJH was invited to the “Americanistas” conference in São Paulo and his expenses were paid for. He was then invited to give one or two lectures at the FUNDAJ (again, all costs were covered). On that occasion, he also gave a speech at the FFCH in Salvador, as a university guest. This was quite exceptional treatment, awarded only to critical scholars in those days.

In October 1954, René Ribeiro sent his paper “*Problemática pessoal e interpretação divinatória dos cultos afro-brasileiro do Recife*” (published in 1956) to MJH. Ribeiro was interested in psychological tests of spirit possession, especially the famous Rorschach test, to classify the stages of possession from more to less dissociation, liberation and functioning. It was a recurrent theme throughout the years. MJH passed the data collected by Ribeiro to psychiatrists from the Chicago area who were happy to interpret them. As Roberto Motta shows (2007), Ribeiro was very closely connected to Freyre and was one of the leading cadres of the FUNDAJ, as was Freyre.²⁹ Ribeiro was the only collaborator of the UNESCO research project in 1950–53 who did not adhere to the new, more conflictual paradigm sacramental in that project (Maio 2017). It must have been hard for Ribeiro to read the harsh reaction of Freyre to Herskovits' review of his *Um Brasileiro em Terras Portuguesas* (Freyre 1953a) and *Aventura e Rotina* (Freyre 1953) in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Herskovits had written the review just after coming back from Portuguese East Africa, where he had had quite a bad impression of the Portuguese presence in what is today Mozambique. In “*Um escritor se defende de um crítico talvez injusto*”, Freyre

28 From the late 1940s the libraries of the FUNDAJ (Recife), FFCH and CEAQ (Salvador), ELS and FFLCH/USP (São Paulo) and Museu Nacional (Rio) started to receive copies of the Herskovitses' books. The UFBA library benefited too. See Appendix 5 for a list of the titles in these libraries.

29 Freyre's letters to MJH, always in impeccable English, ceased in 1940, but he kept in touch through his assistants, mostly through René Ribeiro. It is interesting to notice how the use of a certain language adds status or, to the contrary, informality to the correspondence. Ribeiro, as well as Valladares, wrote in Portuguese, whereas Coelho and Eduardo wrote mostly in English. The first two were more established in Brazilian academia, for them the doctorate in the US was the crowning of the career, whereas Coelho and Eduardo started their doctorate at a younger age.

(1955) labelled Herskovits a romantic liberal.³⁰ The next week, MJH wrote to Ribeiro, saying that he was sorry that Freyre got so angry. My impression is that Herskovits was not fond of arguments with colleagues in public. Ribeiro and MJH continued to be friends until the end. In his last letter to René on record, Mel wrote: "I envy you being in Recife at carnival time and wish I were there too. One of these days I am determined to get back".³¹

Another Brazilian who obtained his PhD in anthropology under Herskovits' supervision was Ruy Coelho, who did fieldwork in Honduras among the Black Caribs and was possibly the first Brazilian to spend one solid year doing fieldwork for his PhD, as was normal in the US. Coelho published his thesis as a book and, later, his field diary (Coelho 2000). While studying for his PhD, he took on a teaching assistantship at the University of Puerto Rico, where he spent one year, and then secured a one-year contract with the social sciences department of UNESCO. He enjoyed this position very much. As he wrote to Herskovits, "I find it difficult to uproot myself from this exciting and dangerous city that is Paris. In São Paulo one must work since there is not much else to do".³² Mel went out of his way to make it possible for Ruy to defend his thesis in São Paulo, benefiting from his presence at the International Americanists Congress in 1954. Mel invited Wagley, William Bascom and Fernando de Azevedo, head of the sociology department at USP, to participate in the examining committee. As Mel said in a letter to Bascom, it would be a reunion of good colleagues and, in some cases, friends.³³

Although Pierre Verger was never a student of Herskovits, when he settled in Salvador in the 1940s he established a working relationship with him similar to that of the young Brazilian scholars mentioned above. If Verger thus was not a disciple of Herskovits, he shared the same interest in African survivals in the New World and a particular predilection for Yoruba culture in the search for such survivals. Moreover, both scholars were convinced of the power of photography. Presenting African or Afro-Brazilian pictures and playing recordings of African or Afro-Brazilian music to informants and asking them to recognize images and tunes similar to their own was a powerful tool, used by the Herskovitses first and later by Verger. Both were important in consolidating the Bahia–Ketu/Yoruba connection. On December 25, 1948, Verger wrote from Dahomey to MJH, saying that "legends and proverbs I caught in Brazil are well

30 RR to MJH June 15, 1955.

31 MJH to RR, March 25, 1960.

32 Ruy Coelho to MJH, July 22, 1952, Box 55, Folder 25.

33 MJH to Bascom, August 2, 1954, Box 62, Folder 29.

known here. Rituals rather similar in certain cases.” “Similar” to Verger was “identical”.

On February 8, 1949, Verger added:

Some of the songs I brought to them from Brazil, especially from Recife, were well-known to them ... I got in return a good stock of songs for the *Babalorixás* and *Yalorixás* of Brazil (...) In Ketou they were glad to see pictures of their “cousins” of Bahia and by the way, in Porto Novo, I found the descendant of the Gantois family back from Bahia last century.

The excitement of having found in Benin the real Aguda (descendants of returnees from Brazil) was mixed with the sense of a mission not unlike that of the Herskovitses. Verger started to see himself as the messenger of both shores of the Black Atlantic – through his pictures. There is more evidence of such feeling in the correspondence:

The approach with an exhibition of pictures of Brazil and West Indies African ceremonies gave excellent results and helped a lot to create a climate of confidence with the people visited. I believe the first time in this country that somebody came to give them information on their people sent abroad in the past and the little knowledge I acquired in the *terreiros* of Bahia was proof of my goodwill. ... I got presents for the *babalorixás* of Bahia.³⁴

Additionally:

I am back now at Bahia, giving fresh news from Africa here around to our friends from Candomblé. I am rather well received and admitted among them due to the prestige of the pilgrimage in their fatherland. I hope that it will help get more accurate information and permit me to go deeper inside the questions in Africa where I intend to return within a year or two.³⁵

The possibility that both his whiteness and his status as a foreigner in Brazil and as a French citizen in colonial Africa added something special to his ethnographic authority and photographic gaze was not an issue Verger questioned

34 Verger to MJH, January 29, 1950.

35 Verger to MJH, July 22, 1950.

in his writing. During his long and creative life, Verger managed to stay away from these often-acrimonious debates (Souty 2007).

In Brazil, Herskovits' influences were most evident in Afro-Brazilian studies but they were not limited to this field. Some of his more academic books were read quite early, such as *Acculturation: The study of culture contact* (1938), and chapters such as "The processes of cultural change", in Ralph Linton's edited collection, *The science of man in the world crisis* (1945). Other works were translated early into Portuguese and were quite influential in the sixties and seventies. They were among the most consulted books in the UFBA library, which was relatively poor and received foreign books mostly when foreign donations were available, mainly from the RF and Fulbright.

The influence of MJH on the Brazilian social sciences and even on important intellectuals in the government, such as Darcy Ribeiro and Celso Furtado, in the 1960s and 1970s, was due to the popularity of two of his notions among Brazilian anthropologists such as Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira and Galvão: "acculturation" and "cultural focus".³⁶ Of course, these two notions were pliable and open to local interpretation, if not "creolization". Julio Campos Simões has analyzed this reinterpretation and here are some excerpts. "Acculturation", for Darcy Ribeiro's dependency theory:

The exchange produced by contacts and interactions between peoples has been designated in anthropology by the concept of acculturation (Herskovits 1938) (...) Herskovits (1938) says that when contact occurs spontaneously, people can exchange culture privileged by the freedom to choose what to adopt from the patrimony of others and the ability to produce by themselves the new elements adopted. When this contact occurs under different conditions of power or degree of technical development, the two conditions mentioned above are not satisfied, neither the freedom to choose what to adopt nor autonomy in the creative process. Darcy Ribeiro (1972) thus defines the configuration of a dependency process.

SIMÕES 2019:13–14

"Cultural focus", for Celso Furtado's critique of development theory:

The acceleration of the development of material culture brings Furtado closer to the work of Herskovits (1945), an anthropologist who defends the

36 I owe such insights to Julio Campos Simões (2019), who dedicated his undergraduate dissertation to the dialogue between Furtado and Ribeiro and the joint use of anthropology made by the two.

idea that societies are moved by a dominant field of culture, a “cultural focus” that tends to be the dynamic core of changes, having repercussions on the whole. In Furtado’s words: “Studies of social change (...) have almost always led to the same conclusion that cultural dynamics derive from the particular behaviour of certain sectors. When we examine different cultures, says Prof. M. J. Herskovits, we realize that they differ not only with respect to their external form but also concerning the dominant concerns of their bearers.” This dominant field, Herskovits calls “cultural focus”, to state that “there is little doubt that the cultural focus in our modern society resides in the field of technology” (Furtado 1964:19). During his academic travels, Furtado personally met the anthropologist Melville Herskovits, during a visit to Northwestern University, who brought him closer to the study of cultural diffusion and would influence this phase of his work. He recorded: “Like other anthropologists of his generation, he was inclined to superimpose a ‘logic of culture’ on history, which led him to see innovation (and discovery) more as a response than a mutation. He was far from sliding into cultural determinism, but he emphasized the pre-existence of a ‘cultural base’, without which innovation would not be absorbed, nor would cultural change present itself in an orderly fashion” (Furtado 1985: 92).

SIMÕES 2019: 26

2 The State of Bahia-Columbia University-UNESCO Project: The Beginning of a New Stage

Bahia has always and will continue to attract scholars in the social sciences for it is a natural laboratory for the study of human society ... Today with its multiracial society which co-exists, in relative harmony, it has a lesson to teach the world (...) Bahia should be the home of one of the most vigorous schools and research institutes for the study of man in the New World.

WAGLEY AND WAGLEY 1970:37–38

The social network and web of emotions, affection, enmities, *saudade* and, for many, ritual devotion to Candomblé described above paved the way for a set of successive stages in the representation, and in many ways construction, of Bahia as one of the ideal places to carry out ethnographic research in the New World, especially in the field of African survivals, racial hierarchies and African-Catholic religiosity. This also led to Salvador being revered as a

somewhat magical place for anthropologists. Each of these successive stages was associated with a particular student exchange project which involved mostly anthropology and sociology departments in top-ranking US universities. I have singled out three such projects: the so-called UNESCO Brazil project (in reality the result of cooperation between the State of Bahia and Columbia University, which was soon joined and supported by the Social Sciences Division of UNESCO), which lasted from 1950 to 1953; the Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Cornell Fieldwork project (1956–59); and the Undergraduate Interchange Project (1965–67).

All these projects were influential in cementing the status of Bahia as an ideal fieldwork location and in establishing new opportunities for the production of knowledge among the small but growing number of Bahia-based social scientists. Some scholars have analyzed the first project (Maio 1997, 1999, 2000 and 2009; Pereira and Sansone 2007) even though part of its documentation still deserves scrutiny. The other two projects would require a proper in-depth analysis, which I plan to do shortly, based on archival research in 2019 at the Rockefeller Archive Center and the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Columbia. In the following text, I render a general picture of these projects, measuring the effects of the relationship developed by the Herskovitses with Brazil and Brazilian scholars to develop the social sciences in Brazil, and foremost in Bahia.

The Director-General is authorized to organize in Brazil a pilot investigation of contacts between races or ethnic groups to determine the economic, political, cultural and psychological factors whether favourable or unfavorable to harmonious relations between races or ethnic groups.

RESOLUTION OF THE 1951 GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UN

Between 1947 and 1950, UNESCO developed several initiatives on race/racism, intolerance and cultural diversity, such as the Committee on Slavery of the Economic and Social Council, the plan to publish a series of books on humanity's scientific and cultural history, and the Committee for the Statement on Race. Some of the best social scientists participated in these committees, some of whom circulated through Brazil: Métraux, Frazier, Herskovits and Bastide. This engagement shows the prestige enjoyed by UNESCO and the political momentum, which heightened the civic motivation of social scientists. Brazilians were quite present in these events – Paulo Carneiro, Arthur Ramos, Ruy Coelho, Luis Costa Pinto – which is why Brazil played a primary role in the first years of UNESCO, directly or indirectly.

Anisio Teixeira, Secretary of Education and Health of the State of Bahia (who had obtained a Master's in education at Columbia in the 1920s)³⁷ asked Gizella Valladares (who in 1945 had received a MA in anthropology at Columbia, on Bahia folktales) to contact the University of Columbia to identify professors who were interested in joining the project he had in mind. Gizella suggested that Charles Wagley, who had been her professor, participate actively in the project. Wagley promptly accepted (Wagley and Wagley 1970). Gizella, who played a central place in preparing the project (Romo 2010:137), was a promising young scholar, as René Ribeiro had found out in 1945. She was still learning Portuguese but had great plans in terms of research and teaching and was already interested in expanding her research on folklore and collaborating with Ribeiro.³⁸ MJH also spoke highly of her.³⁹

The primary aim of the State of Bahia-Columbia University research programme in its initial stage was to identify cultural change, and factors and opportunities for modernization and industrialization, in the State of Bahia. The objectives were as follows:

1. To acquire a knowledge of rural society and culture in three ecological-cultural zones of Bahia;
2. To determine the effect of three different ecological settings on the similar Luso-Brazilian culture patterns which have developed within this one area of rural Brazil during the last 400 years;
3. To determine the changes in society and culture that have occurred in each zone within the last few years under the impact of new forms of economy, new technology, new ideology, and more modern transportation facilities;
4. To determine the dynamics of such changes in each zone and the differences and similarities in the process from one zone to another;
5. To determine what aspects of the present society and culture and the tendencies of change must be considered to plan and to efficiently administer educational and health programmes in the region.

WAGLEY, DE AZEVEDO AND COSTA PINTO 1950: 37

The question of race relations was almost absent from the original research plan, with the partial exception of Harris' project, in which the racial question was one of the central issues right from the start. That question would be added to each subproject after UNESCO joined the programme. Before the

37 Anisio would spend a year again at Columbia after the 1964 coup, with a grant from the Ford Foundation.

38 RR to MJH, July 1, 1945.

39 MJH to RR, January 8, 1946.

programme began, Métraux, a friend of Wagley's, had read the project draft and travelled to Bahia. The couple of weeks he spent in Bahia, being assisted by Verger, convinced him that it was the right place for research on race relations (see Métraux 1978). He decided that it would be a good opportunity for the social sciences division of UNESCO to join and support the State of Bahia-Columbia University project. Large-scale research to support the anti-racism action of UNESCO itself was, after all, part of the mission of the General Assembly declaration of 1950 (see above). It would be the beginning of a new stage in international exchange between the US and Bahia, a more advanced and complex one but still unequal.

Hence, several forces were at work in conceiving the State of Bahia-Columbia University-UNESCO project in Brazil: Anísio Teixeira's modernizing project for the State of Bahia – in association with the creation of UFBA;⁴⁰ the Columbia department of anthropology project for fieldwork in Latin America; and, a little later, Métraux's agenda for research on race relations in Brazil. In Métraux's plans, the project was meant to empirically support the famous UNESCO Statement on Race which came out in 1950⁴¹ as a reaction to the Holocaust and the declaration of apartheid in 1948.⁴² Even though, as said before, the initial research plan was not focused on race relations but on community studies with an emphasis on factors for continuity or change (Wagley et al 1950), one of the driving ideas behind the research project ended up producing evidence that race relations could be harmonious (at least in Brazil). Central to this project were Alfred Métraux's activities at UNESCO, which aimed at developing a global antiracist agenda. Eventually, the UNESCO effort

40 In the years 2005–2010, I was involved with a research project that dealt with the UNESCO projects in Bahia and Brazil more generally. It was a critical reappraisal of that intellectual endeavour. For this project, I carried out research in numerous archives and went back to the field in one particular location, in the region of the same sugar mill where William Hutchinson did research in 1950–53 for his PhD under the supervision of Charles Wagley (Hutchinson 1957). The title of that research project was “Bahian Counterpoint of Sugar and Oil” (Sansone 2007).

41 The UNESCO Statement on Race is available at www.unesco.org and was originally published in the journal *Man*, 50 (1950), 138–39.

42 For a good general overview of the UNESCO message for the public on race and racism, see the special issue of the *UNESCO Courier* (VI, 8–9, 1953) entitled “The Intellectual Fraud of Racial Doctrines”. It contains, among others, an article by Métraux, meaningfully entitled “A man with racial prejudice is as pathetic as his victim” (p. 3) and one by E. Franklin Frazier, who was at the UNESCO in 1952–53, on the “Sociological aspects of race relations” (p. 10). Its main point was that the attitudes of members of another group are not individual, as the then very popular psychological and interpersonal explanation of racism tended to suggest, but social attitudes.

proved to be a significant boost to Afro-Brazilian studies and, more generally, to the development and institutionalization of the social sciences in Brazil⁴³ in the 1950s (Maio 1999), which had started to consolidate only in the 1940s. For Columbia, it was a golden opportunity to develop fieldwork-sustained anthropology in the largest country in Latin America – a move in the direction of internationalization stimulated by the CCNY, the SSRC and, less directly, the US State Department. This move would later be broadened, incorporating senior undergraduate and graduate students in diverse projects. For Anísio Teixeira, it was part of a modernizing educational agenda and adjustment to social change and innovation.

To understand the complex and tripartite political agenda behind the State of Bahia-Columbia University project, the lengthy report sent by Métraux to Alva Myrdal on January 22, 1951 is helpful. The 1950 UNESCO Conference on Race, which generated the Committee that edited the Statement on Race, had suggested research on race relations in Brazil. Métraux worked hard to join the effort with Charles Wagley's and Anísio Teixeira's projects. He established the need for research on social mobility among people of colour in the city of Bahia (Salvador), while the rest of the research would result from fieldwork in the interior of Bahia. Rio de Janeiro would be included, for which Costa Pinto was indicated as the responsible researcher, and São Paulo, where Bastide and Florestan were indicated. Adding São Paulo to the whole project was necessary but increased tensions, as Métraux wrote:

I know that including São Paulo, with its racial tensions, in a research plan can take us to conclusions that are different from those mentioned [would say, wished!] in the 1950 UNESCO Resolution on Race, but it would be betraying the scientific character of the research leaving out SP.

Recife was added as yet one more location, mostly to appease Freyre, and René Ribeiro would take care of the fieldwork there focusing on race relations and Afro-Brazilian religion, and produce a report (Ribeiro 1956).

