

**O ASSOCIATIVISMO NEGRO EM RIO CLARO: SUJEITOS, PRÁTICAS E IDEIAS
NA REPÚBLICA**

***LAS ASOCIACIONES NEGRAS EN RIO CLARO: SUJETOS, PRÁCTICAS E IDEAS EN
LA REPÚBLICA***

***THE BLACK ASSOCIATIVISM IN RIO CLARO: SUBJECTS, PRACTICES AND IDEAS
IN THE REPUBLIC***

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RESUMO: Os clubes sociais de Rio Claro são fundados em fins do século XIX e tem como última data de organização o ano de 1951². Portanto, o período histórico estrutural de formação destes clubes pode ser lido como um longo processo iniciado ainda no período escravista e que aponta na segunda metade do século XX para a existência, não necessariamente simultânea no tempo, de mais de uma dezena deles. A vivência associativa do espaço social apresenta-se como importante chave para pensarmos a transformação das relações sociais postas pós 1888. Assim, buscaremos neste breve artigo apresentar alguns dos clubes negros, membros e práticas para refletirmos as implicações das experiências destas associações para reposicionamento dos sujeitos e relações sociais no espaço social rioclareense.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Associativismo. Clubes sociais. Rio Claro. Pós-abolição. Racismo.

RESUMEN: *Los clubes sociales de Río Claro son fundados a fines del siglo XIX y tienen como última fecha de organización el año de 1951. Por lo tanto, el período histórico estructural de formación de estos clubes puede ser leído como un largo proceso iniciado aún en el período esclavista y que apunta en la segunda mitad del siglo XX para la existencia, no necesariamente simultánea en el tiempo, de más de una decena de ellos. La vivencia asociativa del espacio social se presenta como importante clave para pensar la transformación de las relaciones sociales postadas después de 1888. Así, buscaremos en este breve artículo presentar algunos de los clubes negros, miembros y prácticas para reflejar las implicaciones de las experiencias de estas asociaciones para reposicionamiento de los sujetos y relaciones sociales en el espacio social rioclareense.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Asociaciones. Clubes sociales. Rio Claro. Abolicion. Racismo.*

ABSTRACT: *The associativism in Rio Claro was "founded" in the late nineteenth century and has the last date of organization in 1951. Thus, the structural historical period of club formation can be read as a long process begun even in the slavery period and which points in the second half of the twentieth century to the existence, not necessarily simultaneous in time, of more than*

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² In 1961 there is a change in the denomination of one of them. This transformation is pointed out later in the text and not considered as a new club that was formed in the city.

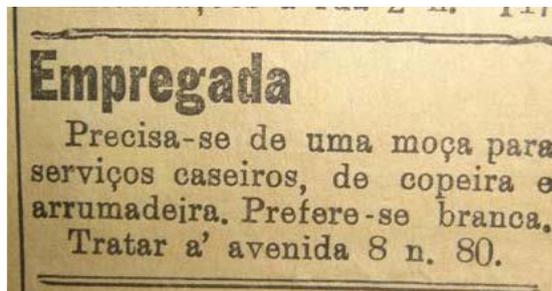
a dozen of them. The associative experiences of social space present themselves as an important key to thinking about the transformation of social relations after 1888. Thus, we will seek in this brief article to present some of the black clubs, members and practices to reflect the implications of the experiences of these associations for the repositioning of subjects and social relations in the social space of Rio Claro.

KEYWORDS: *Associativism. Social clubs. Rio Claro. Post abolition. Racism.*

Da Frente Negra, Gama e Patrocínio: Rio Claro's Black Social Clubs

The first black social club registered in Rio Claro periodicals dates from the year 1930. Although this date is open to question and makes room for speculation about the existence of other black social organizations prior to it, we use it as a timeframe to ask ourselves, as Pereira (2008, p. 37), “what would it mean for black people, then, to live in an overwhelmingly white city and what kind of racial embarrassment would they be subjected to?” Recurrently, Rio Claro newspapers, as indicates this author, featured ads in their classified sections that we will reproduce below:

Figure 01³



³ The ad says: Maid: Looking for a girl to do house work, from maid to kitchen-maid. It is preferred white. Talk at avenue 8, nº 80.

Figure 02⁴



In addition to the classified section, cartoons used to be featured in the body of newspapers. One of them takes up the theme of the racialization of the members of rio clarense society:

Figure 03



Beyond this question the image

[...] projects the idea of contrastivity, misplaced roles and white nonconformity in the face of black aberration and brutality - note that the office door appears to have been literally broken open by the black doctor in the cartoon, "Doctor Light White Snow" (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 38)⁵

⁴ The ad says: Maid: Need a middle-aged white woman with availability to sleep at the boss's house. Talk at street 6, 1520.

⁵ [...] projeta a ideia da contrastividade, dos papéis fora do lugar e da perplexidade inconformada branca diante da aberração e da brutalidade negras – note-se que a porta do consultório parece ter sido literalmente arrombada pelo médico caricaturado preto, "doutor Claro Branco das Neves" (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 38)

The images circulated by the private media outlets of Rio Claro allow us to identify the social positions and expectations created under groups from the racialization of their members. The maid - euphemistically called a 'girl for home-service' - should preferably be white, placing centrality in the form of racial classification, even if the end sought is the same: the exploitation of the labor force. Another social "misfit" that the ideas contained in the third picture bring us is, first of all, the implausibility of accepting a black doctor in the city in the early decades of the twentieth century and, secondarily, as white and black groups are directed towards social expectations generated in the relations themselves placed in the physical space of the city. Importantly, these racist practices are embedded in broader spectra and placed in a national and somewhat global context in the period.

The *Diario de Rio Claro* of June 25, 1933 brings in its main pages an article entitled "Soon there will be no more black people in the world - A plant was discovered that turns the epidermis white". The following year, on July 13, 1934, the same journal published an article entitled "Racial Prevention". Thus, the search for social whitening becomes a pretense in the relations put in the country. Thus, as Schwarcz (2012, p. 44) states, "the whiter the better, the brighter the higher, there is a widespread maxim that sees in white not only a color but also a social quality".

