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# Temperance Movement and Popular Drinking Habits in Brazil

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*Introduction-* A 2009 national survey has shown that beer represents 60 precent of all alcohol consumed regularly in Brazil. It also shows that gender, education and urbanity make little difference to determinate people's preference for beer. Its widespread consumption throughout the country permeates every social class and makes it seem "natural" choice.[2] Beer presence is so common in everyday life that people justify this consumption by arguing that it is not an alcoholic beverage. In fact, many think of it as a sort of refreshment, probably because it is served cold. Although physicians constantly warn about its alcoholic content, breweries lobby intensively to avoid restrictions on their propaganda message. Consequently, the consumption of beer has increased over the years.[3]

[This chapter analyzes the increase of beer consumption as a consequence of early twentieth-century temperance movements and industrialization.[4] I argue that the history of the industrial production of beer and its consumption in Brazil is closely related to temperance movements in several ways. First, temperance propaganda failed to convince consumers to quit alcohol. Second, temperance messages condemning both *aguardente* consumption and those who drank it helped to create a market for beer.[5] Third, the commercial strategies adopted by breweries were very successful.]

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# Temperance Movement and Popular Drinking Habits in Brazil

Teresa Cristina de Novaes Marques[1]

## I. Introduction

A 2009 national survey has shown that beer represents 60 precent of all alcohol consumed regularly in Brazil. It also shows that gender, education and urbanity make little difference to determinate people's preference for beer. Its widespread consumption throughout the country permeates every social class and makes it seem "natural" choice.[2] Beer presence is so common in everyday life that people justify this consumption by arguing that it is not an alcoholic beverage. In fact, many think of it as a sort of refreshment, probably because it is served cold. Although physicians constantly warn about its alcoholic content, breweries lobby intensively to avoid restrictions on their propaganda message. Consequently, the consumption of beer has increased over the years.[3]

[This chapter analyzes the increase of beer consumption as a consequence of early twentieth-century temperance movements and industrialization.[4] I argue that the history of the industrial production of beer and its consumption in Brazil is closely related to temperance movements in several ways. First, temperance propaganda failed to convince consumers to quit alcohol. Second, temperance messages condemning both *aguardente* consumption and those who drank it helped to create a market for beer.[5] Third, the commercial strategies adopted by breweries were very successful.]

I have divided this chapter in three sections. First, I analyze the temperance movement, its intellectual origins, its racial and social connotations, and its political strategies. Then examine the brewing industry reaction to the temperance movement. I close this chapter analyzing the spread of beer consumption as a consequence of this movement and modernization efforts in Brazil.

Between the 1870's and the early 1930's, alcohol consumption was targeted by severe criticism in many parts of the western world. Moreover, consumers, especially the urban masses who happened to be poor, illiterate, and marginalized in the economic activities, were the target of temperance movements. In 1919, the temperance movement in the United States, which originated as a religious initiative, reached its peak with the legal prohibition of sale and production of alcoholic beverages. In contrast, in Brazil, the temperance campaign emerged as a lay movement and especially condemned the use of *aguardente (sugar cane spirit)*.

Temperance movements around the world expressed ethnic and class tensions in their societies. In the United States, religious groups called for temperance in reaction to the supposed negative habits of new immigrants.[6] In Mexico, temperance proposals intended to redeem both the indigenous and *mestizo* working populations by changing their drinking habits.[7] In Brazil, the movement opened fire against the consumption habits of the poor, black, and *mestizo* population.

While in the United States and Mexico temperance efforts got adopted as state policies, in Brazil this movement never achieved full governmental support. In the U.S., the government backed up religious efforts with the law, while in Mexico, temperance campaigns became a state policy after 1910 Revolution, although there was never a national prohibition.[8] In Brazil, despite the vociferousness of temperance activists in the 1920's, a nation-wide policy intending to control the population's drinking habits through a federal law was enacted only in 1997.[9] Even the centralizing conservative regime of Getúlio Vargas in the 1930s did not foresee the political benefits of using the state's instruments to openly repress the people's drinking habits. For the government, the everyday control of the police forces over the urban population was enough. Besides, the federal government´s repressive forces were much more concerned with opposition activists than with policing urban behavior.

The fact that the distribution of temperance propaganda was not adopted as a state policy in Brazil did not mean it had no impact on society. As I will examine in detail this propaganda further in the chapter, it is necessary to stress, in this point, that it had strong racial, social, and commercial connotations. Its strong racial messages reflected the history of racial relationships in the country. This was especially relevant in a society where explicitly segregationist policies had no legal basis, but a persistent cultural segregation that undermined the self-esteem of the poor and black people has remained.[10] For this very reason, the temperance also projected the future of the nation, in

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which industrial progress would replace the backward, slavery-based recent past. Participation in this future required abandoning of old habits, such as the drinking of *aguardente*. Those not interested or not able to change their drinking habits remained trapped in poverty and social depreciation. This discrimination had its origins in the so-called defects of skin color that were associated with moral defects. So, the persistent association of drunkenness with black people contributed to foster the social and racial gap of classes in the country.

