

The Rosary and its accounts: associative networks and citizenship of members of the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Pelourinho (Salvador, 1880-1930)¹

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Abstract: The practice of affiliation to black brotherhoods and other mutual support associations was recurrent in the 19th century among Africans and Afro-Brazilians. Often it happened as a way of accumulating not only benefits, but also prestige in society. In the city of Salvador it was no different and some researchers have highlighted these associative networks. In this article, we investigate the profile of some brothers and sisters of the brotherhood of Rosário at Portas do Carmo and we analyze the different meanings of the proximities established between members of the brotherhood with the mutual societies emerging in the Bahian capital from the second half of the 19th century, as well as with other Afro-religious devotional spaces. Indeed, we understand that the trajectories of subjects associated with the Afro-Bahian brotherhood also included involvement with post-abolition political and social activism.

Keywords: Post-Abolition; Savior; Black associativism.

In his book, “A Arte Culinária na Bahia”, published in 1922, Manoel Querino (1851-1923) – a black intellectual and Bahian researcher – reveals some of the results of his vast research on the history of food, which demanded a deep knowledge about their state, as well as several trips to other regions of the country. To understand the processes, ingredients and subjects that created the culinary tradition of Bahia, the author moved between “the north and south of the country, from Piauí to Rio de Janeiro” (QUERINO, 1922, p. 19) to carry out their investigations. Querino's versatility and circularity in the Bahian society of his time sheds light on the varied possibilities of experiences lived by black people, prompting us to reflect on the feasibility of other experiences similar to his among his peers, as well as the discourses that populated his different activisms and that accompanied him wherever he went (LEAL, 2009, p. 20).

¹ This article was the result of adaptation and updating of data and reflections developed in one of the chapters of the Master's dissertation.

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If his traffic crossed the state borders, we can imagine how much he circulated in his own city, Salvador, whether for his drawing craft, or to promote his activism or to seek answers to his curiosities. Studies on his life and work have shown that Querino held seats in associations of craftsmen, political parties, carnival groups, Christian and African-based religious associations and in the Municipal Council. In this sense, his figure inhabits an unquestionable place in the history of Bahia and that needs to be placed in the great narratives of the formation of the country.

Part of his memory can be explored in the Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos do Pelourinho, which houses his tomb. Buried in 1923, his connection to this brotherhood was monumentalized by this act. Thus, Manoel Querino's affiliation also symbolized the social, political and cultural relevance of the brotherhood located in the temple, inherited from colonization and slavery, and which was reinvented at the end of the Empire. Point out the subjects of the Irmandade do Rosário dos Pretos à Portas do Carmo ² that gave rise to different debates in Soteropolitan society in the post-abolition period gives it historical value, despite the hegemonic historiography that privileged the role of black brotherhoods in the context of colonization.

Added to Manoel Querino are dozens of other characters, whose names registered in the bureaucracy documents of this and other associations, the State, newspapers and other documents, allow us to give meaning to the brotherhood's performance in the passage from slavery to freedom and the Empire. for the Republic. In addition, the black brotherhood sheltered Africans and Afro-Brazilians, since the association was defined by the composition of “people of black color”. In effect, we dodge paradigms that alleviated the responsibility of historiographical production regarding black freedom for an alleged justification of the absence of sources after the end of slavery (NASCIMENTO, 2016, p. 609).

In this work we present part of a research started in the Master, which focuses on the experiences of freedom of brothers and sisters from Rosário to Portas do Carmo² inside and outside their spaces as a confraternity in the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. The idea is to take this group as a starting point to then trace possible

² Throughout its existence, the brotherhood was known as the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário da Baixa dos Sapateiros, at Portas do Carmo, and, from 1899, as the Venerable Third Order of Our Lady at Portas do Carmo.

belonging to the varied social, political and cultural dynamics of the post-abolition period, presenting the paths of people who had in the association one of their stages and support in a context marked by the adversities of the racism, Romanization of the Church, sexism and marginalization for dark-skinned men and women, but also because of the complexities and particularities that can extrapolate such conditions.

Black associations and collectivities in Salvador in the Post-Abolition period

From the analysis of wills left by free people and freedmen from Bahia in the second half of the 1800s, historian Katia Mattoso observed a drop in the number of mentions of affiliation to brotherhoods. In this period, with the expansion of the emancipation of the enslaved and enslaved, the multiplication of associations abolitionists and mutualists, the discouragement by ultramontane orientations,³ there would have been a certain erosion in the relevance of the brotherhoods. In this sense, Mattoso points out that only 15% of the wills of free people in Salvador at the end of the 1800s contained any sign of affiliation to religious confraternities. A different scenario from that of the early 19th century, whose data indicated the affiliation of 85% of testers to brotherhoods (MATTOSO, 1992, p. 400-401).

In addition to the ecclesiastical disincentive to the maintenance of brotherhoods and third-party orders, Mattoso emphasizes that the greater interest of local authorities in relation to social problems made these potentates create their own

³ “Ultramontanism, in the 19th century, was characterized by a series of attitudes of the Catholic Church, in a movement of reaction to some theological and ecclesiastical currents, to the regalism of the Catholic States, to the new political tendencies developed after the French Revolution and to the secularization of the modern society. It can be summarized in the following points: the strengthening of pontifical authority over the local churches; the reaffirmation of scholasticism; the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus (1814); the definition of the “dangers” that plagued the Church (Gallicanism, Jansenism, regalism, all kinds of liberalism, Protestantism, Freemasonry, deism, rationalism, socialism, civil marriage, freedom of the press and others)” (SANTIROCCHI, 2010, p. 24). In the most recent historiography of clerical experiences in 19th century Brazil, there has been a discussion about how practical and limiting this reformist project would have been here. For Ítalo Santirocchi, for example, researchers would have weighed their hand when evaluating the changes projected in the period as eminently “repressive” of the lay people’s manifestations. For him, it would have been more of a “reform of the Catholic Church seeking its own identity”, which would not concern an eminently external intervention by Rome (SANTIROCCHI, 2010, p. 33). However, experts in the Bahian experience have pointed out how lay festivities were contained by the intensification of clerical supervision of confraternities, imposing a model that pruned their traditions, generating conflicts (COUTO, 2016, p. 92-94; STASI, 2017, p. 49). -52). Of course, this relationship varied from region to region and we do not have space to look into this direction. In any case, it is important to consider that, possibly, the process has not been more transformative due to the persistence of confraternities that imposed themselves and disputed such norms, armed with their power acquired by tradition among subjects of the city.

institutions of relief and charity, occupying the assistentialist functions previously exercised by those associations. Furthermore, the elites' abandonment of the old festive traditions reduced their funding (MATTOSO, 1992, p. 402).