However, this policy of social laundering is one of the complexities of a larger and more intentional social ordering process. Another dimension of it, is the articulation of the race category from the idea of predisposition of certain groups to develop their own potentials and characteristics, occupying, therefore, certain social places within their innate capacities. It is appropriate to present a text of the German Dr. Ernesto Müller, reproduced in the newspaper City of Rio Claro in 1935, and pointed out by Pereira in his work:

When some countries drew the first legislative consequences from the results of modern race doctrine, this was misunderstood by some peoples. Voices have arisen here and there that call contrary to civilization any introduction of racist ideas into political life, or even declare it politically dangerous. These judges, by themselves, should be surprising, because most civilized peoples have always had obvious racist principles, just remembering the position and procedure of England and the United States of America. The adversity against the racist idea can only be explained by the skillful and systematic defamation that especially interested people have promoted against the racist conceptions and, above all, those of New Germany.

Racist thinking in no way identifies itself with the contempt of other races, nor does it claim to regard them as inferior, but emphasizes, for all races and peoples of the world, the need to guard and develop the characteristic properties that the Creator has given them.

Thus, Germany does not speak of the 'inferiority' of any human groups, but only of their 'variety', rejecting the cross when considered harmful to both

parties. With this conception, Germany finds itself in the same view as many centuries ago, among others, the peoples of the East, whose pronounced concept of family and ancestor worship imposes on them the duty of ensuring the purity of their families. Thus, the racist concept does not lead, at all, to hostility and mutual struggle, but rather to reciprocal consideration which is the only basis for creating peaceful relations between men and peoples (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 75).⁶

Within this social context, black people are reserved beyond the margins - which are not places of immobility - of all social life. The research data and the consultation of the archives revealed that these subjects were mostly autonomous focused on manual occupations. José do Patrocínio's membership records, organized in 1980 - but containing data since the 1960s - provide us with important information in this regard. Among more than 85 tokens, the most recurring professions were: machine workers, domestic, military, masons, security guards, night guards, painters, private drivers, cooks, woodworkers. There is also the presence of a lawyer and a banker. Among the interviews with black club members, we noticed the recurrence of these same jobs. Mr. Paulo Martins is a general mechanic and graduated as a work safety technician. Mr. Djalma de Paula had worked as a maintenance mechanic in one of the city's industries. Dona Estela was a maid and Mr. Celso Augusto, worked in the army, then in Paulista workshops. Recalling family times, Dona Estela still resumes the profession of some relatives.

My father was a driver for Paulista. I used to work at Horto Florestal and then went to Paulista. Then it was either the way or the ambulance, which took the company's patients somewhere. My mother was from Matarazzo's time yet. I,

⁶ Quando alguns paizes tiraram as primeiras conseqüências legislativas dos resultados da doutrina moderna das raças, este procedimento foi, por parte de alguns povos, mal-entendido e mal interpretado. Levantaram-se, aqui e acolá, vozes que chamaram de contrário à civilização qualquer introdução de idéias racistas na vida política, ou declarando-a até politicamente perigosa. Taes juizos, já por si só, deviam provocar surpresa, porque grande parte dos povos civilizados sempre tem tido principios evidentes racistas, bastando a lembrar a posição e procedimento da Inglaterra e dos Estados Unidos da America do Norte. A adversão contra a idéa racista só se explica pela habil e systematica diffamação que especialmente interessados promoveram contra as concepções racistas, e, visando sobretudo as da Nova Alemanha.

O pensamento racista não se identifica de forma alguma com o menosprezo de outras raças, nem pretende consideral-os de inferiores, mas accentua, para todas as raças e povos do mundo, a necessidade de guardar e desenvolver as propriedades características que o Creador lhes deu.

Assim, não se fala na Allemanha da “inferioridade” de quesquer grupos humanos, mas tão sómente da sua “variedade”, rejeitando o cruzamento quando considerado prejudicial para ambas as partes. Com esta concepção, a Allemanha encontra-se no mesmo ponto de vista em que se acham, há muitos seculos, entre outros, os povos do Oriente, cujo conceito pronunciado de familia e culto dos antepassados lhes impõem o dever de zelar pela pureza das suas familias. Assim, o conceito racista não conduz, absolutamente, a hostilidade e lutas mútuas, mas antes a consideração recíproca que é a unica base para crear relações pacíficas entre homens e povos (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 75).

unfortunately, did not get this good time and I was a maid, who I still thank God for the houses I passed^{7,8}

Most of the partners lived in Rio Claro, however, cities such as Limeira, Piracicaba, Sao Carlos, Santa Gertrudes, Bariri and Sao Paulo are found in this register. Rio Claro residents lived in peripheral neighborhoods, such as Vila Nova and Arco Íris neighborhoods. In addition to self-employment, a portion of the black male population of Rio Claro worked at the Paulista Railways Company. As Pereira says:

[...] especially for black people in the interior of São Paulo, where the binomial racism-discrimination further hindered the rise of this group, it was no small feat to get a job in “Paulista”. Working at this company meant job stability, job advancement, salary regularity, ease of acquisition of residential land, access to medicines through insurance, access to free train ticket (the last two extensive to the family), and so on (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 115).⁹

What is noticeable, therefore, is the distribution of the black population in social positions of low social prestige. However, the distribution of these subjects by the social web was not characterized by their immobility, but by the conflict. Proof of the dispute over Rio Claro's social and geographical space were the celebrations and associative practices of this group. The *Tambu* or *Samba do 13* have been built in the city since the early twentieth century. Marked by the rhythm of *Tambu* - a percussion instrument made with wood and leather - and performed “in São Benedito Square, the authentic urban *quilombo* of Rio Claro at the time (now the central district)” (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 80), it was to “Celebrate” May 13th.

[...] black people worked out their own autonomous space, free to set their own pace, their own improvised poetic-metaphorical language, and their own corporality. This was the space for collective interaction, motivation, satisfaction and identity. Here black people themselves selected what should be included or excluded, what should be remembered or forgotten. It is in this space, capable of bringing together past and present, nature and culture, that black people subvert the encompassing society, celebrating their culture of African matrix (SABINO, 2005).¹⁰

⁷ Meu pai era motorista da Paulista. Antes trabalhava no Horto Florestal e depois foi pra Paulista. Aí fazia ou o caminho ou a ambulância, que levava os pacientes da companhia pra algum lugar. Minha mãe era da época do Matarazzo⁷ ainda. Eu, infelizmente, não peguei essa época boa de firma e fui empregada doméstica, que até hoje dou graças a deus pelas casas que eu passei

⁸ Entrevista concedida a Pedro de Castro Picelli em dezembro de 2016.