The debate about temperance in Brazil was divided between moderate and radical activists. Most of them supported moderation of consumption and a few activists who stood for the total abolition of alcoholic beverages in the country. Being the majority, moderates regarded beer as a lesser evil in comparison to distilled beverages, due to their lesser alcohol content. For radicals, beer was also a target.

Breweries were able to easily overcome the commercial threat of temperance movements due to their political connections and their advertising strategies. Brewery advertisements insisted on the nutritional qualities of beer and its lower alcoholic content in comparison to non-fermented beverages. The same arguments were employed in many other countries, such as the United States and Mexico. Nevertheless, companies in Brazil also exploited other powerful and long- lasting ideas to ensure the legitimate presence of beer in the market. Beer was portrayed as a civilized, modern and industrial beverage, a product of technology developed in Europe. As a civilized beverage, beer shadowed *aguardente* and its social stigma.

*Aguardente* was regarded as the beverage of the slaves; therefore it had political, social and racial connotations.[11] After the abolition of slavery, in 1888, *aguardente* was also perceived as the drink of the disenfranchised, especially the poor urban *mestizo* population. It was considered a social evil and the reason for the supposed poor people degradation. Abuse of *aguardente* was one of the many reasons given to justify the social and political exclusion of the urban poor population.

Ironically, *aguardente* was also the choice of the slave- owners. Colonial inhabitants had used it profusely: as an appetizer, as medicine, and ritual beverage. It was regularly consumed during long journeys in the hinterland.[12] But, for the Brazilian elites of the 1920s, this was a distant and forgettable past; there was no space for the habits of black people in their new, modern nation.

Breweries exploited these notions in the popular mindset and adjusted their public image in response to temperance movement's attacks. They succeeded in making consumers shift their preferences to beer as a way of crafting new identities for themselves, separating them from the urban masses.

## II. Temperance and Beer

The Brazilian temperance movement was led by physicians, lawyers, journalists, congressmen, and right-wing feminists.[13] Each group condemned alcohol consumption from its own perspective. They represented the various ideologies supporting social control proposals debated in the political arena at large during the first decades of the twentieth century.

The temperance propaganda had its roots in an intellectual movement which emerged in the 1870's that was influenced by social Darwinism and phrenology. Such theories were used as tools to explain the behavior of individuals and to ensure the basis for public policies of intervention in the social order.[14] Intervention was perceived as necessary, especially in Rio de Janeiro, where crowded, poor neighborhoods, a consequence of urban growth, created concern and uneasiness among the elites.

Although the educated elites lobbied for a larger presence of the state in the society, this desire ran up against the current liberal ideology that supported the political system, based on a non-interventionist state conception. This was one of the reasons why political proposals presented in the 1920s explicitly promoting federal anti-alcohol laws failed. Aware of this liberal bias, temperance activists turned instead to local authorities, who welcomed their arguments and took some actions restraining alcohol consumption. For instance, at the end of 1928, temperance leaders met with the President of the Republic, Washington Luís de Sousa, bringing him energetic proposals against alcohol consumption. [15] They proposed him a local increase of taxes on beverages, proportional to their alcoholic contents of the products. Thus, not only the distilled beverages would be taxed in Rio de Janeiro, but also the fermented ones, such as beer, although at a lower rate.

As a result from these lobbying actions, since early 1930s the appointed mayor of Rio de Janeiro, then Federal District, raised taxes on saloons and restaurants that opened after 7 P.M., despite the owner's negative reaction.[16] In São Paulo, temperance groups also requested that the regional government pushed policies of social control too.

The groups from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo were the most active ones. However, in the early 20th Century, most political movement that started in Rio and achieved popularity had a strong impact on the rest of the country.[17] Because of this impact, Rio temperance groups became the most relevant ones and thus this chapter focuses on their actions.



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Two particular social groups were prominent in condemning alcoholism as a social evil of the urban masses: attorneys and physicians. Although both groups had different ways of approaching the issue, they occasionally acted in conjunction. Physicians related alcoholism to the degradation of the race. In contrast, jurists associated the consumption of alcohol and criminality and perceived the first as a substantial cause of the second. Either under the influence of the Italian school of criminology, either under the influence of the French school, lawyers and physicians disagreed about the way the state should intervene to restrain alcoholism and other social evils.