From the correspondence, especially that in the UNESCO archives in Paris, it is evident that UNESCO in the years 1948 to 1953 had embarked on an absolute frenzy in terms of initiatives, statements and plans for advancing ethnic-racial and cultural tolerance. It was certainly a period of great hope and

43 See, in the first place, the work of Marcos Chor Maio, Antonio Sergio Guimarães, and, for a collection of articles that also includes Maio and Guimarães, Pereira and Sansone (2007).

excitement for the wave of decolonization that was on the horizon. Such frenetic activity was also the cause and result of a massive transnational network of connections, camaraderie and even friendship between scholars. Most of them were connected with Brazil, Bahia, and often with the Bahia Candomblé. They included Paulo Carneiro, Arthur Ramos, Ruy Coelho, René Ribeiro, Otto Klineberg, Roger Bastide, Pierre Verger, Melville Herskovits, Franklin Frazier, Charles Wagley, Thales de Azevedo, Anísio Teixeira and Alfred Métraux. Two were the most critical scholars in Bahia – the American Charles Wagley, who became the general coordinator, and the Bahian anthropologist Thales de Azevedo, the local coordinator and administrator. Wagley and De Azevedo would work together for about twenty years, from 1950 to 1970 (Wagley and Wagley 1970). It was meant to be a so-called win-win relationship, and it certainly was for those years, but it was also unequal.⁴⁴

Here are some examples of how the network functioned and how central and influential the scholars based in NY and Paris were compared to those based in Bahia:

My trip to Brazil was interesting and successful. I spent three weeks in Bahia, during which I visited many *terreiros*, attended several ceremonies and even found the time to visit the “*sertão*”, where young American anthropologists, under Wagley’s direction, are studying rural communities. Contrary to my previous plans, Bahia will no longer be the focus of our project. We shall study race relations as they appear in four rural communities and concentrate on social mobility in the city of Salvador. On the other hand, we shall concentrate on the rapidly deteriorating racial situation of São Paulo. Dr. Costa Pinto will undertake a similar study, but on a lesser scale, in Rio de Janeiro. At the end of the year, I expect to get a picture of the racial situation in Brazil, which will be close to reality and cover both the bright and dark sides. In Brazil, I met many of your friends and often you were remembered in our conversations. I had, in my friend Verger, the very best guide. He has taken in recent months sensational photographs, in particular of the secret sect of the Egun. He is trying now, using photographs, to show the persistence of Africanisms in Bahia (...) Poor Verger is still faced with the difficulty of publishing his photographs. Perhaps you will be in a position to help him?⁴⁵

44 As Marcos Chor Maio put it, “Intellectual prestige, personal relations, former work experiences and international experience were pivotal in choosing the case studies” (1999:150).

45 Métraux to MJH, January 29, 1951. Despite the inspiration brought about by Pierre Verger’s residency in Bahia in the 1950s, it was only during the 1960s that the first Bahia

I have just returned from Brazil. As you may well think, it was a pleasant and fruitful journey. René Ribeiro, who is now working for us, was especially helpful and thanks to him I spent three interesting weeks in the religious field, and by religious field, I mean of course the *xangos* ... I have witnessed a few interesting ceremonies and, on my birthday, I made a big sacrifice to Exu, which is paying off ...⁴⁶

I am glad you had so good a trip to Brazil. Ribeiro is really tops, and I am expecting fine things from him as his work develops. I am glad you had an opportunity to see some of the cult ceremonies, and am sure that Eshu will take good care of you. He tends to repay those who look after him!⁴⁷

Even though De Azevedo was the administrator and local coordinator,⁴⁸ he would soon also be one of the key researchers when he embarked on his project on the coloured elites in Salvador (De Azevedo 1953). In June 1950, Wagley arrived in Bahia with three PhD candidates from Columbia University. They would work in cooperation with Brazilian students of the social sciences (Wagley and Wagley 1970:30). The first was William Harry Hutchinson, doing fieldwork in the sugarcane region of São Francisco do Conde (with the assistance of student Carmelita Ayres Junqueira, to whom Hutchinson would soon get married). The second was Marvin Harris, working in the former mining region around Rio de Conta (with the assistance of students Josildeth Gomes and Maria Guerra). And the third was Benjamin Zimmerman, who worked in the arid *sertão* (with the aid of junior lecturer Gizella Valladares).⁴⁹

anthropologists, historians and linguists would go to Africa – Vivaldo da Costa Lima, Julio Braga and Yeda Castro (Reis 2015). The CEAO-Africa exchange project would be, in fact, one of the first relatively large-scale international projects in the field of the humanities and social sciences for a professor of the Federal University of Bahia.

46 Métraux to MJH, December 20, 1951.

47 MJH to Métraux, February 11, 1952.

48 In the otherwise rather sober interview De Azevedo had with Marcos Chor Maio, he stated that he was “just the administrator”, betraying a degree of frustration at his subordinate role in the whole project (Thales de Azevedo, in Maio 1996:166). Elsewhere, De Azevedo (1984:75) wrote that the research was “under the direction of Charles Wagley and Thales de Azevedo and the supervision of the Bahia Foundation for the Development of Science (FDCB)”. In other words, in publications in English, Wagley was presented as the main coordinator, whereas in those in Portuguese, Wagley and De Azevedo shared the coordination.

49 Short after fieldwork began, Rollie Poppino, a PhD candidate in history at Stanford, arrived with plans to undertake a historical study of Feira de Santana. He was urged to join the programme. Eventually, he published his thesis in 1953 (Poppino 1953). Harris published his thesis in 1956 (Harris 1952, 1956) and Hutchinson in 1957 (Hutchinson 1957).

The participants in this network were bright, cosmopolitan, multilingual, travelled, committed, politically liberal, passionate about Brazil and keen on Candomblé. Except for Frazier and perhaps De Azevedo – who would have been viewed almost certainly as white in those days, although by today's standards could be a *moreno* – all of them were white. Incidentally, Frazier and De Azevedo were the only ones who never made remarks about the magical power of Candomblé in their correspondence. Thales was traditionally Catholic and closely related to the AÇÃO Católica (Sangiovanni 2018; Guimarães 2021); Frazier was atheistic and interested in Candomblé as a phenomenon but not as possible protection. Some of these scholars had more resources, especially those based in the US and Paris.

3 Columbia Undergraduate and Graduate Exchange Programmes

The success of the State of Bahia-Columbia University project made the continuation of the partnership easier. It occurred through two relatively large-scale initiatives in the successive decade: the interinstitutional Columbia, Harvard, Cornell, Illinois Summer Graduate Field Training Program 1962–1965, and the Undergraduate Exchange Project (De Azevedo 1984:74).

There was a crescendo of commitment to fieldwork in Latin America and especially Brazil from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Columbia – often associated with a number of other select US universities. It was part of a more general trend. There was a great degree of institution-building in the US concerning the development of Latin American studies within North American universities in the late fifties and early sixties. In 1958 there was a big plan to develop a general American library. From 1958 the Ford Foundation invested in Latin America, diverting to that region parts of the

The only report of Zimmerman's research is in Wagley (1952). There would be two more PhD candidates from Columbia to join the programme in 1951: Anthony Leeds, doing research in the cacao-producing area (Leeds 1957), with the support of the Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Ciência na Bahia, and Carlo Castaldi, researching urban problems and Afro-Brazilian cults in Itaparica. Castaldi's thesis is still unpublished (1953) and he would soon leave academia, but he published an article on folk Catholicism (Castaldi 1957). Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz (1918–2018), after a suggestion by Roger Bastide, undertook research sponsored by the programme on Messianism in the town of Santa Brigida (De Queiroz 1955), and Maria de Azevedo Brandão, Thales' daughter, carried out relatively similar research in the small coastal town of Abrantes (Brandão 1957, 1959). These were the only two junior Brazilian scholars involved, and it is not clear what kind of support they received from the programme. The programme obviously had the capacity to attract scholars.

funds that were intended for research in Africa thus far. In 1960, through the Institute of International Education (IIE), the FF launched a worldwide Travel Abroad Award. The IIE is an independent organization that is funded by the FF, and was created almost at the same time as *Aliança para o Progresso* and the Peace Corps, both established in 1961 by the Kennedy government, as part of a general effort to improve and strengthen the exchange with Latin America.

In June 1955, Wagley handed into the FF a project proposal titled “A Research Training Programme for the Study of Man in the Tropics”,⁵⁰ the tropics being from northern Brazil to the Caribbean and Central America. Vera Rubin would come to direct it. Six grants per year would be given to graduate students. It was hoped that the programme would also motivate students and faculty from the region to study in the US in exchange.

In 1959, Sidney Mintz and other colleagues wrote a lengthy report to the FF concerning programme possibilities in Latin America. The information was followed by an assessment of the situation in Brazil by Bill Hutchinson, then visiting the ELS. Soon afterwards, Mintz wrote a series of quite detailed reports for the FF. He planned to make the FF sensitive to Latin America: it had twice the population of the US and Canada, was part of the undeveloped world, its anti-Americanism was less extreme than in Egypt and Indonesia, the US needed to know more about Latin America, and, last but not least, the region was different from India and Indonesia, where independence mostly meant the return to an ancient order.⁵¹

The same year, on August 30, the Draft Proposal for an Undergraduate Summer Field Programme was drawn up, to introduce upper college students to a foreign culture under the guidance of professional anthropologists. Each team would consist of six students plus the coordinating anthropologist. The programme would be integrated into each of the participating universities’ academic structures and would offer credits – also to be distinguished from less selective summer school programmes.⁵² Among the fifty-eight undergraduate students who took part in the programme from 1961 to 1962, several became well-known anthropologists. For example, two of the students of the 1961 exchange were Renato Rosaldo and Richard Price, and David Epstein and Conrad Kottak were part of the cohort in 1962. The programme involved a cluster of universities. As part of the related interuniversity agreement, Harvard made available the use of its “field station” in San Cristobal de las Casas, in Chiapas, Mexico, Cornell sent its group to Vicos Hacienda in Peru, and Columbia

50 University of Columbia, Dept. of Anthropology, June 10, 1955.

51 Project File C 336, 1959, RAC, FF.

52 CCNY Grants, series III-A, Box 509.

sent its students to Bahia, where the cooperative social science programme was eventually extended (Wagley and Wagley 1970:33). In 1962, under the leadership of Marvin Harris and the “advice and council” of Thales de Azevedo (Wagley and Wagley 1970:34), a group of six North American students⁵³ came to study the northern part of the Bahia coastal region. In 1966 the same training programme sent a new group of students, probably senior undergraduates, to Bahia for three months, from June to August, under the leadership of Daniel Gross. Their aim was to do preliminary research on religious movements in the shrine of Bom Jesus da Lapa, 800km away from the capital Salvador.

From 1964 to 1967 another Columbia University programme in the training of graduate students in various disciplines – the Metropolitan Graduate Summer Field Training Programme – focused on Bahia, with a financial grant from the Ford Foundation. Again, De Azevedo served as advisor and coordinator of the field research, orienting the students during their residence in Brazil. The students were Anne Morton, Daniel Gross, Maxine Margolis (who did a follow-up study in the sugar-growing region where Hutchinson had done fieldwork), Leonore Veit, Nan Pendrell and Barbara Trosko. Wagley and Wagley reported, “the Programme was not limited to Brazil but functioned to send pre-doctoral candidates to various parts of Latin America to begin their research for their doctoral dissertation” (1970:35). Wagley and Wagley (1970) continued to stress the importance of this long-standing programme for Bahia. Also, Thales de Azevedo lent weight to it by compiling a bibliography (1984) of articles and books produced in Bahia and elsewhere in Brazil that had resulted from this research. About ten students from Bahia and Rio were given an opportunity for advanced training, which was later completed in Rio, São Paulo, the US and France. Many of the North American participants became essential professional academics and Brazil or Latin America specialists, such as Marvin Harris, William Hutchinson, Rollie Poppino, Conrad Kottak,⁵⁴ Daniel Gross, Maxine Margolis, David Epstein, Nan Pendrell, Renato Rosaldo, Janice Perlman and Richard Price.

Perhaps the largest foreign student exchange programme in the field of social sciences in Brazil was the Carnegie Corporation (CCNY) project funded from 1959 to 1964. It involved a greater number of (senior) undergraduate

53 David Epstein, Virginia Greene, David Berke, Gordon Harper, Shepard Foreman and Conrad Kottak, who would carry out longitudinal research in the then small fishing village of Arembepe (Kottak 1966, 1967a, 1967b).

54 In personal communication in 2020, both Maxine Margolis and Conrad Kottak confirmed that they never had Brazilian students working with them. They did their research alone, with the help of local key informants – often their hosts.

students. The CCNY insisted that it focus on undergraduate students as part of a general effort to internationalize US universities and, more generally, the new generations of students. To unlock the United States and stimulate international engagement was an essential part of the Corporation's mission (Rosenfield 2014).

Throughout this period, the language of area studies is present in the documents, especially in those of the CCNY. The CCNY, as well as Columbia University, supported the development of new area studies, to make undergraduates familiar with other cultures (in Latin America) under the leadership of anthropologists. The Corporation supported other such programmes in different regions of the world in that period, for instance for Princeton students. The Board of Trustees of the CCNY voted in December 1959 to support undergrad experience abroad – in the light of the fact that in those years too few young Americans had passports⁵⁵ – but it was concerned that there were many Summer Abroad programmes of low academic standing at US universities. There was a need for better-qualified programmes that could issue good credits to their participants.

The exchange programme that was devised was led by Columbia but included participation from Cornell and Harvard as well. It would focus on a few field stations – in Chiapas (Harvard), Guatemala (Cornell), Ecuador (Columbia), Peru and Brazil (Columbia).⁵⁶ Eighteen students would be selected per year, to be dispersed across the five field stations. Marvin Harris was appointed as secretary of the programme, which was under the supervision of Charles Wagley.⁵⁷ The CCNY issued a one-year grant in 1959 and in 1960. Following the success of the summer 1960 session, the programme applied for a three-year extension from 1961 to 1963.⁵⁸ The project impressed the CCNY Board, which approved the USD 160,000 grant without discussion in their meeting on November 15, 1960.⁵⁹

55 In those years, the Corporation awarded a lot of grants for undergrad study abroad, and more for area studies in general. For example, the Maxwell Center at the University of Syracuse received a grant for its international programme, whereby students spent four months at a foreign university (CCNY, Board 15/3/62). A sign of the centre's relatively liberal leaning was that Eduardo Mondlane was employed to teach anthropology there, from 1961 to 1963.

56 It is unclear from the documentation who were the local contacts at each field station – if any.

57 Marvin Harris to William Marvel, September 25, 1959, CCNY.

58 In 1964, the project would be continued with a smaller CCNY grant and a matching grant from the National Science Foundation.

59 Columbia-Cornell-Harvard-Field Studies Programme, Report and Proposal, October 19, 1960, CCNY.

On February 17 and 18, 1961, with the support of the CCNY, the Oberlin Conference on Summer Study Abroad took place. Marvin Harris was present, together with representatives from about twenty other programmes. The theme was “experiencing the foreign country and discussing US society intelligently when abroad”. In the meeting report, there is no mention of any connection with foreign universities.⁶⁰ In 1963, the Management Committee of the US-Latin America Faculty Interchange Programme established an Interdisciplinary Summer Course in Latin American Studies and Experimental Summer Training in Latin American Area Studies, this time with the University of Illinois participating as well.

This summer training was based in the same field stations in Latin America, but the undergrads spent only three months in the field, being housed in the same (poor and rural) community they studied. Harris led the programme, of course, with the backing of Wagley. The aim was to induce curiosity and an understanding of the living conditions of rural Latin American communities. It was not exclusive to PhD candidates in anthropology, but the field coordinators were anthropologists and basic training in anthropology was required, together with language.⁶¹

The first report on the visit to the field stations by Joe Casagrande reveals:

The programme was a sort of small-scale goodwill mission. There was obvious reciprocal warmth in the friendships many students established with people in their communities. From the villagers’ point of view, they also had a significant cross-cultural experience. Through the students, in addition to the opportunity to know interesting and sympathetic North Americans, they at least glimpsed another way of life, other alternatives and gained new knowledge. In Huaylas, I am sure, incidents in the “Year of the Gringo” will become legendary. Not all was sweetness and light, but certainly, far more goodwill than bad was generated.⁶²

The Summer Training programme would continue after 1964, the military coup in Brazil notwithstanding, as did the Undergraduate Interchange Programme, at least until 1969. It was decided to drop Cali as a field station to focus on Bahia. Harris became the director of both programmes.⁶³ The programme

60 CCNY Grant Files, Box 768.

61 December 3, 1965, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois Summer Field Studies Program, CCNY.

62 Report, December 3, 1965: 17, CCNY.

63 Progress report, May 8, 1967.

received a USD 125,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, which was used to train sixty-four graduate students. Among them were several of the most qualified Brazilianists today, such as Maxine Margolis, Kenneth Maxwell and Diana Brown, who were part of the 1965 group.⁶⁴

There is a clear continuity between the Undergraduate Interchange Programme (CCNY) from 1959 to 1963 and the Summer Field Studies Programme (FF) of 1965–67 for first- and second-year graduates. However, in 1968 the FF turned down the application to fund the programme again, not because of its lack of merit but because its funding priorities regarding Latin America had changed. Most of these funds for field studies seemed to dry up around 1966. From 1965 to 1968, there was no mention of a study abroad programme by the Board of Trustees of either the FF or the CCNY. The golden period of field-work exchange was over by about 1965. But whereas the CCNY scaled down its funding for studies in Latin America, the much larger FF remained engaged. Columbia University applied to the FF, RF and SSRC to create a Latin America Institute at Columbia, which requested funds for the period 1960–63 under the leadership of Frank Tannenbaum and Richard Morse and, from 1963, under Wagley. In 1962 the FF gave the SSRC USD 1 million for the development of Latin American studies, and especially for a Faculty Exchange Programme, at six US universities: Columbia, Texas at Austin, UC Berkeley, UC Los Angeles, Harvard and Minnesota. This large donation was followed by meetings between directors of Latin American language and area centres.⁶⁵

The Faculty Exchange Programme would be the next “frontier” in the institutionalization of Latin American studies in the US and the making of Latin-Americanists. In a letter of August 21, 1962, from Schuyler Wallace to Wagley, the critical question was raised: should invitations to Latin American scholars be on an individual basis, or should the committee plan to collaborate continuously with indigenous institutions or such institutions like the Inter-American Institute of Political Education located in São Jose, Costa Rica? Seemingly, most invitations would end up being on an individual basis. In a report of May 27, 1963, Wagley stated that “The programme will allow us to keep in continuous contact with the intellectual trends and cross-currents of Latin America by having Latin Americans with us and our professors frequently visiting their university”.⁶⁶

64 November 19, 2019: 64–147, The Trustees of Columbia University, Reel 0385.

65 November 18, 2019, RAC, SSRC. Many of these meetings were dedicated to relatively trivial issues, such as the question of honoraria – the Corporation was unwilling to pay these to professors who sat on the selection committee for the field programme candidacies.