⁹ [...] sobretudo para os negros do interior paulista, onde o binômio racismo-discriminação obstaculizava ainda mais a ascensão desse grupo, não era pouca coisa conseguir emprego na “Paulista”. Trabalhar nessa empresa significava estabilidade no emprego, possibilidade de ascensão em termos de cargo, regularidade no recebimento do salário, facilidade para aquisição de terreno residencial, acesso a medicamentos via convênio, acesso a bilhete de passagem gratuita para viagens de trem (os dois últimos extensivos à família), e assim por diante (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 115).

¹⁰ [...] os negros elaboravam um espaço autônomo próprio, com liberdade para estabelecer seu próprio ritmo, sua própria linguagem poético-metafórica improvisada e sua própria corporalidade. Esse era o espaço da interação, da motivação, da satisfação e da identidade coletivas. Ali os próprios negros selecionavam o que devia ser incluído

In addition to *Samba do 13*, *Tambu* was also held in celebration of St. Benedict's Day at the foot of the historic fig tree located in front of this saint's church. On May 13, 1913, the newspaper *O Rio Claro* announced: "The feast in honor of St. Benedict is held on the 13th of this month. There will be sung mass and the imposing afternoon procession will go the usual itinerary". However, after two decades of festivities, *O Diário de Rio Claro*, August 1, 1933, shows that such a practice had begun to become unwanted by some groups in the city. This evidence refers to the possibility of overthrowing the ancestral fig tree, as explained in the article published in the quoted journal:

Our fig tree

There are those who opine for the destruction of our legendary fig tree, to the point of harassing us to use our efforts to this end, which we have refused. Listening to the opinion of the inhabitants of this neighborhood, we conclude that most are against the destruction of the beautiful, almost secular tree. Now if the fig tree spoke ... and put the blame public and shallow, she would be worthy of a good ax.¹¹

The practice of *Tambu* occurred still in the square in May of 1937. However, the *Diário* transmitted in June 29 of that same year the following news:

Our men of color, on the eve of St. John's Day, made two resounding sambas on the Patio de St. Benedict as a farewell to the place where so many years ago the "batuque" adherents celebrate the day of the liberation of the slaves in Brazil.

It is that wide will receive your garden that will make it more attractive, doing justice to the beauty of the church of the miraculous black saint, something that has long been felt.

We will now see, in the next 1938, what will be the place designated by the city to be celebrated the date of May 13, by our people of color.¹²

ou excluído, o que devia ser lembrado ou esquecido. É nesse espaço, capaz de reunir passado e presente, natureza e cultura, que os negros subvertiam a sociedade abrangente, celebrando sua cultura de matriz africana (SABINO, 2005).

¹¹ A nossa figueira

Há quem opine pela destruição da nossa legendária figueira, a ponto de nos assediarem para que empreguemos nossos esforços para esse fim, o que temos recusado. Auscultando, que temos, a opinião dos habitantes deste bairro, concluímos que a maioria é contrária a destruição da bella árvore quase secular.

Agora si a figueira falasse... e puzesse a público e raso as suas culpas, ella seria digna de um bom machado.

¹² Os nossos homens de côr, na véspera e dia de S. João, fizeram realizar no pateo de S. Benedicto, dois retumbantes sambas, como despedida do local onde há tantos annos os adeptos do "batuque" festejam o dia da libertação dos escravos no Brasil.

É que aquelle largo vae receber o seu ajardinamento que o tornará mais attractivo, fazendo jús a belleza da igreja do milagroso Santo preto, cousa aliás que há muito se fazia sentir.

Veremos agora, no proximo 1938, qual irá ser o local designado pela prefeitura para ser commemorada a data de 13 de maio, por nossa gente de cor. Os nossos homens de côr, na véspera e dia de S. João, fizeram realizar no pateo de S. Benedicto, dois retumbantes sambas, como despedida do local onde há tantos annos os adeptos do "batuque" festejam o dia da libertação dos escravos no Brasil.

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In 1938, *Samba* continued to be held at *Quilombo do Largo de São Benedito*. However, in 1939, “*Tambu* practitioners had to say goodbye to *Largo de São Benedito*, because the Penteadado administration had pushed them to a region farther from the city, namely São Roque Square (Avenue 5, between streets 12 and 13)” (PEREIRA, 2008). The celebrations of 1939 included, as shown in the *Diario de Rio Claro* of May 11, 1939, in addition to Samba do 13, an exclusive mass for black people still in the Church of St. Benedict and a pilgrimage that would walk to the Municipal cemetery. Pereira (2008), analyzing this change of location of the festivities, states that

[...] the note shows that *Tambu* practitioners - generically called “*batuque*” by whites - were being expelled from the space in which they historically performed their African-style manifestation. Under the pretext of “landscaping”, the aim was, in fact, to eliminate what was assumed to be the “primitive manifestation of the poor descendants of Rio Claro slaves”, ending the “slavery remnant” already so outdated and incongruous with the idea of order, progress and modernity for the time. This process configures a project of ethnic-racial sweeping in the urban environment, as it was to disintegrate the *Quilombo* (original name of the neighborhood), a place that black people had coined as a physical and symbolic space of their own in the local plan (PEREIRA, 2008, pp. 101-102).¹³

It is in this social context of the expulsion and “patrolling” of the celebrations of occupation of public space by the black population that the first black associative collectives emerge. The possible first black society in the city had been the *Sociedade Dançante 28 de Setembro*, founded in 1930. The name was given in reference to the promulgation of the Free Belly Act, only 59 years earlier. Chaired by Hygino Arruda, little has been found about its existence in the city of Rio Claro. However, one can know about it from the disclosure, in the *Diario do Rio Claro*, of February 23, 1932, of another black association that was established in the city in 1932: the *Frente Negra Brasileira* (FNB).