For historian Sara Farias, the charitable functions attributed to brotherhoods were re-signified, since in this period “living on charity became synonymous with idleness and loitering” (FARIAS, 1997, p. 16). In the modernizing and secularizing process, some old values of Christian charity were gradually banished from the republican imagination that precisely mobilized the ideas of capitalist labor discipline, with an emphasis on the formation of free labor and the values of salaried work. Faced with a racist society that associated idleness and vagrancy to the black body, it was important for the Rosário brotherhood to ensure that its members did not assume the stigmatization imposed on them.

Despite “modern” values propagated by important institutions such as the Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia and the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico da Bahia, which aligned themselves with eugenics thinking (ALBUQUERQUE, 1997, p. 18-39), and ultramontane pressures, from public persecution against practices of African origin such as *candomblés* and *capoeira*, the black brotherhood preserved itself and maintained itself as the owner of its temple, without major changes in its structure. In this republican context, complex, dynamic and strained by the coexistence between the new and the old, between modernity and tradition, between Church and State, between modern guidelines and ancient and slaveholding customs, the brotherhood not only remained, but was elevated to the Venerable Order. Third, what gives it social, cultural and political importance within the Soteropolitan society not only in the colonial and imperial periods, but also under the reorganization of the First Republic.

In a letter sent in 1894, the scribe Manoel Nascimento de Jesus justified the request to elevate the brothers to the status of third parties for their dignity, obedience to religious authorities, good location of their temple and for having significant reserves of goods.⁴ The request was gradually granted, with the authorization for the use of “habit, belt and cape as used by the third parties of S. Domingos”, granted in 1895.⁵ The officialization process did not take long to come.

⁴ AINSR. Box 01 Doc 09. “Application for elevation to the Third Order sent to the Archbishop, 1894”.

⁵ Digital Newspaper Library of the National Library (HDBN). Religious Readings – Weekly Publication, (BA), 10/06/1895.

[...] the officialization was lacking, which was only granted in 1899 by D. Jerônimo, on July 2nd, significantly the same date on which the Independence of Bahia is celebrated. From then on she would enjoy all the privileges and indulgences granted by the Supreme Pontiff to the Third Order of Penance of Saint Dominic. Once the Third Order was elevated, a new compromise was drawn up to replace the last one in force, approved in 1820. According to Edilece Couto, one of the greatest efforts of D. Jerônimo Tomé da Silva in his role in the Primate Archbishopric was the “slow and discreet to intervene and supervise the brotherhoods and third orders without making a fuss” (COUTO, 2016, p. 92). Responding to the request of the confreres of the Rosary to be elevated to the status of third parties may have been a mild way for the archbishop to guarantee a space for intervention by the clergy in that space, obtaining the respect and gratitude of the brothers and sisters for the title achieved (SANTOS, 2018, p. 97).

The clergy certainly recognized the importance of the brotherhood in the local context. Furthermore, Sara Farias points out that the civil authorities were “fear of the black organized after abolition” (FARIAS, 1997, p. 82). Once integrated into an elite scenario of society, the Church also signaled, thus, a measure of negotiation with these confreres and accommodation of interests.

The study of associative forms headed and focused on the interests of the “colored” population throughout history has grown. They present themselves as a useful panorama for tracing Afro-descendant experiences and trajectories. As the historian Ana Flávia Magalhães Pinto tells us, these analyzes started from the narratives about clubs and societies in São Paulo that began in the 20th century, to later spread in other directions, both in terms of the temporal and spatial dimensions (PINTO, 2014, p. 269).

These configurations took place in different ways, such as social clubs, charitable associations, newspapers, carnival groups, recreational, musical, dramatic, sports, religious organizations, etc. Historian Jonatas Roque Ribeiro defines, in a general way, what we can understand by “black association tivism”:

[...] the mode of meeting or congregation of a black social group. It can also be understood as spaces, manifestations and values that aim to create, or maintain, bonds of solidarity, sociability and beneficence among those who share similar ethnic, racial and cultural identities (RIBEIRO, 2016, p. 14-15).

He emphasizes that we must bear in mind that the concept can be more elastic, depending on the context in which each research is inserted (RIBEIRO, 2016, p. 15). The black brotherhoods, since their foundation in Portuguese America,⁶ can be included in this definition. After all, one of its pillars was mutual assistance among its members, with whom they shared ethnic, racial, gender, devotional, and cultural belonging. Alongside these associations, the black press and mutual societies emerged as pioneering forms of black associations.

Between the 17th and 19th century, black brotherhoods spread across Brazil. According to the *Atlas Histórico da América Lusa*, in the 1700s, organizations in Rosario were impressively distributed from north to south, with greater intensity in the Northeast and Southeast (GIL; BARLETA, 2016, p. 45). In the North region, where the African and Afro-descendant presence was largely neglected by historiography, Patrícia Sampaio emphasizes that walking around Belém or Manaus meant finding different black subjects in the streets occupying different spaces, among them “the festivities of Espírito Santo, of Nossa Senhora de Nazaré or even members of the Irmandade do Rosário” (SAMPAIO, 2007, p. 5). More precisely, the historian Márcio Couto Henrique identified black devotions in 19th century Grão-Pará spread across different regions and with dynamics, presenting São Raimundo Nonato in the Campina neighborhood, in Belém, for example, as the most popular in the city (HENRIQUE, 2009), p. 32). It surprised us that this was a popular patron saint among the black faithful, as it was not among the most common devotions in other places, such as N. Sra. do Rosário, São Benedito, Santo Elesbão or Santa Efigênia (REGINALDO, 2011, p. 67-72).