66 RAC, SSRC, US-LA Faculty Exchange Program, Box 323.

For the period of 1961 to 1965, Columbia University received a five-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for the Visiting Scholar Programme in Latin America Studies. The main motives for applying were the need to develop Latin American studies, as had been done for African and Middle Eastern Studies, and to bring the best minds together at the Latin American Seminar.⁶⁷ In 1965–66 Columbia applied to the SSRC for the Faculty Exchange Programme. Florestan Fernandes from Brazil and Gino Germani from Argentina would be the first scholars invited. They would be hosted by Harris and Magnus Morner.⁶⁸

There is evidence that, after the 1964 coup in Brazil, rather than sending relatively large groups of students to Brazil the priority (certainly for Columbia University) changed to hosting top-notch Brazilian scholars, especially those whose research had been made difficult by the Brazilian military government.⁶⁹ They invited influential Brazilians, such as Anísio Teixeira, who had already studied at Columbia in the twenties. His report on his stay at what he called his alma mater shows how much it was appreciated and how pleasant such a period of his life was. Indeed, especially in the days of the dictatorship, a few months' stay in New York and at Columbia could mean a pleasant break from the tension back home.

This is a short list of scholars invited from Brazil, mostly for a semester, to Columbia or Harvard: Levi Cruz in 1962; Eduardo Galvão, Glaucio Soares, Carolina Bori, Anísio Teixeira in 1964; Helio Jaguaribe (to teach in the Department of Government at Harvard); in 1966, Octavio Ianni; in 1965, Florestan Fernandes, Gilberto Freyre, Celso Furtado, Mario Simonsen, Anísio Teixeira and Helio Jaguaribe. In 1966 Candido Mendes and Afranio Coutinho. In 1967 José Antonio Gonçalves de Mello was invited but eventually could not come; in exchange, Ronald Schneider was sent to the UFMG. From February to June 1965, several US professors visited the UNB with the support of the programme. In 1965 Thomas Skidmore was sent to Latin America, for the third time, with the support of the programme, and in 1966 Samuel Huntington was sent for a tour.

These particular exchange programmes produced important documents – in a way, a scholarship of their own. It started with a lengthy report to the FF by Wagley and Harris (1959) and was followed by two fieldwork guides by

67 RF Records, Projects, SG.1, Latin American Studies, Box 494, RAC.

68 RAC, SSRC, US-LA Faculty Exchange Program, Box 327.

69 This change of policy is related to a different relationship with the US government. In 1967 the FF published a report arguing for a less automatic alignment with the State Department than had been the case thus far. The consequence was that the FF started financing, for instance, Cepal and exiled scholars from countries like Argentina, Chile and Brazil – mostly supporting them with grants that allowed them to live for a while in the US and sometimes in France (Rosenfield 2014).

Hutchinson (1960) and Levine (1966), which are worth scrutinizing. Browsing Levine's *Brazil Field Research Guide* (1965), one perceives that both the programme officers and field trainees needed condensed reports and field guides!

The larger the number of students – and the more the programme was condensed into shorter periods, like three to six months – the fewer were the efforts made to establish contacts with local scholars or universities. It was not the empowerment of the social sciences in Latin America that mattered, but anthropology in the US. Latin America was regarded as good for fieldwork and field stations, but anthropological reflection and archiving remained in the US. Brazil and especially Bahia had played a crucial role in the creation of contemporary anthropology, especially Afro-American anthropology. Now they became a test case for a broader internationalization plan and as a “field station”.

From the 1970s, Bahia would be promoted as an ideal place for (undergraduate) summer schools and graduate fieldwork for students at US universities – which allowed many of us at UFBA, especially those who could teach in English, to earn some welcome Yankee dollars.⁷⁰ However, involvement with local intellectuals or groups of students was piecemeal if not altogether avoided. In their fieldwork they were meant to communicate directly with the *povo*, the people. But the often-used argument for not doing this was that the *povo* were black and the local scholars were primarily white, which was generally true. Most of these summer schools concerned US departments or black and/or Africana studies programmes. The merit was that many more black US students could visit Bahia than in earlier times. The question this raises is twofold. First, how was (black) Bahia and its “magic” represented in these short summer courses? Second, to what extent did this increase in information exchange contribute, as much as it could, to improving the conditions for the production of knowledge in Bahia, where there was also a steady increase in the number of black students, especially from the mid-2000s because of various forms of affirmative action?

4 Frances' Comeback

A few years after Melville Herskovits' death, his wife and fellow traveller Frances (1897–1972) went back to Bahia in 1967, intending to do additional fieldwork to finalize the manuscript for THE book on their research in Brazil. She was then

⁷⁰ I taught at such summer schools for many years, especially at the programme of the Department of Black Studies of the University of California at Berkeley.

teaching at Northwestern, but she had been playing with the idea for quite some time.⁷¹ After completing Herkovits' edited volume, *The New World Negro*, she made concrete plans to go back to the Brazil material, which was, as she wrote, "in the lap of the gods".⁷² Despite the extensive fieldwork she carried out, in which she demonstrated yet again what a first-rate anthropologist she was, and her detailed interviews of a cluster of informants for their research done in the forties, this second attempt to publish a book on the Herskovits' research in Brazil also failed. Evidence of this effort can be found in the Schomburg Center Archives, where Frances' fieldnotes are kept in a notepad containing 135 pages. Her work was also documented by the Brazilian press, which reported on her activities and the assistance she received from several colleagues from the Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais (CEAO) of the Federal University of Bahia.⁷³ They helped her as fieldwork assistants as well as key informants.

Before Frances set off for Brazil, she started corresponding with Waldir Oliveira, director of the CEAO:

I have been going through my husband's unpublished notes from Brasil [she spelled it with an s] for some time, and find that some comparative materials on what has happened in the twenty-five-year interval are essential for the analysis and documentation of the theoretical points which we wish to see elaborated. I am very anxious to discuss this with you. Our stay in the Congo and Angola [in 1952–53] also raised questions that bear on Bahian materials. There is always, in addition, the *saudades* evoked by memories of Bahia, and I look forward to visiting the places and, hopefully, some, at least, of the men and women who had given us their friendship and confidence. It will be a great pleasure to visit your Center. My husband was both deeply touched and proud of his appointment as Honorary Professor of your University. My daughter and I are planning to see to it that your library has as full a collection as it is possible to assemble of his publications.⁷⁴

71 She had typed up all the field notes by 1942, and in many ways the notes are as much hers as Mel's. They are packed with her remarks.

72 FSH to Ribeiro, November 2, 1965.

73 The main ones were the then young Vivaldo da Costa Lima and Julio Braga. Allow me to mention that CEAO is the institute I have been working at for the last twenty years.

74 FSH to Waldir, January 8, 1966. Waldir Freitas de Oliveira, who is cited several times in the field notes, did not remember Frances' visit: *Infelizmente tenho pouca lembrança da passagem de Madame Frances por Salvador. Efetivamente, estava no CEAO como auxiliar de pesquisa de Vivaldo da Costa Lima e somente passava por lá para entregar minhas anotações do trabalho de campo. Até porque era o último ano de Faculdade e, se por acaso,*

Frances arrived in Salvador on a Cruzeiro flight on January 25, 1967⁷⁵ and stayed until March 6.⁷⁶ As she and her husband had done in 1941, Frances registered with the US Consulate to receive her mail. She booked a room at the Plaza Hotel: “This is a return to Bahia after a twenty-five-year interval to do some comparative checking of fieldnotes gathered by my late husband and myself in 1941–42. I am very much looking forward to meeting old and new friends and only regret that I cannot stay longer ...”.⁷⁷ She received USD 2,500 from the Programme of African Studies at Northwestern, for which she was grateful since it recognized her crucial contribution to Melville’s oeuvre.⁷⁸ However, Gwendolen Carter, Director of African Studies, informed her that Vernon McKay of the State Department could not offer her a grant this time, despite his efforts.⁷⁹

Over a period of seven weeks, Frances would do extensive fieldwork and visit the Candomblé houses and many of the informants she had got to know in 1941 and 1942. The style of the notes is reminiscent of the fieldnotes collected twenty-five years earlier: reports of the genealogy lines of specific houses, the death and succession of *Mãe Aninha* and *Mãe Senhora*, detailed descriptions of ceremonies and of (certain) rituals with their “obligations” (offerings), transcription of what could be called gossip (*fixico*), a little analytical observation.⁸⁰ She visited most of the cult-houses in the company of Vivaldo, Julio and sometimes Waldir. It was a whirlwind of feasts, visits and events. Almost every day, there was an activity, often two or even three in a single day and until late at night or dawn. Frances also visited the Valladares family, Thales

a ajudei teria sido algo de pouca importância (personal communication, August 1, 2020). Waldir passed away on June 17, 2021.

75 FSH to Waldir.

76 FSH Budget.

77 FSH to US Consulate, Schomburg. In a letter to Thales, Herskovits had mentioned that the couple would have liked to go back to Bahia soon after their trip to Africa in 1953 (MJH to De Azevedo, December 17, 1952).

78 FSH to G. Carter, January 16, 1967. Because of the devaluation of the Cruzeiro, Frances managed to spare USD 500 of the USD 2,500 she obtained from the Program of African Studies at NU. In her final fieldwork report, she wrote that she would like to hold on to this USD 500 in order to send more books to CEA0 and for the organization of the manuscript on Bahia.

79 MacKay to State Department, November 1, 1966.

80 It seems that Vivaldo da Costa Lima was particularly pivotal in describing the genealogies. In the mid-sixties, he had carried out historical research on Candomblé houses of the 1930s (2004). In Frances’ fieldnotes, there is also a summary of two interviews by Vivaldo in April 1960 with *Mãe Senhora* and *Mãe Menininha*. It is quite possible these two interviews resulted from that research.

quer parte, que se une ao caríocoma sob o páo de males políticos e meteorológicos que não sabemos eitar nem remediar.

mente o bem estar sócio-econômico daquele Estado sulino. O assessoramento técnico que iremos prestar é de grande importância para qualquer parte do País".

PROGRAMA
As sessões serão realizadas no Hospital das Clínicas e obedecerão ao seguinte programa:
Dia 31 (Terça-feira) — As 18 horas: coquetel oferecido pela Reitoria da UFba. As 21 horas: sessão solene de instalação.



A etnóloga Frances Herskovits quando de sua visita ao Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais, vendo-se, ainda os Professores Vivaldo Costa Lima, Thales de Azevedo e Waldir Freitas Oliveira.

Bahia bem informada sobre problema africano

"Minha vinda a Salvador é principalmente para restabelecer os contactos feitos pelo meu marido, o etnólogo Melville Herskovits, Professor Honorário da Faculdade de Filosofia da Universidade Federal da Bahia da cadeira de Antropologia — declarou a reportagem a Sra. Frances Herskovits, que se encontra presentemente em Salvador.

O Professor Melville Herskovits, já falecido, era etnólogo bastante interessado nos cultos religiosos afro-brasileiros, tendo inclusive alguns trabalhos publicados juntamente com sua esposa.

— "Folheando anotações de meu marido, a respeito do Brasil, mais especificamente sobre a Bahia — continuou a Senhora Frances — descobri notas, ainda inéditas, e bastante interessantes. Por este motivo vim a Salvador para realizar um estudo mais detalhado das anotações e discutir com as autoridades sobre assuntos africanos em Salvador o valor técnico do seu conteúdo. Uma vez em Salvador, entrei em contacto com os Professores Waldir Freitas de Oliveira, Vivaldo Costa Lima e Thales de Azevedo e devo confessar que fiquei gratamente surpresa ao constatar o alto grau de informação a respeito da matéria, que o Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais da UFba. possui. Também devo dizer que muito me impressionou o profundo conhecimento demonstrado pelos professores com quem tive oportunidade de manter palestra.

O Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais da Universidade Federal da Bahia pode ser apreciada como um dos mais bem informados do mundo.

Finalizando, a etnóloga Frances Herskovits declarou que, após um estágio de dois meses em Salvador, quando, estará mais profundamente a matéria das anotações, a completará e publicará em livro.

Senhor do Bomfim já tem campo de aviação

O Diretor do Departamento de Obras e Edificações Públicas, Sr. Carlos Guimarães anunciou, ontem, que já está pronto o campo de pouso de Senhor do Bomfim, faltando apenas a conclusão das obras de pavimentação asfáltica.

O campo foi preparado, em tempo recorde, pelo Serviço de Engenharia do Exército e dele deverá desembarcar, vindo de Petrolina, no dia 4 de março, o Presidente Castelo Branco.

Oito Prefeituras sob investigação federal

Falando, ontem, à nossa reportagem, o Delegado Federal de Segurança Pública disse que as investigações sumárias contra Prefeitos e Câmaras do Interior do Estado serão processadas o quanto antes, objetivando conclusões em atendimento a determinação do Ministério da Justiça, com vistas ao término de vigência do Ato Institucional n. 3.

O Sr. Antônio Brandão Andrade explicou que no momento, estão sendo processados o Conde, Urandi e Barreirinhas. Relativamente a suspensão temporária da divisa na Paraíba.

"ARDE"

CIDADE BAIXA

s. Editais, Avisos Fúnebres e em como correspondência dest. recebidos da Agência instalada no Wildberger, na Avenida Estados 01).

amente das 8h30m às 11h30m e de das 13h30m às 11h30m,

SÉ NEIVA,

FIGURE 36 A newspaper article covering Frances Herskovits' visit to Salvador. From left to right: Vivaldo da Costa Lima, Thales de Azevedo, Frances Herskovits and Waldir Freitas de Oliveira at the Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais of the Universidade Federal da Bahia

A TARDE, SALVADOR, BAHIA, 28 JANUARY 1967

de Azevedo (then professor at the UFB), Waldir Oliveira at CEAQ, and went to book launches by Jorge Amado.⁸¹

She also became aware that gossip was part and parcel of Candomblé talk and that gossip united and divided the diverse Candomblé houses, especially the orthodox ones. For insiders, being aware of the gossip, which revealed moral codes and the constant process of fission and fusion among the cult-houses, was an essential element of social life in the Candomblé community (Braga 1998). Frances also became aware of the strong sexism that had existed in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies since its inception and had meant that women could be given a hard time when they ventured as scholars into Afro-Brazilian religion. The love affair between Mestre Didi and the young Argentinian social psychologist, Juanita Elbein, was the cause of much gossip. He was an older black man, married to a black woman close to the cult-house, with two children. Juanita was a foreigner, white, a psychology student, and thus far unrelated to Candomblé. Nonetheless, Juanita would eventually establish herself as a specialist, emphasizing the necessity to study Candomblé from within rather than without (Elbein dos Santos 1986), and to be recognized and accepted as such in what was usually called the Candomblé community (*a comunidade*). That occurrence was reminiscent of the rather sexist uproar generated by Ruth Landes' relationship with Édison Carneiro almost three decades earlier.

Frances described an Oxóssi feast in Apo Afonja house, with Jorge Amado and the painter Carybé, then the feast of Agua de Oxala and the Monday feast of Apaoka Roko (two of the twenty-two *orixás* worshipped in the Apo Afonja house).⁸² Together with Julio Braga and Vivaldo, she also witnessed an Acheche (a ritual for the soul of a dead person and a significant occurrence in the Candomblé world) for *Mãe Senhora*, who died on February 22, 1967. The priestess in charge was *Mãe Menininha*: "Greetings in Yoruba all-around – more Yoruba spoken than had heard formerly. Explainable by courses of Yoruba at University, Yorubas studying and visiting and Bahians in Africa studying and visiting – also influence of Pierre Verger (?) ...".⁸³ In the following, Frances reg-

81 De Azevedo and Oliveira were a bit cool with her and showed less interest in receiving her than she expected. Vivaldo resented it, but she did not care much.

82 The months from January through March are those in which most feasts are organized in the traditional cult-houses. Candomblé houses follow the Catholic calendar; Easter feasts and festivities are suspended. Frances was in Bahia at the right time for Candomblé feasts.

83 FSH Fieldnotes 1967: 35. The relationship between the Herskovitses and Verger seems to have grown sourer over time. As we saw, Melville was quite supportive of Verger at first. On April 1, 1948, Métraux wrote to Verger that MJH had agreed to write a book with him on the Afro-Brazilian cults in Bahia and Pernambuco and was enthusiastic about Verger's photos (Le Boulter 1994:95) about which Verger rejoiced. That book was never produced,

istered that two of the *filhas de santo* had common-law husbands (*amaziados*) who were either light-skinned or “all white”. Here is an example of a description of the rite:

First enters the *Pade*, executed by an old *filha de santo* from Gantois and S. Goncalo. Then two by two, one *filha* from each side, danced before the lighted candle and the water jar on the floor. Before each change of dancer, they prostrate themselves facing the entrance door and the improvised altar for the dead then went to prostrate before Menininha and Ogun Joba. Each was given a bill or coins by both, and this was an offering for the “*assistencia*”. A pile of bills a foot and more high, people coming forward, while the two danced.⁸⁴

Here, again, was an attempt to describe the world of Candomblé from the inside, through its myths, logic and rules. Frances was also constantly drawing connections between her work in Dahomey or Haiti and her observation on this second trip to Bahia. When not related to a specific myth (such as “Olga is definite about Oshun being the daughter of Yemanjá”), details in a ritual and genealogy of saints/*orixás* or “*familias de santo*”, most of the questions in the fieldnotes are of the kind, “what kind of saint is Onile and what is its

but in the 1950s Verger’s outstanding photos were used in books edited by Wagley for UNESCO and Bastide and Métraux’s articles in the UNESCO *Bulletin*. However, something changed in the 1960s. Verger, in his correspondence with Métraux, on October 1, 1960, complained that “Herskovits, the big patron of Northwestern University at Evanston, does not love me. I have been for him a troublemaker (*un affreux trouble-fête*), since Brazil and Africa have been for him ‘terrains’ for his observation and for (to us his own terms) the phenomenon of acculturation ... and yes, I committed the unforgivable error of giving news of the one to the other” (Le Bouler 1994:294). Apparently, both the Herskovitses and Verger would have preferred to have been the sole transatlantic messenger between Africa and Brazil. By 1967, Frances’ fieldnotes reveal a feeling of competition with Verger. During her visit, she felt that Verger had too much influence in the Candomblé community. As a matter of fact, Verger did not have much personal influence on the visit of African students to UFBA and especially to the CEAO. The presence of African students was the result of an exchange between UFBA and a few African universities, especially Ile Ife in Nigeria (Reis 2014, 2018, 2019). I believe that the tension between the Herskovitses and Verger reveals the higher complexity of the Candomblé community over time. It had become a community which by then had already become somewhat integrated with several foreign and national scholars, especially anthropologists. These scholars had also become part of the highly structured gossip flows that are part and parcel of the process of fission/alliance of the more “traditional” Candomblé cult-houses.