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¹³ [...] a nota faz ver que os praticantes do *Tambu* – genericamente chamado de “*batuque*” pelos brancos – estavam sendo expulsos do espaço no qual realizavam, historicamente, sua manifestação de matriz africana. Sob o pretexto de “ajardinamento” procurava-se, na realidade, eliminar o que se tomava por “manifestação primitiva dos pobres descendentes de escravos de Rio Claro”, pondo fim ao “resquício escravista” já tão ultrapassado e incongruente com a ideia de ordem, de progresso e de modernidade para a época. Tal processo configura um projeto de varrição étnico-racial no meio urbano, pois tratava-se de desenegrecer o *Quilombo* (nome original do bairro), lugar que os pretos haviam cunhado como um espaço físico e simbólico próprio no plano local (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 101-102).

Figure 04¹⁴

Petrônio Domingues resumes the founding of the *Frente* in Rio Claro from the meeting chaired by Aristides dos Santos. At the beginning of the work of this meeting,

[...] he spoke of the need to congregate, all his race brothers, around the *Frente Negra*, which emerges as the redemptive flag that will guarantee and claim the rights of black people within Brazil. Three days later, another city newspaper, *O Batutinha* (“Critical, Literary and Social Agency - Dedicated to Men of Color”), featured on the front page: “Black people of Rio Claro! The *Frente Negra Brasileira* is organized in Our city. Rise and come to collaborate for our true freedom (DOMINGUES, 2010, 116).¹⁵

In the same edition of *O Batutinha*, the composition of the board elected to direct the *Frente Negra* delegation in Rio Claro was also reported. Hygino Lucio de Arruda would be the president, João de Souza, the vice; the first and second secretaries would be, respectively, José Ignácio do Rosário and Aristides Negreiros; Treasurer, Benedicto Teixeira; counselors, Aristides Souza Santos, Waldomiro Gonçalves, Alberto Christiano, André José Gaudio, Sebastião de Almeida, Juvenal dos Santos, Lázaro Carneiro and Manoel Domingues; FNB special delegate in Rio Claro, José Ignácio Ramos. At its inception, the *Frente* was headquartered at 94 4th Street, now downtown - and at the time away from it - and was open every day.

[...] catering to interested parties from 11h00 to 20h00. An increasing number of black people came to realize their "noble" ideals of racial equality and,

¹⁴ *Frente Negra Brasileira* in Rio Claro: A group of black people from this city, following the example of black people from São Paulo, summons all black people from this city, regardless of gender or social class, for a meeting to be held TODAY at 8 pm at the headquarters of S. D. 28 de Setembro, at 10th street n° 66.

The purpose of this meeting is to organize a *Frente Negra* delegation in Rio Claro.

¹⁵ [...] ele falou da necessidade de se congregarem, todos os seus irmãos de raça, em torno da Frente Negra, que surge como a bandeira redentora que garantirá e pleiteará os direitos dos negros dentro do Brasil”. Três dias depois, outro jornal da cidade, *O Batutinha* (“Órgão crítico, literário e social - Dedicado aos homens de cor”), estampava na primeira página: “Negros de Rio Claro! Está organizada a Frente Negra Brasileira em Nossa cidade. Ergue-te e vem colaborar em prol de nossa verdadeira liberdade (DOMINGUES, 2010, 116).

driven by a climate of enthusiasm, expectation and hope, rushed to headquarters to join their membership. With the structuring, it acquired a new dynamism, undertaking cultural programs and social projects. Perhaps the main one was the creation of a teaching unit. Already at the end of April 1932, the board of directors of the association reported that it was about to open a “night instructional school” run by teacher Maria de Lourdes Rosário, “which with true love, effort and open dedication” would contribute to the happy progress of the establishment (DOMINGUES, 2010, p. 116-117).¹⁶

This night school had begun its activities in early May 1932 as part of a larger political project. In general terms, as Pereira (2008) points out, this project of the *Frente Negra* was “to instruct the Brazilian Negro in morals and intellect, especially after the 1930s”. This “new” black person would be constructed as a mouthpiece of a modern racial protest. Thus, the FNB had not been exclusive as black associations go in Rio Claro in the period.

In the year of the foundation of the “*frentenegrina* nocturnal school, geared towards the instruction and alphabetization of the “brothers of the race” (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 57), the appearance of two other black association clubs: the *Sociedade Beneficente e Instrutiva Henrique Dias* and the *José do Patrocínio Association*. The first was the result of the first split that took place at the *rio clarense* delegation of the FNB, which is organized around Jurandir Mourão. On April 19, 1932, this group organized by Mourão publishes in the *Diário de Rio Claro* a brief note that summons “all elements of the race” for a “solemn session” to be held at the *Sociedade 28 de Setembro* at 8 pm. As Domingues notes:

The “solemn session” consisted of the founding meeting of the *Sociedade Beneficente e Instrutiva Henrique Dias*. Hardly attended, the meeting opened with a long speech by Waldomiro Gonçalves, who explained to those present the charitable ends of the new society. Historicizing the split of the *Frente Negra*, the “speaker concluded by saying that Brazilian black people cannot be enslaved to political parties, since free and independent men are wanted”. Named after the “heroic patrician, man of color who fought for our homeland”, expelling the Dutch from the Northeast of Brazil in the colonial period, Henrique Dias defined his board of directors with the following nominate: President, Hygino Lúcio de Arruda; Vice President, João de Souza; First Treasurer, Juvenal dos Santos; Second Treasurer, Lázaro Carneiro; First Prosecutor, André Gaudio; Second Prosecutor, Mário de Souza; First Secretary, Jurandir Mourão; Second Secretary, Áureo Baptista; Counselor, Waldomiro Gonçalves (DOMINGUES, 2010, p. 123-124).¹⁷

¹⁶ [...] atendendo aos interessados das 11h00 às 20h00. Um número cada vez maior de negros foi compreendendo seus “nobres” ideais de igualdade racial e, movidos por um clima de entusiasmo, expectativa e esperança, acorreram à sede para assomar-se aos seus quadros de associados. Com a estruturação, ela adquiriu um novo dinamismo, empreendendo programas culturais e projetos sociais. Talvez o principal deles foi a criação de uma unidade de ensino. Já no final de abril de 1932, a diretoria da agremiação relatava que estava prestes a abrir uma “escola instrutiva noturna”, dirigida pela professora Maria de Lourdes Rosário, “que com verdadeiro amor, esforço e franca dedicação” contribuiria para o feliz andamento do estabelecimento (DOMINGUES, 2010, p. 116-117).