Research gives evidence of the dynamization of the erection of black brotherhoods in other northeastern territorialities besides Bahia, such as Sergipe,

⁶ Historiography concerning black brotherhoods, see SCARANO (1975); RUSSELL-WOOD (1974); MULVEY (1980); BOSCHI (1986); QUINTÃO (1997); SOARES (2000); VIANA (2007); REGINALDO (2011).

Paraíba, Alagoas, Rio Grande do Norte and others.⁷ In general, their experiences insert more meanings for the understanding of lay and black Catholicism in Brazil, which are sometimes more analyzed by the trajectories allocated in the South and Southeast.

The press was one of the tools used by black intellectuals to air their claims and articulate their groups in various parts of the country, since the beginning of the 19th century. Our protagonist at the beginning of the article, Manuel Querino, founded the newspaper *A Província*, in 1887, which operated until the following year, in tune with the demands of the workers' movement. As early as 1892, he edited the newspaper *O Trabalho*, when he was working for the União Operária Bahiana (PINTO, 2006, p. 30; CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 103). In this same editorial line, the publication *A Voz do Operário*, created in 1891, had the participation as editor of the black master builder Domingos Francisco Silva, who composed the Irmandade do Rosário das Portas do Carmo. This periodical served as the “official organ of the Centro Operário da Bahia from 1894 and was published until, at least, 1908” (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 68). More attuned to the labor struggle in general in Bahia and to the struggle for political participation, his lines did not specifically address the racial issue. However, the protagonism of these two writers was significant for the representativeness in the interest of their fellow workers, artisans in the Salvadoran society.

In addition to the importance of the printed product, the production space of these newspapers was made from subjects engaged in projects in favor of populations of color, so that solidarity networks were outlined from their writing and vice versa. This was the case of the São Paulo newspaper *A Redenção*, founded by the abolitionist Antônio Bento. The historian Antônia Aparecida Quintão states that this journal “denounced the injustices, miseries and violence of slavery and enabled the exchange of information between the caifazes” (QUINTÃO, 2002, p. 80). In addition to being Luiz Gama's successor in the presidency of the Abolitionist Center of São Paulo, Bento was also a provider for the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, whose salons provided space for the typography of this newspaper. Indeed, the brotherhood headquarters served as a meeting point for members of various brotherhoods, “who met almost daily to seek information, bring news, make suggestions and make a financial contribution to the movement” (QUINTÃO, 2002, p. 104). This relationship suggests that the brotherhoods were not totally distant from the abolitionist

⁷ On the subject, see: ARAUJO (2010); MACHADO (2020); SANTOS (2013).

movement. And, just as Antônia Quintão detected this proximity, probably other ties established may have been made behind the scenes of the confraternities in favor of abolition so as not to create records and fanfare before state and Catholic authorities, preserving this alliance.

In addition to the press, the activity of black social clubs was also related to black brotherhoods. Liane Muller evaluated that the experience of the black brotherhood served for the learning of these subjects in the practice of collective organization, pointing out that

(...) first in bureaucratic bases determined by the religious institution, but soon after, in a way almost glued to the first, in a type of surreptitious organization whose purpose was to think and execute strategies capable of giving a new face to the black man. inserted into a slave regime. The initiatives developed by the Irmandade do Rosário contributed substantially to configuring this group of men [sic] as a social segment possessing symbolic, intellectual and financial capital (MULLER, 2013, p. 108-109).

The numbers obtained from the research carried out by Muller indicate the symbolic involvement of brothers and sisters of the Rosário de Porto Alegre with the civil entities created between 1870 and 1905. Of the 212 members frequently found in the sources, 57 were also located as founders and/or directors of civil entities (MULLER, 2013, p. 109). Among the social clubs that the author managed to identify in this relationship with the brotherhood were the Sociedade Floresta Aurora and the Sociedade Laço de Ouro. The latter, with exclusively female participation, aimed at supporting abandoned black girls or in a state of absolute poverty (MULLER, 2013, p. 118). Altogether, between 1886 and 1930, Muller recorded the presence of 72 entities composed almost exclusively of blacks in Rio Grande do Sul, among dancing, beneficent and/or instructive societies (MULLER, 2013, p. 131-132).

The newspaper *O Example*, founded in 1892, composed this triad of black organizations that interacted with each other in Porto Alegre at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. He was very involved in publicizing the activities of black associations and their social projects from their creation until 1910 (MULLER, 2013, p. 168). Therefore, as in the case of São Paulo studied by Antônia Quintão, black associativism in the capital of Rio Grande do Sul, according to Muller, brought the organization together in civil movements, the press and a black brotherhood.

We also found close links between the brotherhoods and associations of a classist nature. In the mid-19th century, the Brotherhood of São José do Ribamar, in Recife, played an important role in the organization of mechanical artists in the city. Created and managed by dark-skinned men who lost the possibility of meeting in craft corporations from 1820 onwards, the brotherhood could serve as an alternative to incorporate their interests of class arrangement and maintenance of social identity. Even after founding the Society of Mechanical and Liberal Artists, its members accumulated both affiliations. In fact, the headquarters of the same association was housed for years in the consistory of the brotherhood of São José. Indeed, it is revealed that the two types of associations continued to coexist and add political, social and cultural value to the clashes in Recife society, as shown in the instigating research by Marcelo Mac Cord (2012, p, 76).

Thus, we perceive that there is a context, at the end of the 19th century, in which the brotherhoods remained parallel to the emerging mutualist associations in some cases and not in others. Historian Sidney Chalhoub (2007, p. 228) called the attention of researchers to the need to “investigate what relationships there were or could be between traditional religious brotherhoods and new charitable societies” in the mid-19th century. He asks, “when considering that brotherhoods performed, since the colonial period, social protection functions similar to those that came to define the new beneficent societies, why did the latter become increasingly common in Brazil in the second half of the 19th century?” _ Chalhoub found in the statute of one of the carioca mutualists a mention that suggested her proximity to the devotion to Nossa Senhora do Rosário. In the case of Salvador, we saw that the closeness of the mutualists with the brotherhood was very evident. But before that, it is important to understand this movement of conformation of borrowing associations and their identity dynamics.