84 FSH Fieldnotes 1967: 38.

corresponding orixá in Dahomey or does it correspond with Met Bisabion in Haiti?”

Frances was impressed by meeting *Mãe Menininha* again: “She knew all about the Professor (Mel), Ramos had talked about him, and she had seen the volumes on Dahomey. Perhaps Haitian Valley too. She talks about ‘books with pictures’. She remembered me from the moment she saw me.”⁸⁵ Frances, of course, was delighted when people, such as in the Bogum house, remembered her and Melville, the recording, the books and her young daughter Jean from their first visit.⁸⁶ However, in the same house, Vivaldo informed her that the terrain had shifted. During the visit, she met a team from a German TV station getting ready to film and heard comments that Jorge Amado and Carybé frequented the house a lot because they liked its feasts.⁸⁷ On the one hand, she was reminded of the past, while on the other hand, she perceived dramatic changes in the cult-house.

Over the previous twenty-five years, essential informants – the most prominent in the Candomblé community – had died: Joãozinho, Vidal, Tia Massi, Manoel de Ogun, Procopio, Bernardino, Emiliana and, during her fieldwork, *Mãe Senhora*.

With *Senhora* gone, Vivaldo considers Olga as the new star of the Candomblé world (...) Vivaldo and his brother Sinval are close to her, and Julio is of the house, surely Vivaldo’s influence (...) Engenho Velho (Casa Branca) house dismissed as not in the public eye – no initiation there to publicize. With their attitude against engaging in any ‘work’ for outsiders or divining, they would hardly attract important outsiders. Me, I am still as impressed with their knowledge and probity as Mel and I were in 1942.⁸⁸

Frances got along nicely with Vivaldo and Julio but also had her own opinions. The last eight pages of the fieldnotes are questions she wanted to double-check

85 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 56.

86 In Frances’ correspondence, we find reference to the presents (and sums of money) that she distributed during her second visit to some informants of her earlier research in 1941–42: *Mãe Menininha*, *Zeze*, *Mãe Olga*, Clexilda, Sociedade São Jorge do Engenho Velho (Casa Branca). Olga and *Menininha* sent her greetings and were thankful for the *lembranças*. The Herskovitses, as did Landes and Pierson before them, left behind quite some *saudade* in Bahia, as can be gathered by several personal letters. The question, of course, is to what extent these presents and payments equalled the strength of such *saudade*.

87 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 120.

88 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 6.

with her best key informant and friend, Zezé, who had moved to Rio, where she hoped to meet her on her way back to the States. On the day she left, around March 15, she was still able to enjoy an Amalá de Xangô (a dish) due to a delayed flight. She left Salvador with the feeling that all commitments had been met and Vivaldo would let her know the outcome of the divination session she had participated in: “The dependence upon the *jogos* (divination), and the faith in what is revealed, is impressive. Here is where the *core* of the entire complex of continuities [regarding African traditions] lies.”⁸⁹

Bahia had changed a lot since 1942: the city’s population had doubled; the oil industry and the two concrete industrial plants in Aratu and Camacari had meant, at long last, upward social mobility for a sizeable part of the black population; the founding and growth of the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) and the active role of its first president, Edgar Santos, in attracting scholars and intellectuals had made Salvador an essential hub for the avant-garde; in the media the acceptance of Candomblé and the African roots of Bahiana popular culture had become much more evident; and last but not least, by then several foreign scholars and artists had become regulars in the most significant and more renowned Candomblé houses. These included Alfred Métraux, Roger Bastide, Odorico Tavares, Jorge Amado, Carybé and especially Pierre Verger.⁹⁰ Indeed, in her fieldnotes Frances registered some changes compared to 1941–42: more Yoruba was spoken in the rituals, but less Yoruba was spoken in daily life. That is, knowledge of the Yoruba language was less part of daily life and used more than before to add a touch of tradition to rituals – and in general, knowledge of it was more superficial.

Another change had to do with outsiders, foreigners and scholars, who had become more conspicuous; there were more white people at the feasts than before. Some of these white people had become influential. Verger and his Yoruba-Nago ethnocentrism, or even “obsession,”⁹¹ played a role in making the Yoruba language more popular than before in certain orthodox cult-houses.⁹²

89 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 123.

90 For an account of such sociocultural changes in Salvador in the 40s, 50s and 60s, see Sansi (2007), Riserio (1995) and Ickes (2013). Ickes (2013) explores in great detail the active role of the press and radio stations in creating a positive regional identity based mainly on the African origin of the majority of the population.

91 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 45.

92 “With Vivaldo ... we talked about Verger a little – a feeling here about that is that he is Yoruba (and chiefly Oyo and Oshun, the Ogbo area) obsessed. He has his special ethnocentrism fixated on the Nago-Yoruba people. Vivaldo is careful, but skeptical about his bias and influence” (FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 45).

Juanita Elbein, who had come to study the cult of Egungun for her thesis on mental illnesses, was accepted entirely by *Mãe Senhora*, who allowed her to record the music and introduced her to many of the secrets of the house. Juanita was also influential, even though the love affair between her and Didi dos Santos was a scandal for the older generation.⁹³ Some houses had flourished over the past twenty-five years and even showed “opulence”,⁹⁴ such as expensive furniture and massive TV sets. Others, like Bogum, had stayed poor – “obviously no affluence here”.⁹⁵ Moreover, Frances stated that besides Bogum there were no more houses of the Jeje nation in Salvador.⁹⁶ A further change, associated with the previous one, was the place of academics and academic centres, such as CEAO, which by then were channelling and generating discussion and study of the Candomblé cult.⁹⁷

Yet another difference was the degree of not just academic but also political recognition of certain Candomblé houses, especially those held to be more traditional and closer to African traditions – these were the cult-houses Frances visited (Axe Opo Afonja, Casa Branca, Gantois, Alaketo Batefolha, Oxumare, Bogum). More intellectuals and politicians were calling on the cults, especially

93 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, pp. 46–7.

94 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 76.

95 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 49.

96 In Appendix 2 we see that out of 280 Candomblé feasts of houses registered with the police in 1941 (an important bureaucratic obligation then) only three were of the Jeje nation. In fact, Frances indicated in her nostalgic complaints that there had been a conspicuous process of Yorubaization/Nagoization of Candomblé houses that changed their allegiance to, for instance, the Ijexa nation and so they became Nago/Yoruba. Over the process of Nagoization see also Luis Nicolau Parés (2004).

97 Further evidence of the importance of the CEAO in those years can be found in the letter, kept in the CEAO archive, sent by St. Clair Drake, then visiting professor of sociology at the University of Ghana in Logon, to George Agostinho da Silva, the first director of the Centre, on March 23, 1960: “Dr. Turner has not yet had the opportunity to analyse the data [of his research in Brazil]. ... I am wondering if you are in a position to provide him with an opportunity to do so either in Brazil or in Chicago ... I have also thought that I should like to spend a year in Bahia ... and would like to inquire whether there are any possibilities of cooperation for persons who speak English only.” This letter is revealing of both the importance the CEAO had acquired internationally in those years and of the continuous lack of resources in the US for renowned black scholars such as Lorenzo Dow Turner and John Gibbs St. Clair Drake.

during feasts.⁹⁸ Then there was the arrival of the “God of Tourism”,⁹⁹ in Frances’ words, with busloads of tourists being taken mainly to feasts in the less orthodox houses, but also to the Engenho Velho, and more and more proposals to allow recording and filming of rites in exchange for money.¹⁰⁰ Even *mãe de santo* Olga de Alaketo was tempted since she badly needed money, but eventually she turned down the offer. Frances commented that Julio Braga was happy that she had done so.

In many ways, Frances was nostalgic for the more straightforward and impoverished cult-houses of twenty-five years ago. Now she found that in certain places, such as in the house of Zezé, built on her large terrain (*roca*) in Amaralina, there was even opulence, with crystal glasses and expensive silver on display.

The attitude toward Candomblé much changed. To belong is fashion. You speak of it openly. Name your Orisha. Gisella (American Jewish) is for Oshun, Licia Shango and the youngest Ogun. Both have “*contas lavadas*” (...) So everybody goes for a *jogo de buzio* (divination) and furnishes what is required by the *mãe de santo*. It seems it is not that one really believes, but neither does one disbelieve.¹⁰¹

Frances compared both Bahia and West Africa in earlier years, such as in the Alaketo house “... Olga herself got possessed. As sharp a possession as I have seen in Dahomey, and how very Dahomean her dancing.” Frances played the discs she and Melville had produced for the Library of Congress and showed a couple of books, such as *Dahomean Narrative*. The first reconnected the past

98 An overview of the daily newspapers *Estado da Bahia*, *Diario de Noticias* and *A Tarde* published in 1967 shows that, at least in the press, the general situation concerning Candomblé and the Afro world had changed considerably since 1942. The *Diario de Noticias* carried a weekly column called *Africanismos*, the *baianas* in the Bonfim feast were reported on very positively in all the consulted newspapers, and the “stone and chalk” religious material heritage was celebrated as a sign of Bahia’s distinctiveness in Brazil (and no longer as a remembrance of the past). There were several articles on foreign tourists – arriving, again, on the ss *Brasil* of the McCormack company – whose presence was evidence that Bahia was an appealing destination and that (high class) tourism could bring revenue. It seemed that the elites had by then developed a different attitude to the past, if not yet to their African past (on the slow but sure incorporation of Afro-Bahian culture into the self-image of the state in the press, see the masterly account by Ickes, 2013 and 2013a).

99 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 63.

100 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 62.

101 FSH Fieldnotes, 1967, p. 90.

and present, whereas the books made the link with Africa more effective and more visually powerful on account of the illustrations.

Things had changed radically also within the US Consulate in Salvador. In the 1940s it had to find a way of dealing with the arrival of black scholars such as Frazier and Turner – the consul was known to be a racist. By 1967 an adequately edited and up-to-date list in English of (Afro)Bahian feasts and festivities was handed out by the same consulate to US visitors to the city. The “magic” of Salvador had already become one of its unique selling points for US visitors and tourists.

Upon her return to the US, Frances wrote to Vernon McKay who had since moved from the State Department and was at the Programme of African Studies, Johns Hopkins:

I am back from a most interesting six-week stay in Bahia, and delighted that I took this opportunity, thanks to your encouragement, to revisit the cult centers where we had done most of our work in 1941–42. The African orixás deserve their share of credit, for they granted privileges that brought me invitations to the shrines – the holy of holiest, that are not for casual visitors, not even initiates, except when they make offerings to their special deity. I was deeply touched. There were still some among the cult heads who remembered Mel and the Dahomey volumes which he showed them; our recording sessions; and even Jean dancing with the initiates during the less formal rites. ... What struck me emphatically was what a superb base the Centro de Estudos Afro Orientais is for Afro-American studies – and comparative African studies as well. I am wondering if you were as impressed with Vivaldo as I am. There is no one more respected, more esteemed, or better informed in the Candomblé world than he. ... I have also been struck by the meagerness of the resources at the disposal of the Center.¹⁰²

From the correspondence, we can deduce three key facts: Mel impressed people with his Dahomey books and the recording sessions; FSH was emotionally attached to Bahia and the Candomblé world; and she was very supportive of the CEAO and Vivaldo's effort to visit African Studies programmes in the US during the three months for which he applied for funding with the FF, USIS, CNPq and the Brazilian Foreign Office.¹⁰³ Frances also suggested that Waldir apply to the FF in Rio for support for their library and the acquisition of

¹⁰² FSH to McKay, March 15, 1967.

¹⁰³ Vivaldo to FSH, March 5, 1967.

recording equipment. She then wrote letters of recommendation for Vivaldo and the CEAO to William Bascom (Director, Lowie Museum Berkeley), George Eaton Simpson (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Oberlin) and M.G. Smith (Department of Anthropology, UCLA).¹⁰⁴ These scholars reacted positively to her appeal and sent copies of their books to the CEAO library. Frances also kept a long list of all the books and reprints she had sent to CEAO and Vivaldo, Waldir, Julio, Neide White Martins and Lícia Valladares (daughter of Gizella and José).¹⁰⁵ Her effort to raise funds for the CEAO excited its director: "I hope there will be very soon a programme of solid aid on the part of some North American university or foundation towards this Centro de Estudos, given that our financial conditions do not permit us to develop research other than with the resources at our disposal".¹⁰⁶

There seemed to be high expectations for the publication of a book based on their unpublished fieldnotes. As George Simpson put it:

I am delighted to hear that you are writing up the unpublished fieldnotes that you and Mel collected in 1941–42 and that you were able to get so much new and valuable material in your recent stay in Bahia. Afro-Americanists will be fortunate to have a chance to read the work you are doing on Candomblé. The re-study and additional materials twenty-five years after the first work will be of great value.¹⁰⁷

Simpson was one of the professors whom Vivaldo had wanted to study with, had he received support for his plan to study in the US.¹⁰⁸ As soon as she was

104 Despite the support from William Bascom and other professors in the US, Vivaldo would never get this grant to study in the US.

105 Vivaldo received, with Julio, Waldir and the CEAO library, many books: this was certainly also a form of thanks for their guidance.

106 De Oliveira to FSH, June 8, 1967.

107 Simpson to FSH, July 4, 1967.

108 There are several links between the research for the present book and my next project on the life of Eduardo Mondlane, the first president of the Mozambique Liberation Movement, who had been trained as a sociologist in the US at Northwestern and was closely related with Herskovits. George E. Simpson, whose fieldwork on Shango in Jamaica had been influenced by Ribeiro's Master's dissertation on Shango in Recife, was one of the personal connections between my two projects, and African and African-American studies more generally, through Mel, Frazier, Frances Herskovits and Mondlane – who was a mentor and later a friend until his assassination in 1969. Simpson was also connected to CEAO in 1967 and knew Waldir Oliveira, who he met on the occasion of Frances' visit and research that year in Bahia (Simpson to FSH, July 1, 1967, FSH Papers, SC). Other connections with Mondlane are Marvin Harris and, of course, the Herskovitses.

back in the US, Frances tried to arrange a grant with the FF and USIS for Vivaldo to study there. Gwendolin Carter would invite him for several (feed) lectures in and around Northwestern.¹⁰⁹ In this letter, besides informing Vivaldo about the grant possibilities, she also greeted Julio, Maninho, Vivaldo's brother and Olga (De Alaketo), whom she said was quite like herself. Vivaldo wrote to her in a hilarious and clever mix of English and Portuguese.¹¹⁰ He showed his commitment to the CEAO and its library and research, and his interest in visiting the best African Studies centres in the US. Writing to Vernon McKay (May 15, 1967), Frances was enthusiastic about the CEAO and Vivaldo: she asked for support from Vernon with Vivaldo and CEAO's application. The library and recording equipment were urgent: many speakers of Yoruba were old and ailing; recording their voices was now or never. Eventually, the CEAO never received the kind of support Frances was hoping for.

Why did the book, apparently titled "*A Comparison of Bahia-Yoruba Cults*", not get published? Were the circumstances similar to those Turner faced – that modern Yoruba nationalism was not interested or had other priorities? Unlike Turner, FSH had institutional and financial support for the project. In September 1969, Gwendolin Carter, Head of the African studies programme at Northwestern, in the same letter in which she communicated that the Africana Library of the University had been named after Melville Herskovits, shared that the programme could provide USD 2,500 for a research and writing grant "to work on the Brazilian materials of which part at least came out of the travel grant from the Programme a couple of years ago. It would be perfectly appropriate, particularly concerning the earlier work you and Mel had done".¹¹¹ On September 12, FSH replied to Carter:

I will get a draft for the grant to you before the beginning of term. The problem with writing up the Brazilian materials, much of it, which we call "sensitive" in terms of the political situation, is that things seem to be going from bad to worse. I have decided to follow the good advice of friends here and in Brazil and write up the unpublished material and let publication wait, or perhaps leave some things out. Which could be the politically sensitive parts in the fieldnotes? One day will talk about all this.¹¹²

109 FSH to Vivaldo, July 1967.

110 Vivaldo to FSH, March 5, 1967.

111 Carter to FSH, September 8, 1969.

112 FSH to Carter, September 12, 1969.

Three weeks later, Frances sent in her research project, which focused on the Bahian family. The monograph – or a series of articles – would use extensive comparative materials from Africa, the Caribbean and the United States.¹¹³ My impression is that the book was not put together eventually because of Frances' worsening health condition. She passed away in 1972.¹¹⁴

This chapter dealt with the aftermath of the extended field trip by Turner, Frazier and the Herskovitses for the construction of Bahia as an ideal field-station for young and upcoming social scientists, mainly from the US, in the period 1942 to 1967. When we compare the late thirties with the late sixties, significant qualitative and quantitative changes had taken place in the scholarly exchange between the US (mainly Northwestern and Columbia universities at first) and Brazil, more specifically Bahia. The trend was from experimental one-person fieldwork missions (Pierson, Landes, Frazier, Turner and Herskovits), supported by individual grants, to a collective tripartite agreement between the State of Bahia, Columbia University and UNESCO, and then a bipartite exchange (Columbia, Harvard, Cornell and Illinois on one hand, and Thales de Azevedo as the representative of the FFCH/UFBA, on the other). This last arrangement would be repeated in the graduate and later undergraduate exchange fieldwork programmes, which corresponded with the democratization of the access to the study of anthropology in the US and the ensuing growing demand for fieldwork locations, preferably and whenever possible, in exotic contexts.