¹⁷ A “sessão solene” consistiu na reunião de fundação da Sociedade Beneficente e Instrutiva Henrique Dias. Bastante concorrida, a reunião foi aberta com um longo discurso de Waldomiro Gonçalves, que explicou aos

It is curious to note that most of the directors of the *Frente de Rio Claro* were to compose the new association's management. This society was characterized, unlike the FN - which was defined as “a political and social union of the black people for the general survey of race, intellectual and moral, and not (...) [for] dance and other amusements” - for holding celebrations. These gathered the black population of the city around dances packed mainly by the sound of jazz from the Jazz Band *Batutas Rio Clarenses*. Within this society also formed a Dramatic Group, responsible for the organization of cultural events. Throughout the survey, no reference was found to a specific headquarters of this club, so it is assumed that most of the events were held on the premises of the *28 de Setembro*.

The José do Patrocínio Association was also founded in 1932 and, as Domingues (2010, p. 194) points out, also “fought for the moral, social and cultural elevation of the element of color”. Initially chaired by Júlio de Lima, this company is initially composed of members from the other associations previously presented and had been throughout its existence in the same seat as the delegation of the *Frente Negra* in Rio Claro. In this way, both were often confused or thought of as a unitary society, which had caused numerous inconveniences on the Frente. One of these troubles was expressed in the newspaper *Diário de Rio Claro* of May 22, 1932, when the *Frente Negra* secretary general stated that even though they were based in one place, they had nothing to do with each other since it is “well known that this is a political and social union of black people for the general survey of race, intellectual and moral, and not of dances and other entertainment”. It is worth noting that in 1934 the *Frente Negra* in Rio Claro disappears almost completely, while José do Patrocínio Association still continues its activities. These activities had as their highlights the dancing balls held throughout the year and the carnival celebrations that gathered around the organization of the carnival cord of society. Following these dances and celebrations, the *Sociedade Dançante Familiar Progresso da Mocidade* was founded in 1934, chaired by Francisco Franco Arruda - elected vice-president of the second management of the *Sociedade 28 de Setembro* and which we speculate to be related to Hygino de Arruda. *O Diário de Rio Claro*, of March 7, 1935, brings news about the participation of these societies in Rio Clarense Carnival.

presentes os fins beneficentes da nova sociedade. Historiando a cisão da Frente Negra, o “orador concluiu por dizer que os negros brasileiros não podem se escravizar a partidos políticos, uma vez que se querem homens livres e independentes”. Com o nome em homenagem ao “heroico patricio, homem de cor que se bateu pela nossa pátria”, expulsando os holandeses do Nordeste brasileiro no período colonial, a Henrique Dias definiu sua diretoria, com a seguinte nominata: Presidente, Hygino Lúcio de Arruda; Vice-Presidente, João de Souza; Primeiro Tesoureiro, Juvenal dos Santos; Segundo Tesoureiro, Lázaro Carneiro; Primeiro Procurador, André Gaudio; Segundo Procurador, Mário de Souza; Primeiro Secretário, Jurandir Mourão; Segundo Secretário, Áureo Baptista; Conselheiro, Waldomiro Gonçalves (DOMINGUES, 2010, p. 123-124).

It would be unfair if we did not highlight, as they deserve, the strings of our colored people. Congratulations to the hardworking leaders of the “28 de Setembro” and “Progresso da Mocidade” society for their excellent contribution to our Carnival. The societies of our festive colored people gave us two strands in perfect line, correct and of perfect organization. In addition, they sang and danced to the beat, the song perfectly perceived, as if it were sung with one voice. Our people of color "made it beautiful", even, their cords pleased a lot and generally...¹⁸

In 1935, it is reported in the most popular newspapers in the city of Rio Claro - *Diário do Rio Claro* and *Cidade de Rio Claro* - the activities of another society that is founded in the city, the *Sociedade Uma Noite de Alegria*. However, the information only accounts for the participation of this association in carnival celebrations, and we have not acquired more information about it. However, we can record in detail the formation of another society two years later. On October 9, 1937, the *Centro Cívico e Beneficente Luís Gama*.

As Domingues (2010) recounts in the newspaper *A Voz da Raça*, it was an “initiative of the haughty and industrious men of color”, mentors of the “rioclarense black elite”. The author goes on:

The *Cidade de Rio Claro* newspaper also informed readers of the opening ceremonies of the *Centro Cívico e Beneficente Luiz Gama*, the novel association that would bring together the “majority of men of color” in the city. According to the report, Luiz Gama had, since the beginning of its formation, an “unusual and brilliant” trajectory, managing to achieve, under its banner, about 320 members. The statutory purposes of the association would be “of the most praiseworthy and meritorious,” that is, to advocate daily and diligent assistance in order to provide “the colored man of the city with all the comfort he needs in society”; become a stronghold of “race communion”; seek to literate those who are not yet; create a “cooperative mutuality” environment that ensures members a “beneficiary union”; be, therefore, “supportive” and civic, as its name implied (DOMINGUES, 2010, p. 126).¹⁹

¹⁸ Seríamos injustos si não destacassemos, como merecem, os cordões da nossa gente de côr. Estão de parabens os esforçados dirigentes da sociedade “28 de setembro” e “Progresso da Mocidade” pela sua optima contribuição ao nosso Carnaval. As sociedades da nossa folionica gente de cor nos deu dois cordões em perfeita linha, correctos e de uma organização perfeita. Além do mais, cantavam e dansavam no compasso, percebendo-se perfeitamente o canto, como si fosse entoado a uma só voz. A nossa gente de côr “fez bonito”, mesmo, os seus cordões agradaram bastante e geralmente...