In one hand, the Italian school of criminology used anthropometry to describe individuals and their criminal inclinations and it was the main inspiration for repressive practices of Brazilian police. This school also placed the blame for criminal activities on individuals, and not on their social environment. Besides, these criminologists described some groups as potentially dangerous for social life, because of their physical appearance. Among them were blacks, the foreigners, alcoholics, epileptics, lunatics, prostitutes and drug addicts.[18]

On the other hand, the French School proclaimed that the collective practices, not the individuals, should be put under surveillance. It called for intervention in the social environment, such as the hygienic regulation of prostitution and drinking. It enjoyed the support of many physicians active in the temperance movement. Doctors were concerned with the social impact of miscegenation on the eugenic formation of the Brazilian people. Because of that, the people's redemption required the direct intervention of the medical knowledge. The latter would promote social selection measures allowing enhancement of the population, either by fostering immigration, and either by intervening in people private life.[19]

The temperance movement brought physicians once again to the public scene with a new repertoire of proposals after the high expectations many had about European immigration were frustrated by the political outcome of it.[20] With the years, immigrants had influenced labor union movements and spread anarchistic ideas. Then, activists pushed for bills against alcohol abuse, and promoted massive campaigns.

With these intentions, activists founded anti-alcohol civil associations. Among them were the National League against Alcoholism [*Liga Nacional contra o Alcoolismo*] and the Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene [*Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental*].[21] This latter was created in 1922 by a group of Rio physicians with the intention of participating in the celebrations of the Centennial of Brazilian Independence, when the Brazilian elites debated the future of the nation.[22]

Along with every other action, the temperance associations targeted the educational front and promoted anti-alcohol weeks, taking the temperance message to a larger audience in the press, in workplaces, in schools, and, from the 1930s on, also in the radio. Physicians, lawyers, and feminists presented lectures in many places in the city–unions, schools, clubs, and factories. These events took place in October, around the celebration of the *Penha* festival, when the abusive consumption of alcohol was often highlighted by the press.[23] The proximity of Carnival, celebrated annually from January to February, also raised activists concern on alcohol abuse.

Lectures during the anti-alcohol weeks showed the different opinions among the activists. Speakers had divided opinions about whether prohibition should be total or partial, and what kind of beverages that should be restrained. Among the supporters of a total prohibition were the jurist and Congressman Afrânio Coutinho, and the members from the Brazilian Union for Temperance [*União Brasileira Pró- Temperança*].[24] In contrast, many other activists thought that the total prohibition like the American one would not be the best option for Brazil. They argued that the American Prohibition did not deliver the expected results. On the contrary, this measure was an example of a public policy with undesirable consequences because of the increase in criminality observed in the country after the establishment of the prohibition.

Likewise, among activists there was a debate about beer. Although they all condemned *aguardente*, just a few, like the physician Hermeto Lima, explicitly condemned beer as harmful as any other alcoholic beverage to the consumer's health.[25] In 1914, he recognized that beer was more easily accepted by the society. Sarcastically, he criticized low-alcohol beer as having "a better reputation because it does not kill so fast." In comparison, a pamphlet produced by the Department of Health of the State of São Paulo included beer in the list of alcoholic beverages. However, it strongly criticized *aguardente*, because it caused addiction.[26]

Physicians were concerned about beer because of addiction and alcohol levels. They argued that the consumer´s compulsion for alcohol was gradual; therefore beer was an initial stage of irreversible addiction. Most of them condemned high fermentation beers because they were poor quality, it was said, but most physicians were tolerant with low fermentation beer.[27]

Few ones, like Doctor Moncorvo Filho were prominent in the fight against the popular assumptions about nutritional qualities of beer, such as the idea women should drink it to produce more milk to nurse their children. In fact, these ideas were widely disseminated by breweries in Brazil and abroad.



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As a pediatrician, Moncorvo Filho strongly condemned the use of black beer by nursing mothers and wet nurses. He also stressed that women should breastfeed their own children, instead of wet nurses. If these were necessary, they should be submitted to sanitarian control by health authorities.[28] In other words, the offspring of the elites should be kept apart from the degraded races. The pictures illustrating Moncorvo's flier were even more eloquent. (See figure 1) It pictures a squalidly and unhealthy black woman breastfeeding a white child, while she grabs a bottle placed in front of her. The picture expresses, graphically, the concern of physicians with the proximity between children and degenerated people.

Moncorvo Filho's flier might have represented a response to an advertisement campaign of the brewery Brahma, published first in Rio press in July, 1921 and then as a flier praising the nutritional qualities of a brand of malt beer.[29] Several advertisements with images of white mothers and healthy babies showed that despite the severe criticism, breweries did not immediately abandon this marketing strategy.[30]

[While beer was not unanimously condemned by temperance activists, all of them were concerned with the black population's drinking habits.

Breweries benefited from the diversity of temperance discourses and their economic and political strength. *Aguardente* producers where dispersed throughout the nation and lacked an organized political leadership. [31] Large breweries in contrast were located in the main cities and enjoyed coordinated leadership efforts. Therefore, they could promptly counteract the temperance attacks.

Breweries took any opportunity to promote and defend their products. In 1908, the National Exhibition celebrated the 100th anniversary of the opening of Brazilian ports to friendly nations. It praised the civilized character of Brazil as a supporter of free-trade, open to new ideas coming from Europe. Brahma managed to set up an elegant bar stand in the exhibition. The brewery's participation in this exhibition represented an important advertising strategy because visitors got exposed to its products.