Ironically, the individual fieldwork projects offered many more grant opportunities to Brazilian scholars to study in the US, mainly through Herskovits' motivated and paternalistic efforts (for Ruy Coelho, Eduardo, René Ribeiro, José and Gizella Valladares, among others). With one exception, no Brazilian student-assistants involved in the UNESCO project were invited to complete their graduate studies in the US (De Azevedo 1968).¹¹⁵ This also applied to the

113 FSH to Carter, October 7, 1969.

114 The obituary in the *New York Times* read: "Evanston, Ill., May 7 – Mrs. Frances Shapiro Herskovits, an anthropologist who worked with her late husband, Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, on African cultural anthropology, died Thursday at the age of 74. Mrs. Herskovits and her husband, who died in 1963, taught at Northwestern University. She edited books based on their research. Her own book, 'Cultural Relativism,' is virtually complete and scheduled for publication. She co-authored with her husband 'Rebel Destiny: Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana,' published in 1934. Surviving are a daughter, Dr. Jean Herskovits, a member of the faculty of the New York State University at Purchase, N. Y., and a sister, Mrs. Harry Dolkart." In fact, *Cultural Relativism* was another anthology of Melville's work. Her own book would never be.

115 To be fair, Thales de Azevedo received an invitation to visit and lecture at Columbia University in 1952. He travelled with his wife, spending six months in the US. In this period,

graduate and undergraduate field programmes, which were much less focused on exchange with local faculties and students than the UNESCO-Columbia-State of Bahia project was. The standout scholar was Josildeth Gomes, a brilliant black student of De Azevedo. She had been an assistant first to Marvin Harris in 1952 and later to Anthony Leeds. With a twenty-four-month Brazilian Capes grant she managed to do a part of her doctorate at Columbia (Gomes 2009, 2014).

The fact that the State of Bahia itself largely financed the tripartite project I think explains why that project included a certain degree of reciprocity and the formal training of Brazilian student-assistants. Anthropologist Vivaldo da Costa Lima, then possibly the best-known scholar in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies in Bahia, and one of the more renowned in Brazil more generally, tried to obtain a grant to complete his studies in the US through his connection with Frances Herskovits, in 1967, but failed to get a grant after all. That is, despite the undeniable qualities of the several community studies carried out in those fieldwork projects, which reverberated positively throughout the Brazilian social sciences one way or another, these exchange projects were conceived of on an extremely unequal basis and did not contribute to consolidating and making Bahia-based anthropology less provincial as much as they should have done.

he also called on the Herskovitses in Chicago, and seemed have maintained a friendly relationship with the couple over time (see Thales to MJH, November 4, 1952, and MJH to Thales, November 12, 1952, Box 59, Folder 7, NU). According to my colleague Maria Rosario de Carvalho, Raymundo Duarte, a senior undergraduate student in social sciences, received a grant to study in the US, but he turned down the offer because he had just got married. One possible reason for the scarcity of foreign grants for Bahia students was their relatively small number in the 50s and 60s compared to São Paulo, Rio and even Recife.

Conclusions – Facilitators or Gatekeepers

This book has dealt with the trajectory of four remarkable scholars in Brazil, especially in Salvador da Bahia. We have seen how carefully they prepared their field trips in Brazil, which would correspond to the most extended period of fieldwork in their career abroad for all of them. We have also seen how their curiosity for Brazil was nurtured by the hope to find there, if not a race-free heaven, then at least a society that had a less acute and violent variant of racism than in the US in those days. However, their ethnographic sensibility was also informed by the canon in their discipline: sociology, and linguistic and cultural anthropology. Despite a sometimes-similar focus and the fact that they shared, at least in part, the same cohort of informants, their methods, type of fieldwork, questions they raised and networks were quite divergent. In the first three chapters of this book, the chronological and comparative description of the intertwined journeys of our four scholars have emphasized parallels, shared moments and spaces, tensions and joint views among them. Their experiences in Brazil and Bahia were similar but also showed that academic status, skin colour and personal political agendas profoundly affected how they perceived social facts and how the social environment perceived them. However, if all this impacted on the position of the individual scholars and the place from which they spoke, their discipline – with its style, jargon and canon – strongly influenced the way they fashioned their fieldwork and came to their conclusions. Here the point is that Lorenzo, Franklin, Frances and Melville were not just interpreters, subject to their discipline, but also an active part of the whole.

Their research in Bahia was undoubtedly part of a specific historical moment, which related to the successful encounter between a local or regional modernist agenda and the international yearning for safe havens in a world tormented by racial segregation, first, and the horrors of WWII, later. The four scholars benefited from the Good Neighbor Policy, which provided the resources for such research for the first time. Still, they were pathbreakers and each carried out their research in their own innovative way. Their experience in Bahia would have a lasting impact on the future of Afro-Brazilian, Afro-American and African studies in the US. It would also contribute to paving the way for the transformation of Bahia into an ideal field station for ethnographic training in the tropics.

The construction of Bahia as a perfect research site has been an almost century-long process, which started in the mid-1930s and continues today. It has been a process that has been affected by local or regional political and

intellectual agendas and transnational perspectives and projects. It has been the nexus of plans and projects developed in Brazil, the US and France, on some occasions (Merkel 2022). It has been not only a “macro” phenomenon, however, since, as we have seen throughout this book, it has also had myriad “micro” dimensions and episodes. This is where individual trajectories, emotions and sensibilities have come to the fore in making the multilayered entanglement I have tried to detail.

At this point, I owe an apology. I have focused on only some episodes of the narrative, hopefully exemplary ones, in this book. The complete reconstruction of the flows and networks involved in the exchanges described would be a much broader and altogether different project, which would require an alternative methodology based on collective curatorship, interdisciplinary collaboration and crowd-sharing. As it is, the experiences of our four scholars in Brazil do not lend themselves to stern conclusions on centres and peripheries, as I was inclined to draw before this research. Nonetheless, they shed new light on the often-subtle dynamics through which relationships of power and authority work in the social sciences and through which coloniality is constructed from within and without in Brazil.

The condition of coloniality has led to severe limitations for developing cutting-edge and internationally recognized research in the social sciences in Bahia. In fact, the work of the four individuals in question highlights a double tension. On the one hand, Bahia – its exotic landscape and tropical popular culture – impacted on social scientists from the outside, who were primarily, though not exclusively, foreigners. Furthermore, several themes and categories that were elaborated based on their fieldwork or impressions gathered in Bahia would later influence Afro-Brazilian, Afro-American and even African studies in the US. On the other hand, the presence, resources and networks of these scholars “from the outside” impacted on Bahia, especially its intellectual climate, the Candomblé community and the conditions for producing scientific knowledge.

Until recently, Melville Herskovits was undoubtedly the author with the strongest and most lasting impact on the Brazilian social sciences – at least until the eighties. Turner and Frazier may never have supervised a Brazilian student, but MJH was an excellent professor and supervisor, often fatherly, to a few critical Brazilian scholars. His influence faded somewhat in Brazil during the 1970s, but in the US it was revamped in the same decade due to three factors. First, the advent of a feminist perspective on family organization fed into Herskovits’ perception of the matrifocal black family as a positive asset and an element of African survival. Let us consider the conclusion of the famous and

seminal review of the literature on the black family in the Americas by MacDonald and MacDonald (1978):

The cultural materialist approach [that is, that of MJH] is the most illuminating of the theories brought forward by recent works because it takes into account the past as well as the present and the political and economic as well as the cultural. The prevalence of adaptive kindred among poor blacks in the New World combined in a unique syndrome with frequently impermanent unions, frequent matrifocality, wide-spread child fostering, emphasis on consanguine rather than affinal bonds and great reliance on fictive kinship, demonstrate the survival – and the survival value – of refashioned West African ethnic traditions. (MacDonald and MacDonald 1978: 33)¹

Second, Herskovits' perspective, best teased out in *The Myth of the Negro Past*, that “the millions of African who were dragged to the New World were not blank slates upon which European civilization would write at will” (Mintz 1990:xviii), suited the theoretical and empirical premises of the social history of slavery and its culture that started to be developed in the US and in Brazil in the 1970s. These new perspectives in the study of slavery also scrutinized conflict and negotiation in the slave condition, emphasized agency on the part of the enslaved against all odds, and did not make room for moral annihilation or slavery as “social death”, as Jamaican sociologist Orlando Patterson put it in his classic, *Slavery and Social Death* (1982).

Third, in the years after the heydays of the Civil Rights Movement, the African survival approach fit relatively smoothly into the move to create Black studies and change the academic curriculum towards a more tolerant view of ethnic heritage. The paradigm that was centred on the pursuit and celebration of African survivals rhymed with multiculturalism in US education better than any race and class analysis – pace Frazier – would ever have been able to do. As Walter Jackson pointed out, as particularism and universalism were both tendencies in Boasian anthropology, with Ruth Benedict opposing Herskovits, so were they also in black consciousness:

1 The black American family has long been a political issue, especially during election campaigns, due to the controversy over welfare benefits to poor black families. The moral and political division of the poor into deserving and undeserving has been the dark side of the welfare state since its inception in the US. In the Caribbean and Latin America, similar family arrangements to those then defined as typical of the black family in the US have been historically much less a focus of political contentions and moral campaigns.

With the reemergence of black nationalism [in the US] in the late 1960s, there was a reawakening of interest in African traditions among Afro-Americans and a reexamination of the whole issue of African traditions. Anthropologists turned to Herskovits' writing as a starting point for investigations of Afro-American cultures (Whitten and Szwed eds. 1969). Historians found in his emphasis on slave resistance and reinterpretation of African traditions a way of discovering the world of early Afro-Americans. By the end of the 1970s, it was rare to find an anthropologist or historian who would argue that slavery had "stripped" blacks of African culture. Through a complex political and intellectual change process, Herskovits' work received its greatest recognition in the years after his death. (Jackson 1986:123-4)

However, lasting impact is subject to alternating fortunes. Over the past decade, Turner has been rediscovered by the Anacostia Museum of the Smithsonian Institute and others; the intellectually and politically tormented Frazier, the character I feel most empathy with, has been observed in a different light, as a race- and class-conscious cosmopolitan and engaged intellectual. Turner was remembered, until recently, primarily for his work among the Gullah. His research on Brazil was ignored. A different and ironic destiny had been reserved for Frazier: after his death, he was mostly quoted in association with the so-called crisis of the black family. After the political use of such moral notions in Daniel Patrick Moynihan's report "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action" (1965), and later in the jargon of the civil servants involved in the War on Poverty, Franklin Frazier, often in the company of Oscar Lewis, the inventor of the term "culture of poverty" (whose career had been severely constrained by McCarthyism, which declared him left wing), was declared persona non grata in the scholarship on race relations in the US and labelled a conservative.²

What makes Frazier's position more relevant in Brazil is that the contention between him and Herskovits, on the origin or essence of the black family, anticipated a tension within the field of Afro-Brazilian studies that would become more overt just a few years later. In the mid-1950s, the area of Afro-Brazilian studies would split into "*Estudos afro-brasileiros*" and "*Estudos do negro*" (which later became the "study of race relations"). The latter group decried the folklorization of the Negro and the absence of focus on the "real Negro" by the

2 I "rediscovered" a much more progressive Oscar Lewis during my research for my PhD on new poverty and ethnicity among Surinamese immigrants in the Netherlands and their homeland, Suriname, in the 1980s and I am, so to speak, "rediscovering" Frazier in this book.

so-called culturalist generation, although it recognized the authority of this generation in terms of the study of black cultural expressions. In the study of race relations, the leading critics of the culturalist view were Luis Costa Pinto, Florestan Fernandes, Guerreiro Ramos and Édison Carneiro. Later this group would be joined by Roger Bastide, Otavio Ianni, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and others. From the 1970s, the debate ended up being also an opposition between quantitative research and ethnographic research on race relations carried out in Rio, São Paulo and the South, as well as between ethnographic research on black cultural expressions, mostly Afro-Brazilian religions and sometimes music genres, mostly conducted in Bahia and, to a lesser extent, in Recife and São Luis. From the late 1980s, with the celebration of 100 years of abolition, redemocratization and the growth of new forms of black activism, things would change again. However, this shift is beyond the scope of this book.

At this point, even though my sympathy and preference for Frazier are undeniable, I need to be fair to Herskovits. As said, he was a gatekeeper, but one with a mission, from whom black activism and new perspectives on African heritage benefited at times. Since Gershenhorn's book on MJH (2004) and Patterson's (2001) and Stocking's (2002) on US anthropology, in association with the trend for a scrutiny of anthropological authority more generally, there has been a profound review of the intellectual and political power and authority of anthropologists such as MJH.³ This reappraisal led to the documentary, *Herskovits at the Heart of Blackness*, directed by Vincent Brown⁴ and produced by the US Public Broadcast System in 2010, and to Jean Allman's scouring presidential lecture, "#Herskovits must fall?", at the 2018 ASA conference (Allman 2020). Allman scrutinized the role of Herskovits as the founding father of African studies and his influential role in the African Studies Association – of which he was the first president. Indeed, Herskovits represented the epitome of the pre-WWII US anthropologist before access to the discipline became less elitist, thanks to the GI Bill of Rights. This Bill, which among others created educational opportunities for returning veterans, meant that the number of anthropologists in the US increased and that fieldwork opportunities for a greater cohort of PhD candidates had to be created. Again, Brazil became the key region in Latin America, possibly only after Mexico, which was perceived as more backward and culturally traditional (especially the State of Yucatán in

3 Vincent Brown called MJH "the Elvis of Afro-American Studies", and Johanetta Cole, an MJH graduate student, said that he seemed to be "driven by the power that Africa gave him" (Simmons 2011:483–485).

4 <https://www.pbs.org/independentlens/films/herskovits-heart-blackness/>

Mexico, a bit like the State of Bahia in Brazil), and has historically and emotionally been much more closely connected to the US, also in terms of a fieldwork destination for US anthropologists.

It is, however, not only a question of number but also of style. In my writings on the Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso's cabinet of curiosities and the making of ethnography in Latin America in the years 1890–1910, I speak of home (or family) science (Sansone 2020, 2022). Even though the US in the 1930s and 1940s showed a much higher degree of institutionalization of the social sciences than Brazil in the same decades, and Italy around 1900, in many ways one could use the term family science to classify Melville and Frances Herskovits' practice of anthropology: a specific and entirely personalized way of managing the paradigm centred on the notion of Africanisms or African survivals and their intellectual configuration (Yelvington 2011). They were a couple surrounded by a loyal group of acolytes composed of PhD students and former PhD students then at the beginning of their academic career.⁵ Their connections across the New World were developed in a context of generally sparse intellectual environments (with a very restricted group of intellectuals and social scientists to relate to), in small countries with (much) less developed centres and opportunities for the practice of anthropology (Suriname, Dahomey, Haiti, Trinidad and Bahia). In Haiti, they had the support of the network of Jean Price-Mars (1876–1969) and in Suriname, they were assisted by Rudolf Van Lier (1914–1987), a colonial administrator and clever self-taught historian. Frazier and Turner had even less anthropological practice. Brazil was their first important fieldwork experience abroad. The lack of, or thin, experience of the four scholars was an important factor in the style of their fieldwork in Bahia. In Brazil, even though the teaching of social sciences in universities was still in its dawn, the four encountered there a denser intellectual environment and, if only for the sheer size of the country, had to face a more complex and segmented society with much more internal diversity. Brazil, moreover, was in those days for Herskovits and his academic-political plans a sort of

5 This is reminiscent of Stocking's description of Boas' way of working, a couple of decades before: "Perhaps a more illuminating metaphor is suggested in Kroeber's comment that Boas was 'a true patriarch'—a powerful and rather forbidding father figure who rewarded his offspring with nurturing support insofar as he felt that they were genuinely identifying with him, but who was indifferent and even punishing if the occasion demanded it. In short, the Boasians may be better understood, as their usage would imply, in terms of a different model of human group identity: the family (p. 11). ... Research was carried out in non- or quasi-academic contexts (p. 13) and was mainly supported by individual philanthropy, channeled through the museums; universities provided little if any money for anthropological research (p. 14)" (Stocking 2002).

cultural and racial alter ego of the US. His visit to the country was also motivated by the GNP.

In any case, in these flows, when considered more generally, the global South was almost always at the receiving end while the global North was the giving end. After World War II the situation changed, as we have seen. The key question is to what extent and in which concrete aspects did these changes make a real difference in Bahia. Was the new stage that started in 1950 conducive to better conditions for the production of knowledge and the empowerment of the then young Brazilian anthropology? Or was it that, in Brazil, this discipline was born in a context where coloniality and dependency were still very strong, and such unequal conditions of scholarship would persist?⁶

It makes no sense, and is unfair, to dissect MJH's trajectory without at least casting an eye also on what occurred afterwards, in the successive stages of scholarly exchange between the US and Brazil, especially Bahia. One crucial point of distinction concerning Herskovits, compared to later generations of US anthropologists, was that he had a life plan and a project for the development of Afro-American studies and, later, African studies. He would go a long way towards achieving his aim. He stayed on at Northwestern from the beginning of his career until his death, a timespan of almost thirty years. In recognition, the outstanding Africana library of that university is named the Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies.

Generations of US anthropologists, for reasons related to the functioning of US academia and professional careers therein, have since been much more mobile. For example, Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris decided to move from Columbia to the University of Florida at Gainesville, which was becoming an important centre in Latin American studies. On the one hand, this movement of academics has been a hurdle in developing stable interinstitutional

6 Emancipation is not just the political and economic liberation from colonial or racial oppression. Sufficient space must also exist or be created for a plurality of authentic voices and a multiplicity of local forms of knowledge. Since the global network of scientific communication continues to be biased in favour of particular epistemologies, specific languages and particular foci of research imposed from outside, it is obvious that such a space remains to be defined and or else the famous silences will persist. Over two decades ago, Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (1997) identified an implicit division of labour in the field of African studies, in which African scholars produced closely conceptualized empirical research (after all, they did not have adequate access to literature), which "Africanists" subsequently collected and processed for their big studies and large-scale transnational theories. It can be argued that such a division of labour and tasks between "local" and "international" scholars has also been intrinsic to transnational Afro-Brazilian studies.

exchanges between Brazil and the US.⁷ On the other hand, more and more opportunities have arisen for individual North–South projects, for instance, due to the popularization of Fulbright grants for US and Brazilian scholars. Such a situation often creates opportunities for win-win relations between scholars in Brazil and in the US on an individual basis, but much less so for institution-building and the much-needed internationalization of graduate studies and research more generally in Bahia.