¹⁹ O jornal *Cidade de Rio Claro* também informou aos leitores das solenidades de inauguração do Centro Cívico e Beneficente Luiz Gama, a novel associação que reuniria a “maioria dos homens de cor” do município. Segundo a reportagem, o Luiz Gama teve, desde o princípio de sua formação, uma trajetória “invulgar e brilhante”, conseguindo acardumar, sob sua bandeira, cerca de 320 sócios. As finalidades estatutárias da associação seriam “das mais louváveis e meritórias”, quais sejam, propugnar uma assistência cotidiana e diligente, tendo em vista proporcionar “ao homem de cor da cidade todo o conforto de que necessite na sociedade”; tornar-se um reduto de “comunhão da raça”; procurar alfabetizar aqueles que ainda não o são; criar um ambiente “cooperativista de mutualidades” capaz de assegurar aos associados uma “união beneficiadora”; ser, portanto, “amparador” e cívico, como o seu próprio nome indicava (DOMINGUES, 2010, p. 126).

This center was chaired by Hygino de Arruda, former president of the *Sociedade 28 de Setembro*, and vice-chair by Francisco Arruda, former president of *Progresso da Mocidade*. The activities of this society were similar to those of previous clubs, besides mobilizing political discussions among the black population of the city. It is interesting to note that even in this club the absence of a fixed seat recurrently represented a problem for these companies. Pereira (2008, p. 176) reflects on this and states that one of the goals of these organizations was "to solve the problem of the temporality of black headquarters, breaking with the cycle of intermittent spaces of the race". This impasse, as the author goes on, "has accompanied local black organizations since (at least) the 1930s, historically unable to carry out their collective project of building their own home". Many of the meetings were held at the members' house or at the headquarters of the *Sociedade 28 de Setembro*, which eventually became headquarters of the other associations. Flávia de Souza Pereira suggests that the impossibility of building fixed and own headquarters is due to the "economic and political growth of immigrants/descendants that stifled the formation of an economically and politically expressive black middle class in Rio Claro".

The 1940s marked a gap in the formation of new societies and the celebrations of existing black social clubs and the carnival activities of the city. The city hall, throughout the 40's, practically did not invest in the activities of the local carnival. As pointed out by Pereira (2008), the carnival celebrations were constituted as an "important thermometer for the diagnosis of the health of black organizations". Thus, with zero investment by the government, black groups began to face structural difficulties in maintaining the activity of existing societies. The end of Momo's revelry in Rio Claro was featured in the *Diário de Rio Claro* of February 4, 1945.

Street Carnival seems to be slowly dying, at least until the war is over, because we can tell our dear readers that Rio Claro will still have a Carnival with King Momo in "flesh and blood", floats etc.²⁰

In a way, our argument goes very close to that of the author when it suggests that it is entirely coherent to state that, in structural terms, black Rio clarenses organizations arrive in 1945 almost out of breath. This is due, in a broader picture, for two central reasons. The first has already been exposed and boils down to the lack of support from the local power of the period - Solon de Mendonça Rego Barros, from the Historical Republican Party, was named

²⁰ O Carnaval de rua parece ir morrendo aos poucos, pelo menos enquanto a guerra não terminar, porque podemos adiantar aos nossos prezados leitores que Rio Claro terá ainda um Carnaval com Rei Momo em "carne e osso", carros alegóricos etc.

mayor of Rio Claro in 1940 by the intervener Adhemar Pereira de Barros, from the former Republican Paulista Party -. The second reason is the climate of tension arising from the effects of World War II.

However, on September 25, 1948, the *Sociedade Dançante Familiar José do Patrocínio* was founded. Chaired by José de Andrade, the society's statutory purpose was to offer dancing and recreational entertainment to associated families. In this way, balls, dancing Sundays, and a carnival cord were developed by its members. In 1960, this company was reorganized as *Sociedade Beneficente Recreativa José do Patrocínio*, as stated in a statute dated 1967. Most of the members of this club were from activities related to *Companhia Paulista*. Train drivers, rail workers, workshop workers gathered around this society. Mr. Celso Augusto indicated that this change of name was due to the process of conquering the land for the construction of its own headquarters, and several meetings with the government. In one of them, Celso Augusto tells us:

Celso Augusto: There were a lot of people from the workshops, he was secretary of the city hall, people from the *horto*, he was a class leader of the race in the workshops, so he thought he couldn't make a single society, because there was the Barbosa guy, Aristides who were studying for teacher and could not form a society just for these slipper-footed black men to come dance with their daughter. It was a roll. A discussion of damn it. Then the mayor was present at this meeting and hit the angry table saying that he was going to give us a lot of ground to do whatever we wanted, there on *Avenida da Saudade*, near the municipal cemetery. He would donate there for us

Pedro: A place for *Sociedade Dançante Familiar José do Patrocínio*?

S.C: No. This was the one we used to "reborn" the *Patrocínio*!

Pedro: In 1960, did it change the name to receive the land?

Celso: Yes. And it was with us. It was *Beneficente* to be able to receive money and not pay tax, i.e. get help from the city.²¹

Thus, it was not until 1960 that a black club in the city of Rio Claro gained land for the construction of the headquarters. From interviews with members of the *Sociedade Beneficente Recreativa José do Patrocínio*, we were able to retrieve important information regarding the

²¹ **Celso Augusto:** Tinha bastante gente das oficinas, era secretário da prefeitura, gente lá do horto, era chefe de turma da raça nas oficinas, aí achou que não podia fazer uma sociedade só, porque tinha o tal de Barbosa, Aristides que estavam estudando pra professor e não podiam formar uma sociedade só pra esses neguinhos pé-de-chinelo virem dançar com a filha deles. Foi um rolo. Uma discussão do caramba. Aí o prefeito estava presente nessa reunião e bateu na mesa bravo dizendo que ia dar um terreno grande pra fazer o que a gente quisesse, ali na Avenida da Saudade, perto do cemitério municipal. Ele ia doar ali pra nós

Pedro: Um terreno para a *Sociedade Dançante Familiar José do Patrocínio*?

S.C: Não. Essa era a que nós usamos pra "renascer" o *Patrocínio*!