More importantly, Brahma's participation was a political statement. Before the First World War years, large breweries lobbied for tariff protection as they deeply depended on imported inputs such as barley and *lupulus*, as well as feared competition from Britain products. In the political front, breweries in operation in Brazil faced opposition by some politicians who perceived their trade as artificial.[32] Breweries also lobbied for special fiscal treatment arguing that their products were harmless to the consumers, in contrast to *high fermentation* beer made under low hygienically standards.

Like the Mexican temperance movement and alcohol producers, both Brazilian activists and breweries employed the support of intellectuals to justify their activities. In Mexico, *pulque* production and consumption was defended as well as demonized with the help of prestigious scholars.[33] In Brazil, physicians played the role of the authoritative voices in the public debate on alcohol. That is the reason why Brahma sponsored a booklet defending the beer industry that was distributed to the 1908 exhibition visitors.[34] The author of the booklet was Dr. Pires de Almeida, a renowned hygienist and physician.[35]

Dr. Almeida insisted on beer low toxicity in comparison to other beverages available in the market. He also praised beer's nutritional qualities, absent in distilled beverages, especially in *aguardente*. He argued that the eventual abuse of beer would cause just a slight and pleasant dizziness and sleepiness. In contrast, fruit liqueurs caused intense headaches; vermouth, and whiskey led to a temporary loss of memory; absinthe induced crime; and rum as well as *aguardente* produced nasty drunkenness, the lost of moral sense, and severe headaches.[36] In other words, the level of alcohol content had different physical and moral effects on the consumer.

Dr. Almeida praised Brahma and its hygienic concerns. Its production was based on scientific principles, in contrast with the empiric methods of high fermentation beer and traditional beverages such as sugar-cane brandy.[37] The author emphasized that Brahma's technology and methods came from German beer industry know-how.[38] In so doing, Almeida not only made Brahma an heir of the German brewery traditions, but also presented its beer as a civilized modern beverage.[39]

Despite the breweries' efforts, the idea of beer as an inoffensive beverage was contested. Rio's police, in an attempt to decrease drunkenness and its consequences, requested in 1907 an analysis of the alcoholic content of all beverages sold in the city. Based on the results, the consumption of *aguardente*, cheap wine, and distilled beverages in general, were condemned. Instead beer was considered socially tolerable.[40] However by 1912, the issue went back to discussion. This time it was under the discussion of rules concerning business hours for alcohol sale. In November, the police chief of Rio ordered that beer could be sold only after 7 PM.[41] Under the same police regulations, people could drink *aguardente* on balconies at night, and drunk individuals wandering in the streets should be arrested.

Certainly nobody thought that such measures would suppress *aguardente* consumption completely. From a practical perspective, the beverage did not require being cooled to be palatable.[42] It could be stored

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for long periods, or mixed with fruits and juices in infinitive combinations and be hidden from the police. However, 1912 regulations supplied the police with the legitimacy to hinder popular leisure, although with questionable results.

Unlike *aguardente*, low fermentation beer – Lager beer – was produced on a large scale only in a few units. Therefore beer was taxed at the factory according to daily production records, in contrast with *aguardente* producers who frequently evaded taxes. In fact, the increase in sale taxes, including beverages, started during World War I and lasted throughout the 1920s. It was not only an effort in promoting temperance, but also the result of the federal government's insufficient revenues.[43] Until the war, the country's budget strongly relied on taxes on imported goods, but difficulties in navigation in the Atlantic and a crisis in the exchange rate as consequences of the war, impacted negatively on the offer of imported goods, as well as tax collect. After the First World War, the domestic market kept on developing and taxes on consumer goods played more and more important role on the Union's tax revenues.[44] So, the relevant contribution of breweries to the fiscal collect was always remembered when companies lobbied for their interests, and came into play when congressmen discussed temperance bills and sale taxes.

An example of the position of breweries versus the political support to temperance campaign offered by congressmen were the bills presented by Juvenal Lamartine, who represented Rio Grande do Norte in the Chamber of Deputies. In October 1917, Lamartine presented a bill intending to repress alcohol consumption by increasing taxes to alcoholic beverages.[45] Important newspapers supported the deputy's initiative. *O País* pointed out that the bill had its goal to combat "the dreadful social plague which poisons and consumes human vitality, destroying energy, morality and intelligence." The journalist lamented the bill limited chances of being passed. A similar bill, presented the previous year by Senator Eloy de Souza had ended up being filed away. The journalist argued that in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies congressmen connected to sugarcane trade resisted to bills as such.[46]

Lamartine did not include all kinds of drinks in his bill. Low fermentation beers, such as Brahma's were left out. He targeted high fermentation beers, ordinary wines, and *aguardente*; which were perceived as more damaging. To reinforce his arguments, he included in his speech the opinion of three distinguished politically prominent physicians.[47] They unanimously confirmed the damaging effects of alcohol on consumer's offspring, such as high infant mortality and congenital problems. Despite its arguments and reception in the press, Lamartine's bill did not pass into a law.