Identity, mutual associations, and preservation of brotherhoods

In the mid-nineteenth century, alongside the preserved brotherhoods, there was a great movement for the creation of mutual societies. Removing the functions strictly linked to devotion, these associations had attributions very close to those of confraternities on the one hand and craft guilds on the other. They were created to guarantee assistance to their members in case of unemployment, illness, disability, etc.

Its objectives were also close to those proposed by the old craft corporations, which acted in the defense of professional interests and regulation of the exercise of each occupation (SILVA, 1998, p. 19).

There were also religious brotherhoods designated by office. In colonial Bahia, blacksmiths and locksmiths formed the Confraternity of São Jorge, shoemakers gathered in São Crispim and carpenters, masons, stonemasons, and turners gathered under the innovation of São José (FLEXOR, apud. REGINALDO, 2011, p. 120). Analyzing the trajectory of associations founded by workers in Rio de Janeiro, historian Claudio Batalha argues that mutual associations became the preferred form of association for workers in the 19th century for two reasons. Firstly, because of the prohibition printed in the constitutional text of 1824 to the conformation and maintenance of craft corporations, one of the liberal measures of the imperial constitution (BATALHA, 1999, p. 49). And, secondly, Batalha considers that the language of the old corporations no longer met the aspirations of professionals and the world of work in the mid-19th century (BATALHA, 1999, p. 52), which did not represent the eradication of similar logics. to theirs, as revealed in the case investigated by Marcelo Mac Cord in Recife (MAC CORD, 2012, p. 62).

Therefore, workers resorted to the already available forms of association to gather around a common cause, found gaps in legislation or innovated in the configuration of associations that were authorized. At the same time, in the 19th century, brotherhoods remained a resource used for social support, given the preservation of some of those that already existed and the creation of new ones. On the other hand, workers made use of new associative tools in search of support in times of relief and in defense of their professional practice: mutual associations, workers' societies, montepios, charitable and social security societies.

From 1860 onwards, the configuration of these associations followed the prescriptions of Imperial Decree 2,711, of December 19, and placed their operation under the need for government approval (SILVA, 1998, p. 38).⁸ In a survey carried out by Claudio Batalha, 46 workers' societies in Rio de Janeiro are presented, created between 1835 and 1899 (SILVA, 1998, p. 57). Among them, there are montepios, cooperatives, charitable and mutual societies, in which most were based on the idea of

⁸ BRAZIL Decree No. 2,711, of December 19, 1860. In. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/historicos/dim/DIM2711.htm. Access Apr. 2021.

affiliation to support their own members. Most of them were also composed of “artists”,⁹ workers and salaried workers (BATALHA, 1999, P. 59). It is worth mentioning that necessity was not the only reason for these subjects associate. According to historian Aldrin Castellucci, a scholar of this practice in the Bahian context, “in many cases, objective factors were combined with subjective ones, related to the construction of identities” (CASTELLUCCI, 2010, p. 43). Thus, the definition could also be given by the link to national origin, as occurred in Rio de Janeiro with the Portuguese’s Artists Congregation, from 1889 or the *Círculo Operário Italiano*, from 1895. This type of affiliation was very recurrent in other regions of Brazil.

In the same place where the presence of these associations founded according to national belonging is registered, there were attempts to create charitable societies in favor of the colored population. However, the disapproval of the authorities evidenced the fear of the elites in the face of the meetings of the free black population (CHALHOUB, 2007). The idea defended by the elites that the creation of exclusive organizations for black men and women would threaten “harmony and good relations among Brazilians” exempted them from responsibility with the slave institution, which was the catalyst for much of the social tensions of the 20th century. XIX. In addition, the initiative of those people to found an association based on racial criteria highlights the need to create a specific space for them, even because of the exclusion and neglect by whites in relation to the black presence in their environments. Just as religious brotherhoods were founded by Africans and Afro-descendants since the 17th century because they were not allowed to join white associations, this condition did not change much in later periods with other types of organizations.

Negative evaluations of counselors who decided on the validation of associations evidence the fear regarding the possibility of inversion of the social order,

⁹ In this period, “artist” is understood to be someone who lives from manual work, but who, unlike the worker, his craft requires a historical and philosophical foundation, from which his work draws references to employ the author's talent. In this sense, historian Lysie Reis emphasizes that the concept of “artist” and “craftsman” have always been imbricated in the mentality of the 19th century. But the linking of the idea of an artist to the need to exercise “inspiration and creative faculties”, which gave greater uniqueness to the role of the professional, ended up causing the denomination of “artist” to be preferred by these workers to that of “craftsman”. Since the latter was understood as “one who exercises a mechanical craft, in which there are rules deduced from experience, with a view to an “immediately practical” utility. She points out that, in the Brazilian case, the definition would hardly be associated with the formal teaching of crafts, since in the 19th century there were few educational institutions dedicated to the arts. Thus, the term would encompass both those who practiced the liberal arts (letters, music, plastic arts), and mechanical activities of making products (hatters, shoemakers, goldsmiths, cabinetmakers, blacksmiths, typographers, tailors, etc.). (REIS, 2012. p. 23-31; SILVA, 1998, p. 23-25).

in which ex-captives could take power over masters. This fear began and spread mainly after the Haitian Revolution, which broke out in 1791,¹⁰ and proved to be, to a certain extent, justified by the outbreak of slave rebellions in the first decades of the 19th century. The *Conjuração Baiana*, in 1798, and the *Revolta dos Malês* in Bahia, in 1835, were examples of these revolts. Even having been suffocated by imperial forces, the rebellion alerted the whole world about the strength of resistance and rebellion of enslaved Africans (REIS, 1985; VALIM, 2007).

The practice of associativism was very important for the formation of the labor movement in Brazil, although we cannot consider it an embryonic experience of unions. The associations acted more in the security field, while the unions acted in the sphere of production and protection of workers, fighting for higher wages, better working conditions for their members, etc (CASTELLUCCI, 2010, p. 41). The development of unions took place in parallel with mutual associations, so that they continued to exist after the formation of unions. Even so, at the end of the day, when we shed light on the black experience in the associations, we are contributing to the visualization of the diasporic trajectory during free work in the First Republic.