Pedro: Em 60, ela mudou de nome pra poder receber o terreno?

Celso: Sim. E foi com nós. Ficou *Beneficente* pra poder receber verba e não pagar imposto, ou seja, conseguir ajuda da prefeitura.

construction of this headquarters. Dona Estela, one of the club's pioneers, recalled this period and we think it is very valid to reproduce the full statement:

Pedro: Now getting a little deeper into the subject of laying the foundation stone, building the *Patrô*. Do you have any memories? Remember how important this was to the club? Where was the old headquarters, where were the meetings?

Dona Estela: There was no headquarters before. Did not have. Or meetings were held at club members' houses. But it didn't have a headquarters, a place that could discuss it, do it, do that, it was all decided in these places, until we ran after the city hall and found a space. The construction was on the base of door to door favors (laughs). It was ceramics, it was where it made tile, any place that had something to contribute to us, we were there...

P: And was there any resistance in the city to building this headquarters?

D.E: Not to my knowledge. I never knew any of that. The only thing we had at the time, I don't know if the revolt was big, because now that we had our headquarters, why would the white people go there? So, there was this controversy in our society too (laughs). Thank God, over time, we were able to get the white people in there before we could go to their (clubs)...

P: Was it possible for white people to attend societal events before?

D.E: It was impossible. There were even outsiders trying to enter our samba school, but it was not allowed.

P: And then, in construction, when I ask if there was any resistance, I mean people that didn't want it to happen, like the land donation.

D.E: No, no. Not to my knowledge. All the people who collaborated with us... I don't remember (the people who helped). The only thing I remember was the Paulista Bazaar that helped us a lot, which today doesn't even have anymore. There was a *Casa das Novidades* that helped us...

P: And do you remember the time it took to open the headquarters?

D.E: And now? The building, Carlos (Dona Estela's son) was tiny, it didn't take long because my daughter was born in 63, in 66 the money had been collected... I think it was well before. It didn't take long, because we had the Princesinha Negra, which was a party to raise money and my daughter attended. I put her at two and a half years old, I think at the time, almost 3, for lack of... you know, to have more child in the middle. So, I think it must have been around 63 ... The cornerstone was laid in 62, I think in 63 or 64 it was ready.²²

²² **Pedro:** Agora entrando um pouco mais no assunto do lançamento da pedra fundamental, da construção do *Patrô*. A senhora tem alguma recordação? Lembra do quão importante isso foi pro clube? Onde era a sede antiga, onde aconteciam as reuniões?

Dona Estela: Não tinha sede antes. Não tinha. Ou as reuniões eram feitas na casa de membros do clube. Mas não tinha uma sede, um lugar que pudesse discutir isso, fazer isso, fazer aquilo, era tudo decidido nesses lugares, até correr atrás da prefeitura e conseguir um espaço. A construção se deu na base do pedi daqui, pedi de lá (risos). Era cerâmica, era onde fazia telha, qualquer lugar que tivesse algo pra contribuir com a gente, nós estávamos lá...

P: E tinha alguma resistência na cidade em se construir essa sede?

D.E: Que eu saiba não. Nunca soube de nada disso. A única coisa que a gente tinha na época, não sei se a revolta era grande, porque, agora que a gente tinha nossa sede, por que que branco vai frequentar? Então também havia essa polêmica na nossa sociedade (risos). Até que graças a deus, com o passar do tempo, nós conseguimos receber os brancos lá dentro antes de nós podermos frequentar os (clubes) deles...

P: Antes era possível brancos frequentarem os eventos das sociedades?

D.E: Era impossível. Vinha, inclusive, gente de fora tentar entrar na nossa escola de samba, mas não era permitido.

P: E aí, na construção, quando eu pergunto se existiu alguma resistência, eu digo de pessoas não quererem que aquilo acontecesse, como a doação do terreno.

In summary, the headquarters of the *Patrocínio* represented a conquest of the black group of the city although located in an area far from the center. The material for construction had been gained from the effort of the group members themselves to articulate subjects inside and outside society so that they could raise it and begin construction of the building. It is important to point out that all the manpower used for the erection of the “own house” outside the club members who turned days and nights to fulfill this desire. Mr. Celso Augusto also remembers this period:

Pedro: Are you the gentlemen who erected the headquarters of *Patrocínio* there? Do you remember what the construction period was like?

Celso Augusto: The foundation stone was laid and we began to make the gold book and go to the potteries that gave and talked as they did, signed the golden book and gave things. In Batovi they donated brick and stone to us to do the job...

P: And was the workmanship all you?

C: All! It took about four years. First, we had no place to dance, so Schimitd (Augusto Schimitd, then mayor of Rio Claro) had formed the sports gym and gave it to us to do the carnival there, dances ... Everything to raise money to make the headquarters.

P: Did you have to pay the city something?

C: No, no. Once it was Tamoio who did it, again José do Patrocínio did events there to raise money. It was all year long: graduation, all that, was all there. The black people did everything there where the sports gym is. He gave us a good hand. Thank God I have no complaint.²³

After the conquest of the headquarters, the dances became more frequent and thematic. Receiving only black guys dressed with gala, the dancing nights were animated especially by

D.E: Não, não. Que eu saiba não. Todo pessoal que colaborou com a gente... Não lembro (das pessoas que ajudaram). A única coisa que eu lembro era o Bazar Paulista que nos ajudou muito, que hoje nem tem mais. Tinha uma Casa das Novidades que nos ajudou...

P: E a senhora lembra o tempo que demorou para inaugurar a sede?

D.E: E agora? A construção o Carlos (filho de Dona Estela) era pequenininho, não demorou muito não porque minha filha é de 63, em 66 a arrecadação de dinheiro já tinha sido feita... Acho que foi bem antes. Não demorou muito tempo, porque nós tínhamos a Princesinha Negra, que era uma festa como forma de arrecadar dinheiro e a minha filha participou. Coloquei ela com dois anos e meio, acho que na época, quase 3, por falta de... sabe, pra ter criança mais ali no meio. Então, eu acho que deve ter sido mais ou menos em 63... A pedra fundamental foi lançada em 62, eu acho que em 63 pra 64 já estava pronta.