In July 1920, Juvenal Lamartine came back with a more radical bill including measures limiting alcohol and consumption.[48] The bill proposed doubling taxes on imported beverages. It also would forbid the importation and manufacture of beverages with more than 2% alcohol in the entire national territory. Consumption taxes would double on low fermentation beers, such as Brahma, and would triple on high fermentation beers, national wines, and *aguardente.* Most beer brands would be affected. Severe punishments were proposed for consumers with no distinction between occasional and constant drinkers.[49] According to the bill, anyone caught drunk would be arrested for ten days, besides being charged in 200$000. Recidivists would pay double. A government employee caught in *flagrante* would be dismissed "for the good of public morality", and unable to work for the state for ten years.[50]

The day after the bill was submitted, *O País* celebrated its perfect timing.[51] The United States and Argentina had just passed alcohol legislation. In the U.S., the legislation was prohibitive, whereas in Argentina it was restrictive.[52] *O País* called on legislators to follow the international examples. Despite the press' efforts, Lamartine's 1920 bill was rejected as had happened in 1917. In fact, neither one was even studied by the Committee of Justice, the first step in the Chamber of Deputies.[53] Nevertheless, in 1922, the congressman succeeded in passing a bill declaring the *Liga Nacional contra o Alcoolismo* [National League against Alcoholism] an institution of public utility and assigning it fiscal privileges.[54]

Although both of his bills were rejected, Lamartine´s political efforts to hinder alcohol consumption in Brazil did not remain fruitless; they got the public attention to the anti-alcohol cause. The political system did not encompass the idea of openly repress alcohol consumption, but it accepted imposing increasing taxes on beverages. If we examine the Budget Laws of those years, we consistently observe this trend. In 1917, for example per liter, high fermentation beers were taxed at $180 *réis*, low fermentation beers had a tax of $150 *réis*, and national *aguardente* had a tax of $120 *réis*.[55] In 1919, the federal budget revenues proposed to charge a liter of high fermentation beer at $300 *réis*, and low fermentation beer and *aguardente* at $240 *réis*.[56] In 1922, the Federal Budget law increased *aguardente* at $480 réis a liter.[57] For the rest of the decade, there was a systematic increase of taxes.

However, low fermentation beer producers managed to stabilize the taxes on their products.[58] How so?

Realizing that raising taxes on consumer goods were inevitable, the low fermentation beer companies strongly influenced the congressional negotiations on the federal budget to defend a special fiscal treatment.



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They constantly emphasized the low toxicity of their products and their significance in tax collection and public finances.[59] Breweries lobbied in favor of its interests, low tariffs on their imported inputs and lower taxes on their products, with the argument that beer was a socially accepted beverage.[60] Large sugar cane producers had an important economic and political power too. Although they were able to block parliamentary initiatives seeking to discourage *aguardente* consumption, they were not able to favorably depict their product. Due to its heterogeneous network, aguardente producers could not challenge the minor, but constant increases in consumption taxes. Even so it was more expensive each day, *aguardente* remained popular.

To keep their profits despite the taxes and enlarge its market, the brewing companies adapted their advertising companies to current trends. They abandoned the focus on promoting beers with high alcohol contents, advertised as prime quality. Instead, they shifted the emphasis to the so- called second quality beers. Actually, the international market since the beginning of World War I favored Pilsner types, which were lighter, cheaper and had less alcohol.

Breweries also sponsored cultural productions as another strategy to keep consumers attention on their products, and, as doing so, counteract pro-temperance propaganda. Brahma funded carnival groups all around the city, funded night-clubs, and sponsored musical plays. Thus, through lobbying, sponsoring cultural events, and advertising, breweries responded to the threat of temperance movements. Their efforts consolidated beer's presence in Brazilian daily life by the early twentieth century.

These actions showed that politicians supported temperance ideas and preferred the consumption of less toxic beverages, like beer. They also showed that politicians were sensitive to the arguments the brewing industry lobby sustained.

Although the temperance campaign was directed to the whole population, its main target was the black population, seen by temperance activists as immoderate consumers. Drunkenness, lack of hygiene, and the high incidence of diseases were perceived as examples of the degeneration of non-white groups rather than a consequence of their poverty. People of either indigenous or African background suffered the shame of being poor and other negative connotations related to their marginal living conditions. This stigmatization led the leaders of the incipient black community to take on the white elite's normative discourse. Black leaders started condemning, in their press, drunkenness and gambling as the cause of their social underdevelopment.[61]]

This chapter aimed to show that by the early twentieth century, beer was incorporated to the daily life of Brazilian society. The efforts of the temperance movements and breweries had diverted results. The first ones had only been able to demonize backward beverages with a dark past and made urban masses to shift from their traditional sugarcane *aguardente* to other beverages, if their prices were attractive. The second ones had legitimized their product and repositioned it in the market. Beer had become an industrial, light, and nourishing beverage proper enough of a modern social life, without the violent impulses provoked by *aguardente*. Brazilian society had been receptive to the appeal of a civilized industrial nation.