The historiography that deals with the trajectory of workers in this period for a long time made the racial cut invisible to understand the experience of the working class. For Chalhoub e Silva, this was largely due to the distance between social historians of work and slavery, so that the latter ended up as an external chapter to the former (CHALHOUB; SILVA, 2009). Criticizing the “paradigm of absence” in defense of the “paradigm of agency” (CHALHOUB; SILVA, 2009, p. 14), research efforts have focused on contemplating the most varied forms of relations with work perceptible in the Brazilian experience, trying to deviate from Eurocentric perspectives of perceiving free labor.¹¹ This is because, until the mid-twentieth century, narratives ended up making several subjects invisible, privileging experiences that were close to those of Old-World workers, tracing a narrative that followed the history of work on that continent and its linearity, as if it were a universal model of social development (CHALHOUB; SILVA, 2009, p. 28).

¹⁰ Insurgency of the enslaved, freed and free population in the then French Caribbean colony of Santo Domingo, which resulted in the first national state resulting from this type of revolt, the first country to abolish slavery and the second proclamation of independence in the Americas. On the subject, see MOREL, (2017).

¹¹ On the subject, see: CHALHOUB (1990); FRAGA FILHO (2014); GOMES (2006); GRAHAM (2015); MATTOSO (2016); MATTOS (2013); KINGS; SILVA (1989).

In these same narratives, the image of the immigrant as a predominant figure and protagonist was privileged and, thus, ideas about free labor in Brazil were built under generalizations of male and white practices (CHALHOUB; SILVA, 2009, p. 41). Until the 1980s, authors argued that slavery was an obstacle to the formation of the working class in Brazil, disregarding the fact that, until the end of the captivity regime, there were enslaved people who worked alongside the workers in the factories. On the other hand, it was understood that the condition of captives did not place them in the same field of identification as the working class.

According to Álvaro do Nascimento, the hegemonic historiography focused on the worlds of work conceived an “idea of the incapacity of enslaved people, which did not give them the right to be called workers, a label that even free children employed in factories received” (NASCIMENTO, 2016, p. 613). Thus, the lack of mention of the color of workers in factories and other areas of work created an imaginary of a homogeneous working class that, in line with the idea that “after the Lei Áurea, those leaving captivity were left to their own devices”, excluded the black workers in the Social History of Work. It was ignored and a silence built around the fact that these black workers had constituted the main labor force in the country for centuries. Therefore, this workforce would not fail to be important, especially in places where foreign migration was not so intense, such as in the city of Salvador.

It is important to look for the spaces occupied by these actors to identify them in their identity and performance specificities. In the case of the capital of Bahia, historian Aldrin Castellucci found twenty-nine workers' mutualists installed in Salvador between 1832 and 1930 (CASTELLUCCI, 2010, p. 46-47), in addition to others linked to companies and the nation. Alongside the black collectives of a religious nature, organizations established by employment relationship, such as the Centro Operário, Montepio dos Artistas, and by color/race, such as the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos, help us to locate the spaces of agency of workers. The identity bond imposed by some of these associations allows us to perceive the fusion of race and class cuts. In this sense, Nascimento emphasizes that “the sociabilities and experiences constituted in the selective and hierarchical Catholic brotherhoods and Candomblé houses, for example, can bring to light part of the legacy of the forms of organization and black struggles for the workers of the 20th century. XX” (NASCIMENTO, 2016, p. 620).

Indeed, we believe that the involvement of these brothers from Rosário in these spaces shows that the brotherhood was not constituted as a religious space alien to the other social demands of the black working community in Salvador. Thus, the presence of its members in other associations inserts this order in the debate of questions about social rights, in addition to its direct and religious community action for its members of both sexes.

“Associative geography” of members of the Irmandade do Rosário at Portas do Carmo

In the searches in the Ordem Terceira do Rosário archive, we found activity reports, invitations, registration forms and other correspondence that, associated with historiography, evidence their link with mutual associations, brotherhoods, *candomblés*, carnival blocks, work and leisure spaces. The lack of studies, also pointed out by the historian Lucilene Reginaldo, in relation to the contacts established between the brotherhoods and black associativism in the post-abolition period (REGINALDO, 2018, p. 274), forced us to follow the “Ariadne threads”, having names as the main element of orientation (GINZBURG, 1994, p. 174-175). Such a procedure requires analysis of very extensive documentary funds, so it is a work still in progress. Records that we have not yet accessed can confirm more precisely that names identified in different spaces do or do not correspond to homonyms. However, considering the cases that have already been pointed out by previous works, as well as names that seem less common to us, we were able to cross sources and trace paths of belonging of different post-abolition black subjects to different spaces, evidencing shared experiences of sociability and /or specific.¹²

¹² For the organization and collection of these names, I used lists of members of the Centro Operário and the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos (SPD) available in the annexes of Aldrin Castellucci's doctoral thesis and Lucas Campos's master's dissertation, respectively. In fact, some members of these associations have already been appointed by these researchers as members of the Brotherhood. I accessed a source directly from the SPD collection in which the names of 180 affiliates between 1892 and 1895 are recorded. from 1888-1930; and 731 entry records of brothers and sisters between 1888-1925. In view of the vastness of these lists, the verification of the traces in other sources of all registered occupants has not yet been completed. It is expected that the conclusion of the investigation on registered sisters will be done at the conclusion of the doctorate in progress, where the female experience is prioritized. So far, I have privileged the crossing of names mentioned in other associations and contexts close by the historiography, complementing with traces found in other sources that I accessed, such as the newspapers made available by the Digital Hemeroteca of the National Library. I organized them in tables and marked those who were linked to the Brotherhood according to the documentation that I

The physical proximity of the headquarters is another sign of the bond that exists between the Soteropolitan associations. According to Maria da Conceição Barbosa e Silva, several similar societies had their headquarters in the Historic Center of Salvador, where the Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário was also located. In the Parish of Sé there were Montepio dos Artistas, Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos, both based in Largo do Cruzeiro de São Francisco, Centro Automobilístico da Bahia, on Rua da Ordem Terceira de São Francisco, and Liceu de Artes e Ofícios da Bahia, located on Rua da Ordem Terceira de São Francisco, of the San Francisco Cruise. In the Parish of Passo, there was the headquarters of the Centro Operário da Bahia, in Largo do Pelourinho, and the Sociedade Bolsa de Caridade, in Largo do Carmo. In addition, other smaller associations, which did not have their own facilities, ended up using the rooms provided by those with greater prestige (SILVA, 1998, p. 9).