²³ **Pedro:** Os senhores que ergueram ali a sede do Patrocínio? O senhor lembra como foi o período da construção?

Celso Augusto: Foi lançada a pedra fundamental e começamos a fazer o tal de livro de ouro e ia às olarias que davam e falavam como faziam, assinavam o livro de ouro e davam as coisas. Em Batovi, eles doavam pra nós tijolo e pedra pra fazer o serviço...

P: E a mão-de-obra foi tudo com os senhores?

C: Tudo! Demorou mais ou menos uns quatro anos. Primeiro, nós não tínhamos lugar pra dançar, aí o Schimitd (Augusto Schimitd, então prefeito de Rio Claro) tinha formado o ginásio de esportes e cedeu pra nós fazermos o carnaval ali, bailes... Tudo pra arrecadar dinheiro pra fazer a sede.

P: Vocês tinham que pagar algo à prefeitura?

C: Não, não. Uma vez era o Tamoio que fazia, outra vez era o José do Patrocínio que fazia eventos ali pra arrecadar dinheiro. Era durante o ano inteiro: formatura, essas coisas era tudo ali. A negrada fazia tudo ali onde é o ginásio de esportes. Ele deu uma boa mão pra gente. Graças a deus não tenho queixa.

the jazzy sound of bands - mostly black musicians - from the city of Rio Claro and the region. As Mr. Edmur Augusto recalls, the club's activities consisted of the Champagne Ball, the Black Jewel Ball, the Debutante Ball, New Year's Eve, the Red and White Ball, and the dancing Sunday and Carnival matinees. The preparation of the samba school - and in the 1960s - was another highlight of José do Patrocínio's activities. As recalled by all respondents, these balls were attended exclusively by black people, but not only those of Rio Claro, subjects coming from Limeira, Piracicaba, Jundiaí, Sao Carlos, Araraquara, Batatais crowded the dependencies of society.

In 1951, even before the construction of the headquarters by José do Patrocínio, Tamoio Futebol Clube was founded, a name given in reference to the orixá Oxóssi. Located on Avenida 23, between Streets 13 and 14, it is very close to S.B.R. José do Patrocínio to the present day. The conquest of the land for the construction of the building that would house the society occurs in the same process that occurs in the case of the Patrocínio and that had previously been presented. From a struggle with the public power and the raising of materials and funds for the works, the "own house" was erected by the members of the society themselves. These were subjects who guaranteed their livelihood in manual labor, such as carpenters, masons, housekeepers, laundresses, night guards, etc. and that were not mostly in positions of Companhia Paulista. Initially, the club's activities were dedicated to football practice. The Tamoio team consisted only of black men, who, playing their games on ground directly in front of the club's headquarters, maintained a tradition that had existed in the city since at least the 1930s and we point out here:

Racial compartmentalization was also found in football in Rio Claro. In 1936 the Sports Festival 9 de Julho - Whites versus Blacks began in the city. The event was held for several years, always on the holidays of July 9. With its main attraction being the warm football match between the white teams against the black teams, the festival was organized to raise funds for the São Vicente de Paula de Rio Claro Asylum - through which the "men of color", certainly not for the first time, responded to the appeal addressed to them by the local press in 1932 (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 86).²⁴

Over time, the activities of Tamoio F.C. have been diversifying, including the society itself has changed its name in the 1960s to *Associação Beneficente Cultural e Recreativa*

²⁴ A compartimentalização racial também foi encontrada no futebol em Rio Claro. Em 1936 teve início na cidade o Festival Esportivo 9 de Julho - Brancos versus Pretos. O evento foi realizado por vários anos, sempre nos feriados de 9 de julho. Tendo como principal atrativo a calorosa partida futebolística entre os times branco, de um lado, e preto, de outro, o festival era organizado para a arrecadação de fundos em prol do Asilo São Vicente de Paula de Rio Claro - por meio do que os "homens de cor" respondiam, certamente não pela primeira vez, ao apelo que lhes fora dirigido por meio da imprensa local em 1932 (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 86).

Tamoio. Dances and cocktails were performed very similarly to those already presented. In fine dress, its members socialized to the sound of jazz throughout the year and during the carnival periods, occupied the hall for the matinees and rehearsals of the carnival cord.

Coming from the same historical period, the relationship between S. B. R. José do Patrocínio - and its "previous form" - and Tamoio F. C. - later A. B. C. R. Tamoio - made more visible the social differences between its members when compared to the relationships built by previous societies, being these differences always based on the interviews. As presented so far, black societies have emerged since the 1930s. In the process, the new clubs that emerged came from dissent from the previous ones and formed their governing and membership bodies through the reorganization of existing club members. However, the 1940s bring a break in this process, as at this time black associative activities are weakened considerably, leaving a "new beginning" with new goals within a different social setting from the 1930s. In our hypothesis, the distinction between these societies (S. B. R. José do Patrocínio and Tamoio F. C.) and their members is more remarkable, as they are part of a new social dynamic of these societies. One of the elements of this dynamic was central to the conquest of their own headquarters as one of its central scopes within broad strategies to combat and respond to racism. The 1930s, as already presented by Petrônio Domingues (2010), constructed the confrontation with discriminatory practices "through the educational and moral way, within the framework of capitalism or bourgeois society".

The 40's bring new elements and there is the confrontation with racist practices "through the educational and cultural way, eliminating the inferiority complex of the black person and racially re-educating the white people, in the framework of capitalism or bourgeois society". Therefore, that decade seeks to build the morale of black subjects within a broader social system to which they should tense and raise their space within the idea of insertion. This bet more sharply on raising the social status of the black people and questioning the white people social place within direct confrontation. This implies the very way societies organize themselves and bring new elements into this organization. Therefore, distinctive marks from the employment of club members can only be understood, not as a split within associative practices where there is a rigid hierarchization of members of a black elite and lower ranks of this group, but within a scenario of reorganization of discourses and practices of these organizations.

Final considerations

This article briefly sought to provide an overview of the formation of black associative activities in the city of Rio Claro. Obviously the subject is not exhausted in these considerations, however it was sought to make known to the reader subjects, ideas and practices that modulated the republican experience of black people in an extremely racist society.

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