Decades ahead, part of the black people managed to escape poverty and can take part of the consumption society. For *samba* organizations nowadays, beer is an irreplaceable fuel of sociability, and a torment for the remaining temperance activists in Brazil.

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[1] An enlarged version of subject is explored in the book *A cerveja e a cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1888-1933,* (Brasília: EdUnB, 2014).

[2] Ronaldo Laranjeira, et.al.. 2009. "Padrão de uso de álcool em brasileiros adultos." *Revista Brasileira de Psiquiatria* (November), http://www.scielo.br/

[3] See the website of *Associação Brasileira de Estudo de Alcool e outras Drogas* for posts condemning Brazilian consumers' attitude towards beer. Access: www.abead.com.br There are no reliable statistic of *per capita* consumption of alcohol in Brazil. Breweries' websites inform that the *per capita* consumption of beer is 12.41 gallons/year; while websites of the sugar cane spirit industry inform that Brazilians consume 2.9 gallons/year of their products.

[4] A history of the beer industry in Brazil is explored in: T. C. N. Marques, "Capital, Cerveja e Consumo de Massa: a Trajetória da Brahma, 1888-1933" (Doctorate diss., Universidade de Brasília, 2003).

[5] There are infinite names for sugar cane brandy in popular culture. Here the old word *aguardente* was chosen, for this is how Brazilian fiscal authorities named the product, but I could also name it *cachaça, pinga, marvada,* and so on. See: Luís da Câmara Cascudo, *Prelúdio da Cachaça. Etnografia, História e Sociologia da aguardente no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, 1968).

For an insightful study of alcohol consumption during colonial times, see: L. E. B. Avelar, "A moderação em excesso: estudo sobre a história das bebidas na sociedade colonial" (Ms. diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2010).



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[6] A. Criblez, "Beer Gardens and a Bloody Forth: Drinking and Ethnic Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Columbus, Ohio" (Paper presented at the International Workshop Alcohol in the Atlantic World: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, Toronto, Canada, at York University, October, 2007). For the relationship between the temperance movement and Protestant religion in United States, see: J. Warner, "Temperance, Alcohol, and the American Evangelical: a Reassessment." *Addiction* 104 (2009): 1075-1084.

[7] Gretchen Kristine Pierce "Sobering the Revolution: Mexico´s Anti-Alcohol Campaigns and the Process of State Building, 1910-1940" (Phd Diss., University of Arizona, 2008).

[8] (Pierce 2008).

[9] Law no. 9,503 of September 23, 1997, the *Código de Trânsito Brasileiro* [Brazilian Traffic Code], turned the act of driving under the effect of alcohol or drugs into a felony.

[10] By poor people in the 1920s, we mean persons of African descendents and European immigrants. See: J. Hahner, *Poverty and Politics: the Urban Poor in Brazil, 1870-1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986).

[11] Throughout the Americas, Brazil received the larger quantity of African slaves during the three hundred years of legal Atlantic slave trade. See: L. Florentino, *Em costas negras: uma história do tráfico de escravos entre a África e o Rio de Janeiro* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2002). See also: J. Miller, *Way of Death* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

[12] See: S. B. de Holanda, *Caminhos e Fronteiras* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1957). See also the Ernani Silva Bruno collection database, available at *Museu da Casa Brasileira*. Acess: www.mcb.sp.gov.br/ernMain.asp

[13] União Brasileira pró-Temperança, *Seleção de Contribuições Anti-alcoólicas, 1925-1950*. (Rio de Janeiro: Rodrigues & Cia., 1954).

[14] L. M. Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo das Raças: Cientistas, Instituições e Questão Racial no Brasil, 1870-1930* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993).

[15] *O Imparcial* and *A Noite,* December 24, 1928.

[16] *Correio da Manhã*, January 14, 1933.

[17] Because state newspapers republished articles from Rio de Janeiro´s press.

[18] E. Cancelli, *A cultura do crime e da lei, 1889-1930* (Brasília: Universidade de Brasília, 2001).

[19] This subject is developed by Schwarcz (1993).

[20] The first voices defending the mass immigration of European people to Brazil were heard in the 1870s, but only after the abolition of slavery in 1888 the movement of Italian, Portuguese, and German immigrants became demographic relevant.

[21] Bill number 120/1920, offered by Congressman Juvenal Lamartine on August, 14, 1922, aimed at converting the *Liga Nacional contra o Alcoolismo* into a civil association of public utility; resulted in Decree no. 4,665 of January 24, 1923. Câmara dos Deputados. *Sinopse dos Trabalhos da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados Relativos ao Ano de 1922* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1923).