In the case of Rio de Janeiro, Claudio Batalha identified that workers' societies sought to preferentially settle in the center of the city, “after all, it was the privileged locus of politics” (BATALHA, 2009, p. 260). In addition, “addresses were sought in relatively prestigious locations, on important commercial streets” (BATALHA, 2009, p. 261). As well as the public place in which it was installed, the state of presentation of the property was important.

Headquarters were not just the place for the main exercise of associative activity, the space for meeting members or providing service to associates. It was also one of the visible faces of the association in society and, therefore, both its physical location and its architecture should function as a monument to the association itself and its ideals, which ends up dignifying its associates (FONSECA, Apud. BATALHA, 2009, p. 265-266).

In this sense, Batalha found that the working class was not alien to the civilizing and Europeanizing discourse of the elites and authorities, but “they interpreted the space in their own way and according to their interests, not only through discourses, but through alternative practices, giving it their own values” (BATALHA, 2009, p. 266). The historian names this set of practices of appropriation of urban space in the name of workers' interests through the configuration of associations as “associative geography”. I argue that this definition guided the associative space permeated by the

photographed in their file and transcribed. The digital availability of the aforementioned works facilitated this storage, which I intend to expand with the return to Bahian physical archives.

brotherhood of the Rosário, seeking to perceive its assemblages to appropriations in the Salvadoran society from the associative networks.

As in the case observed in Rio de Janeiro, Bahian associations based in Salvador took over, to a certain extent, the space surrounding the political decision-making centers. The City Council was also based in the Historic Center, where, as pointed out by Maria da Conceição Barbosa e Silva, a large number of the city's mutual associations were installed. Across the state, historian Aldrin Castellucci found 145 societies “denominated as mutual aid, charitable, philanthropic and cooperative” founded between 1832 and 1930 (CASTELLUCCI, 2010, p. 43), with the largest some of them worked in the capital.

Between 1888 and 1930, in the list of these Soteropolitan associations, we located, through the sources found in the brotherhood's documentary collection and through the historiography on the subject, some that were closer to the Irmandade do Rosário dos Pretos, considering the mutual belonging of the members to the Catholic brotherhood and to mutualists. They were the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos (SPD), Centro Operário da Bahia, Sociedade Bolsa de Caridade, Sociedade Filarmônica (or Musical) Guarani, Liceu de Artes e Ofícios da Bahia and Montepio dos Artistas.

Perhaps the most emblematic case of this proximity between the associations, at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, is that of the black intellectual, artist and politician from Bahia, Manuel Querino. Historian Maria das Graças de Andrade Leal emphasizes the diversity of spaces traveled by him in his life trajectory:

It was interrelated with the universes of popular culture, in the fields of daily struggles established in the streets, Candomblé terreiros, artistic and workers' associations, in the taverns, and of erudite culture, in the spaces of political institutions - parties and Municipal Council -, in the lettered circles – academies, Geographical and Historical Institute of Bahia, Colleges (LEAL, 2009, p. 44).

In view of the intense circularity of this brother of Rosário, we prioritized his biography to begin to trace this associative geography. He was one of the founders of the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios da Bahia, the Escola de Belas Artes and the Centro Operário. He was a member of the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos and also presided over the carnival club Pândegos d'África. His entry into the brotherhood of

the Rosário was recorded by the clerk Manoel Nascimento de Jesus between 1893 and 1895 and in 1921.¹³

In the Society for the Protection of the Disabled, he was a member for a long time, even acting as a loan teller. Despite its recognition, its presence did not always occur harmoniously in that scenario. The frictions may have been the result of a disagreement between the Society and Querino, resulting from the latter's dissatisfaction with the teacher's involvement with institutional policy. For the SPD preferred to remain autonomous, relying on the authorities only to guarantee its financial security (BUTLER, 1998, p. 166). Furthermore, his behavior in society and the uses of the association were not well received, as when he asked for help due to illness while he was seen at the city's festivities (CAMPOS, 2018, p. 23).

In 1832, the SPD was born as the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora da Soledade Amparo dos Desvalidos. It was erected in the Capela dos Quinze Mistérios and, in 1848, it moved to the Igreja do Rosário das Portas do Carmo, where it remained for twenty years. But his connections seem to be even older, which is revealed by the fact that his safe was almost not installed in that church in the early years of the association's life. They proposed that the vault be deposited “next to the Rosary vault or Senhor dos Martírios vault” (BRAGA, 1987, p. 25). The second vault must correspond to that of the black brotherhood of Bom Senhor Jesus dos Martírios, headquartered in the Igreja da Barroquinha, which was also part of this network of Afro-religious spaces in Salvador.

From 1851 onwards, when the SPD ceased to be defined as a brotherhood and became an association (BRAGA, 1987, p. 31), mutual belonging to it and the Ordem Terceira do Rosário (or other religious brotherhoods) could function as a strategy of combining religious and economic benefits for the member (BUTLER, 1998, p. 160). Kim Butler comments that when Martinho Braga, a member of the order and association, died, the Desvalidos assumed the funeral expenses and the religious brotherhood buried him in one of their graves. Once the funeral expenses were guaranteed, the brotherhood of the Rosário ensured the burial in a place of distinction, since they owned the respective sheep.

The SPD headquarters operated on the premises of Igreja do Rosário until 1868.

¹³ AINSR. “Terms of possession of new brothers” (1888-1920). Single book. Sheet 121. “Composition of the administrative board from 1920 to 1921”. Box 10 Doc 06-D.

According to a report prepared by the mutualist, the association had to leave there “after some disagreements it had with the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora das Portas do Carmo” (BRAGA, 1987, p. 31). The Society was installed in 1887 in the headquarters where it is located until today, a building of its own in Cruzeiro de Francisco. Its building was considered sumptuous for the time. Its main portal has marble elements, refined finish, which denotes its alignment with the aesthetic standards of the elites, but appropriate to the political and economic interests of the black community.