Whether Herskovits was a conservative or a liberal is often misconstrued. From what we read in this book, we could easily gather that he passed as a liberal in his days. However, this liberal stance can become more conservative when it concerns the “Other” at home. Herskovits often mistrusted African-American scholars on the grounds of their supposed lack of scientific objectivity (Anderson 2008; Gershenhorn 2004). He also doubted the “Others” abroad in the tropical alter ego of the US, Brazil, whom he considered, for different reasons, self-seeking and not entirely trustworthy.⁸ My position on the liberal vs conservative stand of Herskovits is ambivalent and shifting. On the one hand, in line with James Fernandez (1990), one of his last students, I do not consider Herskovits a conservative: “He considered himself to be – and I think he was – a humanist and a humanitarian” (Fernandez 1990:141). Cultural relativism did not, for him, suspend the requirement of shared humanity (1990:142).

The source of his cultural relativism was scientific observation. Throughout his career, Herskovits was extremely active in carrying anthropology into the public arena, speaking at churches, social groups and schools of all kinds about the fruits of anthropological wisdom (1990:147). Yet, distancing was a requisite of world citizenship, as it was perhaps the only sure guarantee of world order (1990:149).⁹ With Redfield, MJH believed that cultural relativism was not a doctrine of ethical indifference. But at the same time he was very cautious about action anthropology. So, while Herskovits emphasized the practical aspect

7 While it has been relatively easy to make and maintain connections with individual scholars in the US, I experienced significant hurdles in my attempts to develop institutional agreements with US universities, especially when I was the head of the International Office at UFBA from 2014 to 2015.

8 As Anthony Pereira (2019) has shown in his study of the Brazilian trajectory of Samuel Huntington, liberal stances at home in the US, and even militancy in the Democratic Party, could go hand in hand with support of the 1964 coup d'état in Brazil, on the grounds that otherwise communism would have taken over and that could have endangered the democratic texture of US society. For Herskovits, it was precisely the opposite: he was more of a liberal in Bahia and, later, in Mozambique in 1952, than he was at home in the US.

9 Here I believe that his experience as a Jew played a key role (Yelvington 2000).

of relativism, he was hesitant to engage in active advocacy on social issues because of the ethnocentric values that were often implicit or explicit in any action or advocacy programme (Fernandez 1990:151). It was a long-standing dilemma for Herskovits, who was a public man, frequently speaking on anthropological issues that were relevant to racism, American policy in the world and particularly in Africa (1990:150). In his earlier years, he had confronted Malinowski's suggestions that anthropology could assist colonial administrators and help them work better in understanding the locals. Herskovits' strong, persistent, decades-long attack on racism must still be relevant today, but perhaps even more relevant and revelatory was his tendency to see racism in the context of a set of relationships in the world – what we would now call the world system – which was egregiously intolerant and essentially imperialist in nature (1990:158).

On the other hand, unfortunately, as a neat result of Herskovits' staunch aversion to action research and his firm belief that emotional distance from the object of research was key – even though we have seen throughout this book that he could be quite emotional about the object of his fieldwork in Brazil – he tended to mistrust the small, but growing number of black scholars active in the field of African-American studies and, later, African studies. There is enough evidence of it regarding Zora Hurston, Du Bois and even Turner and Frazier (see Gershenhorn 2004), to indicate that he was a *de facto* conservative force in the US academy. At the same time, Herskovits, who certainly was a gatekeeper and often unfair to black scholars in the US, was considered a facilitator in Bahia – in terms of resources, access to literature, political protection for Candomblé houses through his prestige and sheer presence, and introductions to international connections – and even one of the patrons of Brazilian anthropology. It is true that all the Brazilian students who managed to obtain a MA or PhD grant through his intervention were white, but they all had fond memories of Mel, as a dedicated, caring and even friendly supervisor.

Let me add that, predictably, over the last twenty years while researching for this book I have come to realize that the field of Afro-Brazilian studies has always been more complex than I imagined at first. It does not lend itself to straightforward generalization and sweeping statements, especially when you add an international Brazil-US comparative perspective – which still requires a lot of methodological refinement. Nonetheless, whatever conclusion is drawn on the transnational dimension of Afro-Brazilian studies, from the moment of its inception in the academic establishment in the mid-1930s, requires a critical assessment of power and the positioning of knowledge in the US-Brazil academic exchange. This assessment can lead to embarrassing discoveries – for instance, regarding the complex and unequal relationship between Bahia's

local contacts (or gatekeepers), such as Édison Carneiro and José Valladares, and American professors who visited Brazil and Bahia. The former had the local knowledge and could assist the foreigners in their fieldwork, while the latter, especially when they were white, had grants to offer or connections to American universities, which, among others, Arthur Ramos and Valladares made use of.

I wonder how the gathering of information and the picture of Brazil provided by these key informants was affected by the unequal basis of this intellectual exchange. I think that most of these major Brazilian intellectuals, then and perhaps even now, tended to tell American visitors exactly what they wanted to know and “discover”. In those days, those visitors were looking for a racial democracy in Brazil to counteract the racial segregation in the United States, and they were given “evidence” of it. In the 1990s, American researchers portrayed Brazil as a house of horrors (modernity had gone wrong), and they were given “evidence” that Brazil was a racial hell. With the advent of the Lula era, things changed again, and Brazil started anew to be represented as a positive example of the struggle against racial inequalities (Sansone 2011). With the Bolsonaro government, the country became a new hell. An equal relationship between US and Brazilian scholars in this field is still wanting.

The transnationalism of Afro-Brazilian studies was born complex, with tensions relating to colour/race, local/international, North-South, North and South Brazil, and has been increasingly so. The field, especially regarding anthropology, has been entangled with cultural, racial and political agendas that have frequently originated elsewhere. In many ways, we can even speak of an entangled history (Siegel 2009:x–xiv), whereby biographies, emotions, individual and collective projects of emancipation from racism and colonialism, and academic and political agendas are constructed in a transnational fashion and the local can be part of the global. In this process, as a representation of the flaws of the systems of race relations and racial hierarchies, Brazil and the US are the mirror image of each other. African Americans read race relations in Brazil to their political advantage and, similarly, Afro Brazilians read race relations in the US (which they get to know indirectly because few can travel to the US) in ways that make sense of their struggle against racism in Brazil. Misunderstandings, outright mistaken interpretation and even absurdities and funny translation flaws can be part of such mirror reading, which tends to be inherently comparative and thus exaggerated, as Seigel (2009:208–239) shows. In this respect, it seems necessary to embed, much more than I have been able to do here, such entanglement in the context of the reception of “the ideas out of place” and that come “from the outside” in Brazil – a phenomenon that has generated quite a scholarship of its own (see Schwarz 1992).

In terms of the international flows from North to South, we have seen that there has been a trend moving from scholars arriving for individual research projects to summer school scholars joining a particular programme,¹⁰ with quite a few intermediate stages. Generally speaking, the numbers of foreign visitors (also from other parts of Brazil and, more recently, the rest of Afro-Latin America) have become increasingly bigger, and the community of scholars is becoming less elitist and more culturally and ethnically diverse. Nonetheless, although Bahia remains a magic place for research and field experience, a well-spring for an ethnographer, it is still no home for institution-building or the empowerment of local anthropologists.¹¹ Power imbalance was and still is part and parcel of such entanglement. Within this transnational exchange, there are hierarchies, giving and receiving ends, centres and peripheries, haves and have-nots, global South and global North, racial tensions, imperial projects and attitudes, and the coloniality of much of the Brazilian intellectual elite. Bahia's subaltern position in the social sciences is created not only from without but also from within. To a lesser extent, such entanglement with the US has also concerned African studies carried out in Brazil.¹²

In more recent times, in intellectual and popular discourses about race relations in Brazil, United States-based scholars and representations of American race relations and black politics have played a significant role, whether negative or, more recently, positive, as an example to be followed in terms of affirmative action and even identity politics. One can argue that the field of ethnic and racial studies historically has been transnational as well as troublesome. Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant contended that this is primarily the

10 Often, professors (especially junior ones) at US universities supplement their annual salary by engaging with the summer school programme of their university. Frequently these summer schools are offered abroad, sometimes in partnership with a local scholar. For a number of years, I was the local scholar in the Summer Abroad Program of the Department of Black Studies of UC Berkeley. Over the last thirty years at *CEAO/UFBA*, we have had cooperation agreements of such a nature with several US universities. In most cases, these have concerned the departments or programmes of Black or Ethnic studies, for which – obviously – Bahia has been a preferred destination.

11 “As from 1935, Bahia became an important ethnographic region if not a proper ‘ethnographic laboratory.’” (Valladares 2010)

12 On the history of African studies in Brazil, see the Centre of Afro-Oriental Studies (*CEAO/UFBA*) in Bahia, the Centre of Afro Asian Studies (*CEAA/UCAM*) in Rio and the journals *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* and *Afro-Ásia*; also, Reis 2015, Sansone 2019, Teles dos Santos 2021 and www.afroasia.ufba.br. It is worth mentioning that since 2005 *CEAO/UFBA* has hosted Posafro (Interdisciplinary Graduate Program in Ethnic and African Studies), the only such programme south of the Rio Grande that offers a PhD which, as its name says, brings together ethnic studies and African studies (www.posafro.ufba.br).

result of a more recent internationalization – or even Americanization – of the academic canons from the 1990s (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1999). The reaction of several Brazilian scholars to the accusation of being “Americanized”, not exactly viewed as a compliment across Latin America, was very lively with a heated discussion on the “import” of US ideas of race to Brazil and what to do to reverse racial discrimination and the kind of racism and antiracism that would characterize Brazil. What was at stake in the discussion was the condition for the production of knowledge on race relations in Brazil and whether that could take place without bias when most of the funding came from US foundations, especially Ford, Mellon, MacArthur and Rockefeller. The debate on the acritical import to Brazil of racial theory developed in the US context, sparked by Bourdieu and Wacquant’s article, besides reflecting a century-old discussion on the reception of foreign ideas by the Brazilian intellectual elites, needs to be historicized. It has much deeper historical roots than is often assumed, right down to the making of the Brazilian nation.¹³

Brazil’s relationship with the US continues to be important but painful (especially when financial resources are scarce) and is subject to the whimsies of national politics (depending on who is the president of the US or Brazil). Whether black or non-black, local scholars in Bahia have been tied up in complex agendas around resources, emotions and identity politics. For several scholars based in the US, black and non-black, Field Station Bahia has been a rewarding and convenient location. US-based scholars here had the advantages of exoticism plus the authority that derived from the value of their hard currency. Here they could afford a lifestyle they could not in the US, and relative comfort that is hard to get in Africa. As a Senegalese colleague once put it to me: “*La Bahia c’est l’Afrique possible.*”

13 See the special issues of the journals *Theory, Culture and Society* (2001) and *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* (<https://www.scielo.br/j/eea/a/QGzDPgNjLZyjbwpjvzNvBpx/?format=pdf&lang=pt>) that were dedicated to debating this polemic article and Sansone 2002. Let me add that I was then the editor of *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*.

Postface

Books, based on archival or ethnographic research or both, are mainly conceived as the solitary result of individual accumulation. Knowledge, instead, is more easily understood as the result of circulation, sharing and even imitation or mimesis. I have always been more prone to share and exchange than accumulate individually. Since I settled in Brazil in 1992, my professional life has been intertwined with the history of most of the documents I used in the research for this book. I have been very much involved with their digital repatriation to make them accessible to the growing numbers of young and, increasingly, black scholars. Some might be interested in reading and reinterpreting them. As a result of my emphasis on sharing, individual books written by me have been relatively wanting in my career, even during my prime. Instead, I have indulged in collective oeuvres, compilations and seminars or intensive courses that result in meta-texts. So much social engineering takes its toll: I shared documents with colleagues, inspired by historian Paul Lovejoy's admonishment, "do not sit on the archive", and immediately made available online most of the papers I repatriated from the US and France. I insisted on collective curatorship of documents when, perhaps, I should have been more focused and produced my book about these documents first. I could have shared documents and findings afterwards, as the canon commends. I would have published more individual books but contributed less to what I assume has been the improvement of the conditions for the production of knowledge in Brazil, more especially in Bahia.

This book has a history – and stories – interlinked with those of my two main projects in that kind of social engineering: The Factory of Ideas and the Afrodigital Museum. This book is also part of a larger project on the international circulation of ideas about race and antiracism.

For several personal reasons, at the age of sixty I decided to embark on a long-term project that would take a decade or more to be completed. The project focused on the transnational construction of the notion of race and antiracism, as seen in Latin America and especially Bahia, and was conceived in three stages, each of which shows a specific form of transnationalism. It relates to emancipation in diverse forms, equal to the notion of globalization, even though transnationalism has a more innocent image than globalization and lacks the revolutionary and pacifist connotation of internationalism. Transnationalism, or transnational concepts such as Black Atlantic or African Diaspora, suggests the inherent limitation of the nation and its boundaries – which can be more acute in certain moments of history – and the polarity of global icons versus local meanings.

The first stage of the project concerned ethnographic curiosity and sensibility in Latin America in the period that corresponds to the heyday of racial thought, from 1880 to WWI. The case of Latin America makes evident, perhaps more than anywhere else, that ethnographic curiosity and sensibility develop from within (and not just from without) hegemonic racialism – the religion of race, as physical anthropologist Cavalli-Sforza put it in his last book (Cavalli-Sforza and Padoan 2013). In Brazil, Cuba and Argentina, this sensibility was powerfully informed by the methods and philosophy of the Italian *Scuola Positiva*, whose central figure was Cesare Lombroso – physician, psychiatrist, criminologist, anthropologist, collector, hygienist, socialist, Jew, positivist, racist, a supporter of miscegenation, anticolonialist and spiritualist (Sansone 2022).

The second stage of the project was to study materials related to the transnational construction of the academic field of Afro-Brazilian studies in the 1930s and 1940s. It also focused on documents that concerned the way Brazil, and particularly the State of Bahia, held a central place in the development of the notion of Africanism, as articulated by Melville Herskovits, his associates, and the many scholars he influenced, as well as Frances Herskovits. Lorenzo Dow Turner and E. Franklin Frazier, whose work and time in Bahia are described in this book, would engage critically with Herskovits' notion. It would prove essential in the subsequent creation of African studies in the US. It would reverberate in the development of new varieties of *Négritude* as part of the process that led to the independence of most African countries in the 1960s (except for the Portuguese colonies and white-dominated Rhodesia, South-West Africa and South Africa). Africanism also impacted on the redefinition of African-American identity on the eve of the Civil Rights Movement in the US (Sansone 2019 and 2022a). This book is the result of this second stage.

The third and last part of the project – my current research – emphasizes the impact of the making of Afro-American studies and African studies in North and South America and its effect on the life and trajectories of the independence leaders of African countries from the 1950s. It focuses mainly on the path of the Mozambican, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, who was trained as a sociologist in the US by, among others, Melville Herskovits. The Mondlane and Herskovits families stayed in touch for decades.

Researching and writing should be always also a matter of learning. I have learned a lot in writing this book, which I did during the Covid-19 pandemic.¹

¹ In many ways, this book has been a way to make sense of that terrible pandemic that bereaved us of so many loved ones, including my father Agostino. During the many, long months of quarantine and social isolation in Brazil, my review from the South counted on

Twenty years ago, when I started researching a set of important aspects of the making of Afro-Brazilian studies, I was firmly convinced of two things. First, that we needed a postcolonial – or was it decolonial? – rewriting of the history of Afro-Brazilian studies and that this needed to be done from the South. It meant subverting the conventional geopolitics of knowledge that traditionally had assigned to Brazil – and Bahia within it – the function of ethnographic “field station” rather than a place from which to make general theoretical considerations. I am more convinced than ever of the need to subvert this unequal and unjust relationship but this has proven much more complicated than I imagined. For a start, as we have seen, in this unequal relationship there was not just and foremost patronage from North to South, but also affection, camaraderie, friendship, genuine antiracist solidarity and, last but not least, a firm emotional belief in the force of *orixás* and *saudades*.

Second, “doing research from the South” has often been a rhetorical and confrontational expression, suggesting that there is a general South and that being there bestows on the researcher a specific authority to speak somehow “on behalf of the South”. Without denying the power relations that the expression “South” conveys, I am here stressing several practical aspects of a scholar’s daily life in the South (of the South). I am based in Salvador, Bahia – a place with exciting fieldwork opportunities and interesting documentation for the historian of slavery, but with very poor libraries and archives, especially of works on the period after abolition (1888). It has meant that research for this book had to be carried out in the North – where the best archives are – in short but very intensive periods, whenever I had the opportunity and the funds. An insufficiency of funds resulted chiefly in brief visits to a particular archive or library and a long time to elaborate on the findings. It also meant (too) long intervals between research in one or another archive that I filled in by attempting to systematize the documents gathered in the North and reading anything published on the field. Most of the time, the publications concerned were in the US, which meant having to purchase them or read them online (if only in parts) because Brazilian libraries have never been able to hold all or even most of the books dedicated to Afro-Brazilian studies, especially if these have been published abroad. And try as I might I could not purchase them.²

a broad number of generous colleagues in the global North who assisted my research in a variety of ways. Without them, my incursion into the archives of the North would have been almost fruitless. Also, Sci-Hub, LibGen and other digital libraries have been essential to my project.

2 This difficulty of access is changing, thanks to the development of free knowledge in the digital community. Alexandra Elbakyan (creator of the Sci-Hub digital library) is one of the people who contributed most to the research for the present book.

1 The Global Politics of the Archive

Apart from the few severe limitations to the concrete conditions for knowledge production in Bahia discussed above,³ the global politics of the archive (which includes the politics of storage, of what and how to store and where and for whom) have severely affected the production of knowledge in Bahia. But at long last the past two decades have been a period of opening up of our universities to a large and new generation of black or underprivileged students who, thanks to affirmative action, for the first time have access to higher education.

The lack of archives in Bahia, and more generally in Brazil, has been a source of great frustration and the galvanising force of many of my projects over the last thirty years.⁴ Moving from the University of Amsterdam, where I obtained my doctorate, to the Federal University of Bahia in 1992, I soon concluded that we needed a politics and practice of (digital) repatriation as a form of reparation for the traditional politics of the archive (by which the “proper” archive was meant to be kept in the North while the field and “bad archives” stayed in the South) (Sansone 2011). I spent my last few weeks in Amsterdam making photocopies for colleagues in the Department of Anthropology at UFBA and for the courses I had been invited to teach in Bahia. In the end I had a suitcase full of photocopies, and among them was the exchange between Frazier and Herskovits on the origin of the black family. These articles were not available in the FFCH/UFBA library, only about one kilometre from the Gantois and right beside the São Lázaro Church, two of the main sites in Landes’ and Herskovits’ photos. My colleagues and friends, Michel Agier and Jeferson Bacelar, asked me for a copy, which I was able to give them right away. The fact that these articles resulting from research in Bahia in the 1940s, which I had read in Amsterdam as part of my graduate education in Caribbean and ethnic studies, had been

3 These difficulties would have been insurmountable were it not for a set of outstanding specialists based in the United States and France who generously shared with me their data, insights and, often, PDFs of otherwise hard-to-get papers.