[22] The Independence from Portugal was proclaimed in September 7, 1822. About the temperance entity, see: Schwarcz 1993, 268, note 26. About the political debate surrounding the Centennial celebration, see: M. Motta, *A nação faz cem anos* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1992).

[23] The *Penha* festival was a religious and popular celebration that took place on Rio´s suburbia district of the same name every weekend of October. Building a sanctuary in hills, such as the Penha hill, was a tradition in Portugal that Portuguese immigrants preserved while living in Brazil. Local people rushed to the festival in large numbers, searching either for religious comfort or amusements with food and drinks sold at the place, as well as to hear musicians' performances.

[24] União Brasileira pró-Temperança (1954).

[25] H. Lima, *O alcoolismo no Rio de Janeiro*. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1914), 83.

[26] It is said that "*aguardente*, also called *pinga*, which is so familiar to us and so largely consumed, deserves a more careful consideration under the alcoholism point of view (…)". Estado de São Paulo. Departamento de Saúde. Seção de Propaganda e Educação Sanitária. *O que se deve saber sobre o alcoolismo*. (São Paulo, no date, pamplhet).

[27] High fermentation beer resembles Ale beer and was produced by small entrepreneurs all around the town; mostly the factory owners were born in Portugal. Low fermentation beer, instead, was produced by industrial entities that required heavy financial investment in equipments. There were only three companies of this sort in Rio then. As the German capital had an important share in Brahma's capital, until First World War the propaganda of the company insisted on claiming that its products resulted from rigid German beer production standards. See: T.C.N. Marques, "Bancos e desenvolvimento industrial. Uma revisão das teses de Gerschenkron à luz da história da Cervejaria Brahma, 1888/1917" *História e Economia, Revista Interdisciplinar*. (2005) http://www.bbs.edu.br/geral/geral/07Teresa%20Marques.pdf

[28] Artur Moncorvo Filho, *Alcoolismo infantil; (lecture given October 18, 1927, at the Liga de Higiene Mental,* Rio de Janeiro: Pongetti, 1928)

[29] Ambev Inc. has not allowed us to reproduce the Malzbier flier in this book. Brahma brewing was founded



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in 1888. Nowadays, it is a trademark that is part of the national holding named Ambev, which makes up Inbev Inc., owner of breweries in many countries in Latin America, Europe, and United States. Ambev has image rights on the iconography I researched in Brahma historical archives in Rio. These archives were closed to researchers in 1999, and its holdings were moved to somewhere in the State of São Paulo.

[30] Such as: Cervejaria Hanseática, *Cerveja e saúde: da cerveja dos egípcios à Maltina da Hanseática*. Rio de Janeiro, 1938. Flier. [Original at Brahma´s Historical Archive]

[31] Szmerecsányi mentioned that the 1919/1920 National Census listed the existence of 8,514 units of production of sugar cane spirit in the whole country. Of this total, 3,081 units of production were located in Minas Gerais State. The same source registered 58,858 small units of sugar production which could potentially produce sugar cane spirits as a byproduct and if they did, the actual number of sugar cane producers would multiply. For the sugar industry at the time, see: Tamás Szmrecsányi. "1914-1939 Crescimento e Crise da Agroindústria Açucareira do Brasil" *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 5 (1988), 7. For the persistence of an archaic way to produce sugar cane in Minas Gerais, in family properties, see: Marcelo M. Godoy, "No país das minas de ouro a paisagem vertia engenhos de cana e casas de negócio. Um estudo das atividades agroaçucareiras tradicionais, entre o setecentos e o novecentos, e do complexo mercantil da província de Minas Gerais" (Phd diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2004).

[32] This is an aspect of the history of Brazilian industrialization. The so called artificial industries were the branches of industry that did not process national agricultural products. The best work on the issue is still the book: Nícia Villela Luz, *A luta pela industrialização no Brasil*. (São Paulo: Alfa Omega, 1978).

[33] Pierce, "Sobering the Revolution,"

[34] Dr. Pires de Almeida, *A Companhia Cervejaria Brahma perante a indústria, o comércio e a hygiene*. (Rio de Janeiro: Canton & Beyer, w/d). The book does not show the date of edition. However, there are enough elements to affirm that it was edited for the Exhibition of 1908, such as a list of the products of Brahma Company at the time.

[35] Almeida mentions the Liga anti-Alcoolica [Anti-Alcohol League], that had just been founded, he wrote. This League represents the oldest mention to a temperance civil organization found during this research.

[36] Almeida, "A Companhia Cervejaria Brahma", 49.