Despite the reasons involved in the departure of the Desvalidos from the premises of Igreja do Rosário, the relationship between the two associations would have remained close until the beginning of the 20th century, given the presence of members in the ranks of the brotherhood. From the crossing of our sources with the data of affiliates collected by the historian Lucas Ribeiro Campos in the archives of the SPD referring to the period between 1880 and 1899, we found 80 names that coincided with brothers of the Irmandade do Rosário detected in all our research clipping in your files. This number corresponds to 21% of the members identified by Campos (CAMPOS, 2018, p. 120-137). There are undated records collected from the neighboring association, so this number could be even higher. In the search of the Order's archives, we also find reports of SPD activities from the years 1895 and 1918, which also reveal this proximity.¹⁴

The change of its statute from brotherhood to society was an indication of the process of transformation and modernization of associative experiences in Brazil and of the emerging working class from the second half of the 19th century. And, even so, as a historical process, it was tensioned, riddled with ruptures and continuities, so that the disconnection of the SPD as a religious brotherhood does not distance it from Catholicism. At its headquarters on Cruzeiro de São Francisco there is also a chapel dedicated to the patron saint, Nossa Senhora do Amparo dos Desvalidos, where masses were celebrated on special days. Allied to this, the engagement of its members in the society of brothers of Rosário shows that Catholicism surrounded their daily lives.¹⁵ In

¹⁴ AINSR. “General Balance Sheet of the Coffers of the Society for the Protection of the Disabled. 1917-1918”. Box 18 Doc. 01- A.p. 13.

¹⁵ In a documentary about the association, the president of the SPD, the educator Ligia Margarida, states that today there is also an altar dedicated to entities of African origin at its headquarters. However, we have no evidence to say whether it has been present since the end of the 19th century. In.: “We Transatlantic: Ligia Margarida – Associations, Irmandades and Desvalidos”, 2017. (Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=osXECcMewJs>. Accessed jan/2021).

the case of the world of work, the researcher Lysie Reis also reinforces the importance of the legacies of the work corners established in Salvador¹⁶ for the creation of ties in paid service among the black population. The association constituted “a place conducive to meeting, circulation of ideas and ideals, such as salary negotiations, competition between corners, and conspiracies”. And adds: “the very oppression they suffered reinforced their bonds of solidarity” (REIS, 2012, p. 215-216).

In this movement of growth of mutualists from Bahia, the Sociedade Montepio dos Artificios was also created in 1832. It was a secular entity and had crafts as a criterion for aggregating its members. Even presenting a secular character, Catholicism was also present in this institution, since a patron saint was chosen for the association, Nossa Senhora de Santana. In addition, the concern with guaranteeing graves for its members had repercussions on the attributions of Montepio, which had sheep in the Quinta dos Lázaros Cemetery (CASTELLUCCI, 2010, 44-45).

After a split in this organization that took place in 1852, one of the groups that disagreed with the way their accounts were conducted was expelled and created the Montepio Society of Artists. Its base was predominantly composed of former enslaved people and their descendants, who performed activities such as carpentry, shoemaking, typography, carpentry, etc. But, in 1894, its statute defined that to be admitted, it was enough to be a professional of some liberal mechanical art, and could even be a foreigner (SILVA, 1998, p. 39). The non-white predominance in the association reveals the black expressiveness in this area of professional activity (SILVA, 1998, p. 28). In 1893, the partners acquired the headquarters where it is located until today, in the same building, in Cruzeiro do São Francisco, very close to the SPD. Before that, they rented a hall from the Third Order of São Domingos (SILVA, 1998, p. 58). Possession of its own headquarters and location certainly ensured some social and political importance within the city.

In this association, we find traces of the work of bricklayer Eloy Aleixo Franco. He was another one of those black workers who stood out working in different associations, both of a religious nature, such as the Ordem Terceira do Rosário, and of a mutualist nature, such as the SPD and the Workers' Center. In 1893, the bricklayer joined the Desvalidos. In 1898, he was elected vice-president of the Lyceum of Arts and

¹⁶ The cantos were work groups made up of black winners, enslaved or freed, who organized according to their ethnicity or “nation” (REIS, 2000).

Crafts.¹⁷ He served as treasurer, secretary and vice-president of the Philanthropic Union of Artists. In the Mutualist Society of Artisans, he served as treasurer more than once (BUTLER, 1998, p. 159). And, in 1910, Franco was 2nd secretary of Montepio dos Artistas and, in 1921, he was president of the same entity (SILVA, 1998, p. 61).¹⁸ This bricklayer Eloy's path points us to the dynamics of participation in associations that did not involve exclusivity; on the contrary, there was a free and multiple transit of the same person in different associative entities.

The Associação Liceu de Artes e Ofícios was founded in Salvador, in 1872, under the responsibility of several craftsmen, such as Manuel Querino. It was created from the popular initiative, to meet the demands for modernization of the workforce in the province of Bahia, born with the aim of promoting theoretical and practical teaching to the popular classes. Social security guarantees were also included in its objectives, seeking to generate “professionals able to accompany the march of coveted progress, and promote beneficence to their partners and families” (LEAL, 2009, p. 368). Until 1874, the Liceu operated in the Monte-Pio dos Artistas building, demonstrating the established network that we have already emphasized.¹⁹ Possibly, like Querino and Eloy Aleixo Franco, other artists who are members of the Brotherhood of the Rosário joined and benefited from the Liceu's performance, given both the similarity of interests and the recurrence of the connection of this sector to the brotherhood, as well as the geographical proximity of the places where the institution operated.

The Workers' Center, whose many characters were also very close to the Ordem Terceira do Rosário, was part of this network of mutualist associations in Bahia but presented a broader spectrum of action. It emerged after two attempts by the same leaderships to try to found, in the first place, the Partido Operário, so that they could run for the elections for the 1890 constituent. another organization, União Operária Bahiana. In 1893, the entire initial group entered into an agreement and thus the Workers' Center was founded as a more unified entity. Its first headquarters were located in a building on the former Rua Direita do Palácio, which is now Rua Chile, in the historic center of the city (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 81). Later, the entity installed

¹⁷ HDBN. *Jornal de Notícias* (BA), 11/28/1898.

¹⁸ HDBN. *Almanak Laemmert*, (BA), May 1910. p. 64.