4 The feeling that in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies a more proactive attitude towards internationalization – and foreign scholarship in general – was needed was the main source of inspiration for the creation of the Factory of Ideas: Advanced Doctoral School of Ethnic and African studies, which was initiated in 1998. I have been the general coordinator of this project ever since. From 2010, the issues of heritage, heritage preservation, intangible heritage and (digital) repatriation became the top priorities of the Factory of Ideas. In 2005, at the CEAO, the first graduate programme with an MA and PhD course in ethnic and African studies (Posafro) was founded – thanks to an initial grant from the Ford Foundation. In 2010 Posafro created the Museu Afrodigital, which still survives as an outstanding example of its kind, despite a chronic lack of funding and a relative lack of experience in Brazil in the field of digital humanities.

somehow forgotten in Bahia, was evidence of the significant obstacles to the circulation of publications, ideas and information across the Black Atlantic.

Certain themes or documents that were important for African-American studies or/and Caribbean studies did not receive much attention in Brazil. Other more recent ideas and publications produced mainly in the US, regarding antiracism and affirmative action as well as comparative race relations studies, started arriving in Brazil in much more significant numbers especially after the celebration of 100 years of Abolition, in 1988, which was also the year of the first democratic Constitution in Brazil.

My main attempt to revert the politics of the archive mentioned above has been the creation of an experimental digital museum of Afro-Brazilian and African Heritage <https://afrodigitalmuseum.uni-bayreuth.de/>. It started in 2010 as an archive and now includes five Brazilian universities. It hinges on three key notions: digital donation, digital repatriation and digital generosity (Sansone 2019a). The idea of this digital museum came to mind in 2006 when, at the Schomburg Center, I came across the photos of the first official meeting of the Council of Faculty of the Institute of Philosophy in 1942, which had honoured Melville Herskovits in person. The Institute happens to be where I work at the Federal University of Bahia, and its archive had no such photos.⁵

An extra autobiographical touch, which makes me part of the field, is that I am a neighbour of the Gantois house, even if my relationship with the cult-house is primarily professional. At least once a year, at the end of the semester, I teach my last class of Classical Anthropological Thought in Brazil in Gantois, with the assistance of *Mãe* Marcia, who is not just any *ekedi*, but has worked at the CEAO for decades and is familiar with the social sciences and the working style of anthropologists. Moreover, I visit the Gantois for an occasional *feita*, on average once every six months. Living on the corner less than 100 metres from the shrine, I can hear the nightly drumming and fireworks from my bedroom. Besides, the older people in my family, one way or another, have been connected to the cult-house since their youth. They were all very familiar then with *Mãe* Menininha as they are now with *Mãe* Carmen.⁶ I have become

5 In 2019 I discovered that some of these photos were to be found in the personal archive of one of our professors at UFBA, the late Ott. Until not many years ago, “privatizing” public documents was a common practice among Brazilian academics, as in many other countries in the global South with equally poor archives.

6 I showed the picture to two old ladies, Tia Edinha and Dona Railda (my mother-in-law), neighbours of the Gantois house, who were quite close to Menininha and knew *Mãe* Carmen well. They had interesting – and nostalgic – recollections about the Gantois and the community. The images and the recordings were also shown in a PowerPoint presentation at several conferences in Brazil, like RBA, ANPOCS and Congresso Lusoafrobrasileiro.



FIGURE 37 Livio Sansone with his students at the entrance of the Gantois cult-house, April 4, 2017

PHOTO BY LIVIO SANSONE

relatively well known to the cult-house as a result – and I am one of the many who subscribe to the Gantois email bulletin and receive invitations to festivities in the house. Still, in this cult-house, I am an outsider and an observer who, as it should be, is also observed and carefully checked out.

2 To Repatriate or Not?

In the meantime, I have discovered that the process of digital repatriation presents a complexity very close to that of physical repatriation. A quick look at the Gantois house and its Candomblé community today, and their dialogue with various sections of society, including social scientists about eighty years after the four scholars first came to Bahia, and fifty-three after Frances's comeback, points to the conundrum of repatriation. The Gantois house, of course, has altered a lot over this long time. In a community that has experienced dramatic social changes, the cult-house has become more open to the outside and less interactive with its neighbourhood, which has become both larger and more complex, even in terms of religious life. If Frances was surprised by the changes in the community twenty-five years after her first visit, she would

be stunned by the present situation. It is characterized by a crisis in the relationship with the neighbourhood in which the house functions, which goes together with the growing influence of the cult-house beyond its immediate community. This is partly thanks to projects run by relative outsiders, such as groups of well-known musicians who, for instance, cut a CD in honour of a specific house. There is also a crisis in the continuity of the leadership of a number of the so-called traditional Candomblé houses, especially when a priestess dies and there is no agreement about her succession.

Over time, I have also realised that it is not clear what it is meant by repatriation. In many ways, the Herskovitses were convinced that they were doing some sort of repatriation, by bringing knowledge, artefacts, sounds and images from Africa and the Caribbean to Bahia as part of their fieldwork. Anthropologists often transfer knowledge, objects, craftwork, pictures and sounds from one location of their fieldwork to another, as I did between Suriname and Bahia and from Bahia to Guinea Bissau. A few years after the Herskovitses, Pierre Verger's photographic gaze was the lens through which the memory of Africa or descendants of Africa in the New World was awakened, and the process of repatriation took place. With his very personal style, Verger was as central to this repatriation as the images portrayed in his (excellent) pictures. Being able to commute memories and heritage across the Atlantic must have yielded for him and the Herskovitses an immeasurable sense of excitement, and even power.

More recently, two colleagues tried some kind of repatriation of the photos taken by Lorenzo Dow Turner. Olivia Gomes da Cunha (2020) and Xavier Vatin (2017) showed some of the photos and even played a selection of the recordings to the priest or priestess of a few cult-houses where those photos and recordings had been taken originally. They did not leave the material with the cult-house, because they felt they were not in a position to do so. Instead, they produced individual books and, in one case, a 72-minute documentary (Barreto 2019) which contains some of these photos and, to an extent, sounds. In my case, the digital project is a different matter because it is an institutional project, based at the CEAO/UFBA and supported with public funds, aimed at creating a digital archive – and then a digital museum – where images, sounds and documents may be accessed, commented on and even curated by individuals or groups. The project is based on local digital donation, international digital repatriation and digital generosity among scholars and other categories of people involved (black activists, people from the Candomblé community, high-school students, teachers, and so forth). Inspired by the principle of creative museology, and sharing information and documents based on the ideas of Creative Commons for the Afrodigital Museum, repatriation in this instance

is much less an individual action and much more part of a collective process of recognition and preservation (Sansone 2017).

However, as an experiment, I did repatriate some documents and many photos and recordings. Soon after I returned from the US in 2006, I was delighted to be able to give copies of the images and the recordings to Luis Nicolau Parés, Felix Omidire and *Mãe* Carmen of the Gantois house; my colleague and friend Fabio Lima gave them to *Mãe* Stella of the Ile Axe Apo Afonja house. I also left digital copies on CDs and pen drives with them, with special authorization by the SI to do so – and I thought that was the best thing to do. I was repatriating images and sounds and leaving them to the house to use as they pleased – and if and when it pleased them. Furthermore, having received authorization from the SI, MS and ATM, pictures and recordings had already been posted online in the first version of the Afrodigital website. While *Mãe* Stella reacted enthusiastically and thanked us for the gesture in a generous letter, *Mãe* Carmen's reaction was not the one I expected. When I presented my project in the main hall of the cult-house, she told the two *ekedi* who were there: "Close all the windows. I want to be the first person in the house to see the pictures." Something very similar had happened three years before to Olivia Gomes da Cunha (Da Cunha 2020:636).

Not all memory of the past is good or valuable for the present. When I presented the photos, locations and certain objects were recognized immediately. Although there are very many photos in cult-houses, there is a plethora of objects in them which are almost worshipped or treated as relics, such as the Memorial of *Mãe* Menininha, which is part of the Gantois cult-house (which contains very few photos).⁷ The people in the photos were often not recognized and in fact attracted less attention altogether. There was much less interest in people than I had imagined. It was much easier to recall places than people. Some people were not to be remembered anyway because, often, they had left the house after a quarrel. Repatriation is attractive to the Candomblé leadership when it suits the present arrangements. In the process of remembering, through observing the photos, what was remembered by the observers was almost always not what I would have liked them to remember. Sometimes memory failed. With others, there was just silence. It must be stressed that a certain elision in the process of answering questions from outsiders is typical of Candomblé leadership. A copy of a picture taken by Ruth Landes is now in the Memorial of *Mãe* Menininha, with no credit to the source. It is as if the cult-house is the valid owner of the photo. After all, what

7 A small collection of her personal objects is open to the public.

is the point of mentioning that it came from the Landes Collection at the NAA, Smithsonian Institute in Suitland, Virginia?

One of the Afrodigital Museum tenets, digital donation, has also faced obstacles. Only a few scholars, mostly younger, are willing to show and share their archives. There is no tradition of donating personal archives to the Municipal and State Public Archives in Salvador, Bahia. This is the result of a tense history in the relationship between Bahia scholars and the local archives, which are poor, non-existent or scarcely available (for lack of maintenance, resources, personnel and goodwill). In the not-so-distant past, large chunks of public archives (and, to a lesser extent, libraries) were de facto privatized, becoming part of the social and symbolic private archives and libraries of local scholars.⁸ The present situation of the archive in Bahia is reminiscent of the coloniality condition, the basis of which is the establishment of sets of episodes in which the colonizer distinguishes himself by grandeur and generosity and the colonized by mediocrity and provincialism.

Let us consider the different attitudes of the SI and the MAE/UFBA regarding images and copyrights. The Smithsonian (let us call it here the colonizer) has been much more agile and willing to repatriate large numbers of digital copies of Melville Herskovits' and Ruth Landes' photographs than one of the small museums of my university (let us call it the colonized). The latter had become the repository of the library and documents of late professor Valentin Calderon, which had two pictures of Melville Herskovits participating in a faculty meeting of our institute, the FFCH/UFBA. Calderon had de facto privatized these two public documents, among many others, and made it difficult through his testament for the museum to concede to my request to put them onto the digital archive, even though I eventually managed.

Is repatriation always a practical solution? How politically relevant might it be? At times, physical repatriation can lead to disappointment. As the former curator of the IFAN Museum in Dakar, Ibrahima Thiaw, told me in an interview in March 2010, objects repatriated from Paris to Dakar originally "belonged" somewhere else, for instance in Mali. Another example concerns the physical repatriation of the part of Donald Pierson's papers that relate to Brazil to the AEL/UNICAMP, the best archive of social movements in Brazil. When I consulted them there in 2010, they were still in disarray, which meant that they were not yet available online, as the rest of his papers were, at the University of Florida at Gainesville. Digital repatriation, although not free from limitation, has ended up functioning much better than the local donation of copies

⁸ I was told that there is a similar "tradition" regarding the patrimonialization of public documents among historians in Bahia.

of documents, images and recordings because it underemphasizes ownership of a record while stressing its distribution. Digital repatriation is technically much less complex and offers advantages such as circulation and the possibility of reinterpretation, which are more in line with our times and the growing interest in the remaking of histories and biographies from below (Rassool 2019). Anyhow, despite the frustrating moments, the process of recognition through (digital) repatriation can be exciting and gives us the sense of doing justice to memory at long last.

APPENDIX 1

List of the Herskovitses' Expenses in Brazil, 1941–42

(Exchange rate 1 USD = 20,000 Milreis)

07/dez	Bernardina	5000
	FSH to Joao da Gomea – dance	20000
09/dez	gift at ceremony	12000
16/dez	gift for Oshala (Vidal)	50000
17/dez	gift at Joaozinho candomblé	35000
18/dez	Monteiro – informant	50000
22/dez	Candy and cigarettes	70000
24/dez	Christmas presents	65000
	Raimundo gifts	20000
25/dez	to Boca do Rio	5000
27/dez	Manoel	50000
28/dez	Leonardo – filho de santo	10000
31/dez	FSH gift to Mahi candomble	10000
01/jan	gift at NS do Bnfim	
03/jan	Manoel	50000
04/jan	Raimundo, gift	20000
06/jan	gift to Bogun roca	5000
	gift to Gomea roca	10000
09/jan	gift for Manoel's wife, Zezé, and filho	35000
	Manoel	50000
11/jan	gift at Vidal's dance	10000
12/jan	to Caboclo house	2000
13/jan	porcos, gallos for Joaozinho's	10000
	buying at quitanda	5000
15/jan	to Guarda Civica	10000
17/jan	Manoel	50000
18/jan	Leonardo - filho de santo	10000
21/jan	Waldemar	10000
23/jan	gift to Raimundo for festa	50000
24/jan	Manoel	50000
25/jan	gifts at matanca, quitanda	25000
29/jan	Mae de santo Egun	20000
	mae de santo....	25000
31/jan	Manoel – laundry 17 toys for Jean 33	50000

04/fev	gift at S. Goncalo	12000
06/fev	Manoel, weekly "gift"	50000
	gift to Thomas at Manoel's roca	13000
07/fev	Singers Pedro and Valdemar	50000
09/fev	gift at quitanda	25000
10/fev	to Emelina (songs)	75000
12/fev	Singers Pedro, Valdemar etc	50000
13/fev	Manoel e Zezé	50000
	Gift at Pedro's ceremony	10000
15/fev	to Amansio (Bogum)	10000
21/fev	Singers Pedro and Valdemar	50000
22/fev	Gift to Vidal	50000
	Gift to Yawo	25000
	gift at Engenho Velho	4000
24/fev	gift at S. Goncalo	20000
27/fev	Zezé	50000
	Vidal (recording)	100000
28/fev	Pedro	15000
01/mar	gift at Procopio's	12000
03/mar	Manoel (recording)	40000
	Raimundo gift	10000
05/mar	Pedro inf.	10000
06/mar	Manoel (recording)	40000
07/mar	gift at Branca de heve's dance	20000
08/mar	gift at Oxumare house	15000
09/mar	Joaozinho (recording)	50000
10/mar	Manoel (recording)	40000
11/mar	Pedro (recording)	50000
12/mar	Manoel e Zezé informants	100000
13/mar	Manoel (recording)	80000
17/mar	Presents at Joaozinho's	15000
19/mar	Gift to Zezé	100000
20/mar	Terramento do santos	200000
21/mar	Poseidonio (singer)	50000
22/mar	Manoel (singing)	50000
	Presente Oxala	40000
24/mar	Pedro inf.	10000
	Manoel singing	50000
25/mar	Caboclo (singing) Manoel	50000
26/mar	contas for session	4000

	Pedro inf.	10000
	Present at Bernardino's	25000
27/mar	Caboclo (singing) Manoel	50000
	Zeze (inf.)	50000
28/mar	Gift at Chesina	10000
	Poseidonio singing	50000
30/mar	Tie for Procopio	25000
	Beads for D. Senhora	35000
31/mar	Zeze (inf.)	50000
02/abr	Joaozinho (inf.)	50000
	Terramento dos santos	100000
04/abr	FSH gift at Vivi's	10000
05/abr	gift to Vivi	30000
07/abr	Caboclo (singing) Manoel	50000
08/abr	D. Sabina gift	22000
10/abr	"loan" to museum aid	20000
	Zeze (inf.)	50000
	Perfume for mae d' agua	7000
12/abr	gift to mae Pulqueria	20000
13/abr	Edardo Jeca (singer)	50000
14/abr	To metal worker for ferramentas	110000
15/abr	Gratificacao to priest of candomble	300000
	Manuel caboclo (singer)	50000
16/abr	Flower parfume of Tia Luzia	10000
17/abr	batucada group (singers)	50000
18/abr	Zeze (inf.)	50000
19/abr	gift to drummers at Procopio	15000
20/abr	Eduardo (singer)	50000
21/abr	Pedro (inf)	10000
	Didi (inf.)	10000
22/abr	For Omolu costume	150000
24/abr	sessao, gift	15000
	singers batucada group	50000
	Beads, buzios	25000
25/abr	buzios	5000
26/abr	gift at barraca de Neve's	50000
27/abr	Eduardo (singer)	50000
	Maria Julia (inf.)	10000
28/abr	Pedro	10000
	Mise	10000

29/abr	Procopio gift	50000
	Caboclo	10000
30/abr	Buzios	100000
	gift to Menininha	22000
01/mai	caboclo	10000
	Maria Julia (inf.)	10000
	Pedro	10000
04/mai	gift to personeel at Museu do Estado	200000
08/mai	caboclo	10000
	Pedro	10000
09/mai	gift to Tia Massi	30000
	balao for Omolu costum	100000
10/mai	Gift at Carmelita convent	10000
	Gift to Mocinha	40000
11/mai	Gift to Didi	30000
12/mai	Caboclo	10000
13/mai	Didi	10000
	to typist at Museum	100000
17/mai	present to mae de santo	20000
22/mai	prseent to Maria Tereza	10000
07/jun	present to tia Joaquina	20000
15/jun	gift for Procopio	30000
16/jun	gift for Yawo at Vidal's	25000
17/jun	gift to Manoel (tie for Shango)	25000
24/jun	Present to pai Joao de Oshala	20000
26/jun	Flowers to D. Julia	20000
04/jul	FSH Misc. expenses (Marota)	40000
24/jul	Candomblé list typed	80000
02/ago	P. A: presentes de Oxun, figas, contas	51000
17/ago	Clothes for Marota's child	32000
18/ago	present for Marota Julia	30000

Candomblé Feasts Registered with the Police in Salvador, 1939–1941¹

1939:

Caboclo 29; Ketu 38; Angola Congo 42; Ijexa 5; Espirita 7; Gege 3; 3 applications related to the Santa Barbara feast. Total 127.

1940:

Caboclo 60; Ketu 68; Angola 37; Congo 2; Ijexa 16; Espirita 12; Gege 2; Feast of Santa Barbara 3. Total 200.

1941:

Caboclo 89; Ketu 80; Angola 61; Congo 2; Espirita 14; Ijexa 25; Gege 3; Feast of Santa Barbara and Mother of the Water in Mar Grande 6. Total: 280.

MJH noted that, each year, a few houses had a combination of nation rituals, such as Caboclo and Espirita, or Ketu and Caboclo.

¹ Schomburg Box 23, Folder 155, SC.