[37] In 1920, there were 683 rural establishments that were formally built to produce alcohol and *aguardente* in Rio de Janeiro State. The 1920s census organizers admitted not having investigated all small rural establishments. Those domestic producers evaded the Census and were surely beyond the reach of the sales tax inspectors. Brasil. Recenseamento Geral do Brasil. January 9, 1920. *Agricultura e Indústrias – Distrito Federal*. Vol. III, 3rd part. (Rio de Janeiro: Tipografia da Estatística, 1927).

[38] Almeida, "A Companhia Cervejaria Brahma", 10.

[39] At this point, a parallel with the United States is irresistible. In Brazil, the Lager process of producing beer – that is, the storage under low temperatures – was seen as representing the arrival of the country at industrial modernity, while in the United States, historians argue that Lager represented the opposite. About this, Criblez wrote: "In fact, lager beer became an important symbol of German resistance to assimilation and was appropriated by the forces of temperance as a symbol of Old World decadence, corruption, and foreignness".

[40] *O País*, August 4, 1907.

[41] *Jornal do Brasil*, "A cerveja é bebida privilegiada", August 11,1912.

[42] That is a remarkable aspect of the good, since no domestic refrigeration was available at the time.

[43] See: Nícia Vilela Luz 1978, 152. See: Pedro Orlando, *Consolidação do Imposto de consumo*. (São Paulo: n.p., 1926).

[44] By 1929, taxes on beverages corresponded to 32% of all consumption taxes, followed by tobacco. BRASIL. Ministério do Trabalho, da Indústria e do Comércio. Departamento Nacional de Estatística. *Estatísticas da Produção Industrial do Brasil, 1915-1929*. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1933) p. XVI.

[45] Bill n. 296/1917. *Anais da Câmara dos Deputados* [Annals of the Chamber of Deputies], October 22, 1917. Lamartine was an experienced politician. He had successive turns in the Chamber of Deputies from 1906 to 1926. The following year, he was elected to the Senate. Câmara dos Deputados, *Deputados Brasileiros, 1826-1976* (Brasília: Gráfica do Senado Federal, 1976).

[46] *O País*, October 23, 1917. There is no historical study of the political representation of sugar cane industry in the Brazilian Congress. However, it is well known that in the first three decades of the 20th century, drastic changes were in store, such as the marginalization of Northeast producers from the larger consuming markets – Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. At the same time, there was a persistent growth in the production of Minas Gerais, a state that borders Rio, on a low technological basis. For the overall picture of sugar cane production in Brazil, see: Szmrecsányi (1988).

[47] One of the physicians was Dr. Moncorvo Filho.

[48] Bill no. 86/1920. *Anais da Câmara dos Deputados* [Annals of the Chamber of Deputies], July 6, 1920.



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[49] Contrary to what the jurist Evaristo de Moraes argued in his book: Evaristo de Moraes, *Ensaios de Patologia Social* (Rio de Janeiro: Leite Ribeiro & Maurillo, 1921).

[50] *Diário do Congresso Nacional*, June 7, 1920.

[51] *Jornal do Brasil*, July 7,1920. *O País*, July 7,1920.

[52] *O País*, July 7, 1920.

[53] Câmara dos Deputados, *Sinopse dos trabalhos da Câmara dos senhores deputados relativos ao ano de 1917*. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1918). The same source was researched for parliamentary activities from 1918 to 1922. In no year Lamartine´s bills were considered by the Committee of Justice and sent to the floor for discussion.

[54]Bill no. 120/1922. Câmara dos Deputados, *Sinopse dos trabalhos*.1922. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1923).

[55] Decree no. 12.351, January 6,1917.

[56] Bill no. 260/1919: proposal of general revenues of the Republic for the budget law of 1920. Câmara dos Deputados, *Sinopse dos trabalhos da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados relativos ao ano de 1919* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1920).

[57] Law no. 4,625, December 31, 1922.

[58] By the 1922 Budget Law, low fermentation beer was taxed on $300 réis/liter; the 1932 Law informed the same value.

[59] For the peculiar process of entrepreuneurial lobbying at the time, see: Angela de Castro Gomes, "A República não oligárquica e o liberalismo dos empresários" in, S. Silva, and T. Szmrecsanyi, (ed.) *História econômica da Primeira República* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2002).

[60] The breweries also mentioned the beneficial effects of their activities on the productive chain, as a result of the acquisition of raw material and manufactured products such as wood, bottles, sugar from national producers. Furthermore, they highlighted the amount of jobs they generated. Declaration of the Antártica Paulista Inc. to the Chamber of Deputies. [*Diário do Congresso Nacional*, July 21,1920.] Another declaration of Breweries Companies was sent to the Chamber of Deputies in the 1922 legislative session. Câmara dos Deputados, *Sinopse dos trabalhos da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados relativos ao ano de 1922* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1923).

[61]George Reid Andrews calls the attention to the regularity with which articles condemning addictions such as alcohol and gambling were written in the black press of São Paulo. G. R. Andrews, *Blacks and whites in São Paulo, 1888-1988* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991) 78.



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