Interview with Jean Herskovits at her House in Manhattan, NY, 16/10/2003

Length: about 90 mins. Pleasant chat, she felt at ease and happy to talk about her father.

JH: I lost my Bahiana doll, it is lost among my father's objects. I had a friend looking for her at Northwestern, but could not find it. Anyway, the only picture with the three of us is at the candomblé.

LS: The Gantois Candomblé.

JH: You know I don't. ...I want to get back there. Without any question.

[She shows me pictures of the Casa de Itália and says "this is Italian". Her husband John Currey comes home].

JH: The pensão we were staying was run by Germans and was at the back or close to the Casa de Itália. This cat is a very famous cat in our family. Her name is Marotinha after Marota of the candomblé house. All kids were Germans and they were going on telling they would have bombed my house and killed my cat. You know what kids are like. So Marota decided I need protection and she gave me the cat. At some point I got hepatitis and fell very sick. The moment my fever begun to rise dramatically, the cat jumps onto my bed. Soon the fever goes down and the cat gets sick. The moment my fever disappears, the cat dies. We don't know why, but we all assume that it had to do with the cult-house. It is a story that went around and my father (or mother?) heard it in the sixties ...

There is an equally dramatic story. [She shows me a Xango axe made of wood]. They divined for all of us. His god was Xango, my mother's Yemanjá, mine up to puberty was Oxossi after which Oxun would take over. It comes the day we had to leave, sometime between June and August, and everything we had was loaded onto a ship. There were a lot of sinkings in the South Atlantic. My father received a delegation from Bahia, giving him this axe and telling him: do not take that ship. My parents, after the experience with Marotinha and many other things, could not explain it, but they could just pay attention. All their belongings went on the ship, we came back on a DC3 that took three days from Rio to Miami, stopping to pick up survivors of torpedoed ships. The ship we had our stuff on is at the bottom of the South Atlantic. So, I have taken very good care ever since. In fact, I think the reason why I have survived the Nigerian complexities in my life is because of the Brazilian Yoruba ... the candomblé people have taken care of me.

We lost everything, lots of objects, all manners of objects that showed African influence, apart from small things such as the doll and the axe and his fieldnotes. He always carried his fieldnotes. An incredibly careful man. ... I do not know about his recordings. It is likely he also recorded voices, but music certainly. Music was all he was concerned about. I guess there are recordings at the Smithsonian. I know it is difficult to do research because things are scattered in different places. I would have preferred to have all in the Schomburg, but many things got decided before I started to take care of it.

Moorman, anthropologist and art historian at the University of Missouri, Kansas City, the one who tracked my doll and all the other dolls, helped me a lot. It was tremendously difficult. I had no guidance. Northwestern wanted it all, but was not clear what they would do with it. Besides, they made the mistake of calling me three days after I had come back from Nigeria, when my mother had died a week before. I was not interested in that type of approach. After all we are looking at art, their papers and their library. I did not want any of this broken off. At Northwestern they were interested in having the African stuff, but not the African-American stuff. At the Field Museum they wanted the art, but not the library and the papers. We could not leave this in the house, it had to go somewhere where people could take care of it. First it went to the Field Museum then to National Museum of African Art, but they did not want the Atlantic connection either. No there isn't any Brazilian stuff. It is at the bottom of the Atlantic. It took me fourteen years to find the Schomburg as the place that would take the whole thing and would take it with respect and loving care, which they have done. But in the meanwhile my mother had given something to Northwestern. I don't know how Indiana got what it got. The reason why things went to Indiana is because Allan Merriam was from there, the student who was such a fine musicologist who died very young. One major difficulty is that some of his students, who could have told you many of the things I do not know, are not around anymore ... I remember Ruy Coelho well. Easterbrook should be able to tell. He is doing a wonderful job. ...

There are very few pictures of the whole family, simply because my father was the photographer.

My father was absolutely not a religious Jew. I did not get Jewish upbringing. I mean, it was not an anti-Jewish education that I received! My father told us about the Jewish holidays, explaining what they were. In fact, I have been in a synagogue just a few times.

Names of People Interviewed

Frazier's Informants

Near and around the seita do Gantois

Federação, Dez 1940 (Jan 1941, Box 131–133, Folder 11, MS). Frazier used numbers for the cases:

1. Maria; 2. no name; 3. Simpliciano dos Santos; 4. no name; 5. Ilaria Maria Brandão; 6. Juliette da Silva; 7. Jorgina Alcantar; 8. Julia Maria da Conceição; 9. Martulio Gonçalves Frances; 10. Agricara Rocha Souza; 11. Mother; 12. Lydia; 13. Luciana Andrade; 14. Daughter 4 # 7; 15. Edithe Pessoa; 16. no name; 17. Rocha Par...; 18. Adalaiza Pim...; 19. Aldelice Alvez Vieira; 20. ... Dias dos Santos; 21. Maimada; 22. Julia; 23. Mateus # 19; 24. Mari José; 25. Juliette Francisco; 26. no name; 27. Albertina; 28. parteira?; 29. Luisa Faria dos Santos; 30. Aninha Amelia Soares; 31. Orvaldina M. Muricy; 32. Paulina Andrade P...; 33. Regina de L...; 34. Maria de Ferreira; 35. no name; 36. Mariana do Amor Divino; 37. Maria de Missoes (?); 38. Maria Justina; 39. Mathilda; 40. Guilmar Feliz (widow); 41. Maria Francisca, Mae de Zezé; 42. Minha de Santos Lima.

Informants Frazier Categorized as Middle Class

1. The weaver – Alexandre Gerales da Conceição, Av Oceanica 559
2. Mãe de santo Gantois – Escolastica Maria da Conceição Nazare (Menininha)
3. Pae de santo – Gonsalo Alpiniano de Mello
4. Martiniano
5. Trip to Cachoeira
6. Engenho Velho – Mae de santo Maximiana
 - 6a Engenho Velho – Velha senhor
 - 6b Engenho Velho – Outra velha senhora
7. Estevedore from Liberdade
8. Estevedore – race and class conscious
9. Black law graduate
10. Black physician
11. Black physician Luz
12. Woman physician – Maxwell,
13. Maria Isabel Conceicao, 111-year-old.

*Turner's Informants**Povo de santo*

Martiniano Eliseu do Bonfim (1859–1943); Sr. Falefa, Manoel Vitorino da Costa; Mãe Menininha, Sra Escolastica (1894–1986); Manoel da Silva, Manoelzinho, Joazinho da Gomeia (1914–1971); Jose Bispo Mario Pereira; Artur (Cu de Touro) Silva; Manoel Menezes; Jose Luis, Esmeraldo, Sra Conceicao, Maria Vitoria Lopes; Candida Feliz Nascimento; Gonçalo Aupiniano Melo; Idalice Santos; Mizael Santos; Nelson Flaviano Trindade.

Capoeiristas

Luciano Jose Silva; Juvenal Cruz; Manoel Oliveira; Mestre Bimba; Fernando Cassiano; Cabecinha.

Musicians

Nestor de Nascimento; Bob Silva; Moreno; Eduardo and Geraldo Perez; Euclides Mascarenha; Jamile Mucarzel; Pedro Caldas; Valdimar Portela; Walter Danmerie Tourinho; Claudio Britto; Raimundo Nonato; Antonio Starteri; Eladyr Porto; Antonio Morales, Maria Roustain; Carnival anonymous.

Language Informants

Sra. Morokendzi – Martiniano's wife; Manoel da Silva; Cecinho Melo Costa (from Sergipe); Francisco (Cachoeira, Bahia); Beatriz Bettancourt (from Rio Grande do Sul); Julieta de Figueiredo (from Cuiaba); Fonseca (from Rio de Janeiro); Lourdes Moreira; Nair Passo Cunha (animal story); Piragipe Pinto (from Paraiba); Daltro Holanda (from Ceara); João Lejoein (stories from Minas Gerais); Tabua Reis (from Maranhão); Amorilda Amorim (from Espirito Santo); Olinda Salgach (from Rio de Janeiro); Lauriston Pessoa Monteiro (from Pernambuco); Mário de Andrade (speaks and sings, recorded in Rio on October 3, 1940. Apparently, this is the only recording available of Mário de Andrade).

*The Herskovitses' Informants**Notebook A*

Notebook A consists almost completely of information from interviews with Manoel da Silva; Raimundo; Monteiro; Leonardo (Ketu); Mocinha

Notebook B

Bernardino da Paixao (Bate Folha house); Joãozinho da Gomeia; Vidal Alves de Assis; Menininha (B21), who talks about *trabalhos, ebos*, burials (like those of Cyriaco and Maria Francisca), mutual aid societies, Catholic churches that Candomblé people like (S. Domingo, Rosário dos Pretos, Conceição da Praia, NS Auxiliadora NS do Bonfim (for

pilgrimage – they like to prostrate themselves there, but if the priest sees them he calls the police (B37)).

Notebook C

Manoel; Waldemar; Didi (washerwoman); Dona Zezé; Amansio (*ogan* of Bogun); Pedro (who, on pages C55–58 explains which Nago or “African” deities correspond to the Angola and Guarani or Caboclo deities).

Notebook D

Zeze (D1–21); Manoel (D21–26); Akadie de Oshum (*ogan* from Engenho Velho) (D27–33), Zezé (D34–56); Selina; Lavadeira de Valladares; Ilare (*pai de santo alvoré* – someone who calls himself a *pai de santo*); Archange (from Neve Branca *terreiro*).

Notebook E

Zeze and Manoel (interviewed at the couple’s new home) (E1–11); Eduardo Ijexá; Pedro (E12–18); Joãozinho, list of African words with translation by Zeze (E24–26); Mocinha; Maria Paixão; Sabina (Caboclo saint’s mother).

Notebook F

Zeze (F1–8); Didi (F8–15); Pedro; Zeze (F18–26); Espirita Session at the Grêmio Espirita dos Navegantes in the Canela neighborhood; Maria Julia dos Santos (midwife, *feita* in Shango) (F27–32); Pedro (F32–33), who had clear opinions about the value of colour and the discrimination to which blacks were subjected and said that the term “Negro” was an insult; Caboclo (F44–52); Dudu; Flaviana; Frances’ visit to Tia Massi (F59–60).

List of Herskovits Books Received by Brazilian libraries

FUNDAJ (Recife), FFCH and CEAQ (Salvador), ELS and FFLCH/USP (São Paulo) and Museu Nacional (Rio)

Antropologia Economica, in Spanish

Aspectos Sociais do Crescimento Economico, 1958

Continuity and Change in African Culture

Cultural Anthropology, translated into Portuguese in 1963

Dahomean Narrative

The development of Africanist studies in Europe and America

Economic Transition in Africa

Man and His Work (in English, Spanish and Portuguese)

The Myth of the Negro Past

The New World Negro

Pesquisa Etnologicas na Bahia

Wari in the New World

On June 15, 2020, the UFBA library had the following books or publications by Herskovits:

Africanist Studies in Europe and America

Antropologia Cultural – an Abridged Version of Man and His Work, 1963

Antropologia Economica, 1954

Aspectos sociais do crescimento econômico, 1957 (three copies);

Dahomean Narrative, 1958

Economic Transition in Africa, 1964

Man and His Work and *El Hombre y sus Obras* (two copies), 1968

Melville Herskovits & William Bascom, Continuity and Change in African Culture, 1965

The Myth of the Negro Past, 1941 (three copies)

The New World Negro, edited by Frances Herskovits, 1966

Pesquisas Etnologicas na Bahia

Wari in the New World

Glossary

- abian** An abião or abian is a person who joins the Candomblé religion, also called a *filho/a de santo*, after having gone through the ritual of washing a string of sacred beads.
- ajibona** Auxiliary or immediate substitute of the *mãe de santo*, who accompanies the initiation of the *filhas de santo* and supervises them in the ceremonial dances; also *mãe pequena*, or little mother.
- alabe, or alabe-huntor** The *alabê* (from the Yoruba *alagbê*) is the *ogã* responsible for the ritual touches, “feeding”, conservation and preservation of the sacred musical instruments of Candomblé.
- amazia / amaziado** Concubine/concubinage, but also a common-law union.
- aterramento** The sacred burial, usually in the earth of the yard of the house, of amulets that protect the Candomblé house.
- babalão** Priest of the Ifá cult; spiritual guide who practises divination using cowrie shells.
- babalorixá** Also known as *pai de santo*, this is the priest of Afro-Brazilian religions.
- barco** Literally a boat, a group of eight to fifteen people who participate in an initiation ritual together.
- barracão** A Candomblé shed, the space where public parties are held. The shed is also used for Bori, Ebori, Ory rituals and other indoor parties. When not used for parties, it functions as a dormitory.
- bori** From the fusion of the word *bó*, which in Yoruba means “offering”, with *ori*, which means “head”; literally translated, it means “offering to the head”. The action consists of offering sacrificial foods to the head of twelve performances, these being vocative and iconographic representations of the twelve main *orixás* of Candomblé.
- búzios** Cowrie shells used for divination.
- caixa** Rotating credit system.
- cangaço** A phenomenon of (social) banditry, crimes and violence that occurred in almost the entire backlands of Northeast Brazil between the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries.
- cantos** Literally “corners”, a meeting of men from Africa or their descendants who gather on a particular street corner and are organised on the basis of a certain trade and/or provenance from a specific African nation.
- capoeiristas** Capoeira players.
- casa** Candomblé house or temple.
- causas** The stories lived by people or told by others, which can be either real or invented, or with real parts and parts transformed by the teller, because as the popular saying goes: “whoever tells a story increases one point”.

- civilmente* Common-law union.
- concursos* Selection, open application.
- contas lavadas* Beads or threads of beads made in the colours of each deity and intended to symbolize the nations and positions within Candomblé. In addition, these beads are strung on pure cotton threads (*cordone*) and washed with water and sacred leaves.
- ekedi* The one who takes care of the *orixá* while he is incorporated by the person in a state of trance. She is the one who directs everything and has to be a person of extreme trust.
- familias de santo* The religious family, which is different from the biological family; the religious leader of the Candomblé house is called “mother” and her assistants are called “daughter” or “son” by her (*filha/o de santo*).
- feita* Literally, “done”; initiated.
- feitiço* Fetish.
- feira* Feast, festive celebration.
- filha de santo / filho de santo* Literally the saint’s daughter (or son), the daughter (or son) of the *mãe de santo* (the saint’s mother), that is the priestess who leads the Candomblé house.
- folhas* (Holy) leaves.
- gostou / gostei* To feel attracted to (a person), to be fond of someone.
- jangadeiro* Captain or sailor of a fishing boat in the form of a raft, with a sail and a mast.
- jogo de búzios* A game played with cowries; one of the divinatory arts used in traditional African religions and in African diaspora religions in many countries in the Americas. Along with the kola nut, this is the oldest oracle instrument of the Yoruba.
- jogo do bicho* An illegal exchange of betting on numbers that represent animals. It was created in 1892 by Baron João Batista Viana Drummond, founder of the Rio de Janeiro Zoo.
- jogos* (Future-telling) games or techniques.
- lembranças* Memories.
- machado de Xangô* Xango’s axe
- macumba* A generic variation of cult, attributed to Afro-Brazilian cults, syncretized with influences from the Catholic religion, occultism, Amerindian cults and spiritism. In the “family tree” of Afro-Brazilian religions, *macumba* is an offshoot of Candomblé.
- mãe de santo* Literally, the saint’s mother, that is the priestess who leads the Candomblé house.
- mãe pequena* Literally, small mother, second in line in the hierarchy of a Candomblé house.

- malandros* Hustlers.
- maritalmente* Common-law marriage.
- matança* Ritual slaughter.
- moreno / moreno limpo* Brown, clean brown
- notas* Marks.
- ogan* *Ogã* is the generic name for several male roles in the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé. Often it is the name of the priest chosen by the ancestral deity (*orixá*), who remains lucid during a ceremony, not going into a trance, but still receiving spiritual intuition.
- ogan confirmado* The men responsible for conducting spiritual energies in Candomblé rituals with the help of drumming. Using their voices and that of their drums, they summon the gods.
- ogan suspenso* Suspended *ogã*. Having gone through the ceremony, the person chosen by an *orixá* to be an *ogã* is placed in a chair and suspended by the *ogãs* of the house, meaning that, in the future, his position will be confirmed and he will undergo all obligations to be an *ogan*.
- orixá* One of several saints in the Candomblé religious system.
- pai de santo* Literally, “father of the saint”; the male religious leader of a Candomblé house.
- panan* *Panã* (in Fon: *àkpánón*) is a Queto initiation ritual that takes place shortly after initiation. Its main objective is to make the novice relearn the activities of the profane and everyday world, so that nothing will be harmful to him in the future.
- pano da costa* A piece of fabric woven on a manual loom by slaves or descendants of slaves; it has religious and social significance.
- peji* A sacred space of Afro-Brazilian culture; also called Ilê Orixá (House of the Orixá), or holy room.
- pensão* Guesthouse.
- povo de santo* Literally, “the saint’s folk”; the community of followers and sympathizers of a Candomblé house.
- preceitos* Religious obligations.
- raízes* Roots.
- roca* The orchard or yard of a Candomblé house, where sacred plants and trees grow.
- santo* Saint or *orixá*.
- saudade* Nostalgia.
- seita* Literally, a sect; a popular term to describe Candomblé up to the 1980s.
- sertão* The backlands.
- sociedades* Associations.
- terreiro / terreiros* The Candomblé house and its yard.
- vodunsi* *vodúnsi* (in Fon: *vodu-asé*) is the one dedicated to *vodum* in Candomblé Jeje.

Xango One of the most popular *orixás*.

ialorixá *Mãe de santo* or *ialorixá* is the designation of the person in charge of managing a Candomblé *terreiro* and its liturgy, of exercising authority over the members of their group, at any level of the hierarchy.

Yawo *Iaô* (in Yoruba: *Ìyàwó*) is the name for the sons of a saint who have already undergone initiation into Candomblé; popularly known as “making a saint”, but who have not yet completed the seven-year period after initiation.

zelador Literally, “caretaker”, a popular term to describe the *pai* or *mãe de santo* up to the 1980s.

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This book offers a new perspective on the making of Afro-Brazilian, African-American and African studies through the interrelated trajectory of E. Franklin Frazier, Lorenzo Dow Turner, Frances and Melville Herskovits in Brazil. The book compares the style, network and agenda of these different and yet somehow converging scholars, and relates them to the Brazilian intellectual context, especially Bahia, which showed in those days much less density and organization than the US equivalent. It is therefore a double comparison: between four Americans and between Americans and scholars based in Brazil.

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