¹⁹ LICEU of Arts and Crafts of Bahia (Salvador, BA). In: Itaú Cultural Encyclopedia of Brazilian Art and Culture. São Paulo: Itaú Cultural, 2018. Available at: <<http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/instituicao17451/liceu-de-artes-e-oficios-da-bahia-salvador-ba>>. Access in: 1/25/2021. Encyclopedia entry.

itself in a building in Largo do Pelourinho (SILVA, 1998, p. 9).

Due to the trajectory of its creation, the representatives of the Workers' Center did not have the sole intention of meeting around mutual support for workers, like SPD or Montepio. Among its goals was the desire to achieve working class representation in the arenas of institutional politics, since the same leaderships had disputed legislative positions. In addition, its members also acted to fight for better working conditions, “indicating the assumption, by this organization, of functions that would later be assimilated by the unions” (CASTELLUCCI, 2010, p. 57).

In the constitution of the Centro Operário da Bahia, it is observed that the organization should offer its members primary, secondary and technical courses. For this purpose, its founders further deepened their field of action in relation to the activities of the other mutualists, expressing their concern with the technical training of the working class, in the face of the modernization of the market, and with their political citizenship, since the vote was forbidden to the illiterate. With the education of its members, it would be possible to attract more voters to its cause and that of its leaders. In 1898, the Center had a daytime primary school attended by one hundred students and a night school with sixty students,²⁰ given the diversity of occupations and availability of its public. The Workers' Center also offered assistance in the most diverse senses, including legal assistance in cases of disputes involving workers (CASTELLUCCI, 2010, p. 57-58). Although it already guaranteed mutual support to its members, the organization approached the brotherhoods and other associations. This approximation signals his political project of expanding prestige and public recognition by Salvadoran society. In addition, it also indicates that religious spaces were not alien to discussions concerning working class activism.

An announcement of the holding of a mass at the Igreja da Ordem Terceira do Rosário, in commemoration of the ten-year anniversary of the Centro Operário,²¹ reveals the connection of the members with the Catholic community. One of the commemorative acts scheduled in the announcement was the placement of a portrait of a former governor of Bahia, in honor of his memory. This approximation with authorities, established through tributes, punctuates an element of negotiation with

²⁰ HDBN. Jornal de Notícias, (BA), 03/19/1898.

²¹ HDBN. Correio do Brazil: Organ Democrata (BA), 05/06/1904.

the elites and authorities in the name of protection, support and social recognition. Although they were working-class institutions, many titles were granted by the mutualists to representatives of the State, a diplomatic way to ensure and/or maintain subsidies received and preserve a certain social distinction.

To this end, many of these associations-maintained titles such as “protective member”, “benefactor member”, or “honorary member”. Typically, they were intended for people with economic, political, intellectual, or religious power. According to Lysie Reis, honorary members did not receive assistance and were not awarded administrative positions in the association but were inserted in high commissions and could make proposals in assemblies. These titles could also be granted to people who provided services to society, such as teachers, doctors, priests, etc. (REIS, 2012, p. 231-232). Reis concluded that this type of relationship was part of the practices of “reciprocity of exchanges between subaltern and wealthy strata” established in scenarios of disregard by public authorities for the needs of social strata, as classified by EP Thompson (REIS, 2012, p. 234).

The Fernandes Galliza family, for example, took its place as benefactors of Afro-Bahian associations, such as the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário and the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos. Benedito Fernandes Galliza was a slave owner in the early 19th century and his son left three of his six houses to the Irmandade do Rosário (BUTLER, 1998, p. 145). The list of members of the SPD at the end of the 19th century included other members of the family, such as Xavier Fernandes Galliza, who must have carried on the benevolent legacy of his ancestors.²²

The social composition of the Fernandes Galliza may have been variable in relation to their occupations. The records of this surname among the members of the brotherhood lasted until the beginning of the 20th century. Izidro Fernandes Galliza, for example, appears as a professed brother in the year 1920 and a servant at the Ginásio da Bahia years before.²³ Indirectly integrated with a certain intellectuality, he could be attuned to his rights as a worker and citizen. The famous rábula Cosme de Farias, then state deputy in 1915, defended in the legislative chamber the recognition of the time of service of Izidro in the Ginásio da Bahia as a servant, between 1875 and 1915, claiming the employee's retirement. In the news, it is recorded that he was an

²² ASPD. “List of Members from 1892-1895”. (Consulted on the Association's computer).

²³ AINSR. List of Professed Brethren (1920). Box 10, Doc. 7.

“exemplary employee and that he never gave it just lacks [...] generally estimated and, despite being broken by the years, it still fulfills faithfully there all his duties.”²⁴

Despite being debated by different social movements in that context, there was still no specific legislation on social security that served workers in a generalized way, which also justifies the relevance of the link to mutual support associations. However, Izidro's “exceptionality” emphasized by deputy Cosme Farias could earn him some special treatment, while the request is in line with broader social demands. We do not know what the result of the request was, but its connection to the Ordem Terceira do Rosário indicates that this may have been the source of some help, as well as the religious profession may have occupied its time in the case of removal from its functions at the Gymnasium. for his advanced age.

Aldrin Castellucci highlighted that, among the 1,176 members of the Centro Operário identified, the color of 127 of them was registered. And, of these 127, 98 were non-white²⁵ (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 126). Considering that this sample may be representative of the entire body of the entity, it turns out that 77.1% of the members correspond to black individuals, that is, the majority, as the historian emphasizes. Thus, even without constituting an organization defined by racial belonging, as a representative of the Bahian working class, the association was predominantly non-white (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 127).

Castellucci (p. 129) showed that many of these subjects worked in other organizations, composing an “associative constellation”, formed by mutualists and religious brotherhoods, and here I add the *candomblés* as members of this network. In his search in inventories, the historian found 12 members of the Workers' Center who were also affiliated with the Third Order of the Rosary of Portas do Carmo. (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 130). Analyzing the names listed in the annexes to his thesis

²⁴ HDBN. Newspaper *A Notícia*, 08/06/1915. Our emphasis.

²⁵ We know that the terminologies used to identify black people vary from the colonial period to the present day (SANTOS, 2005). In Aldrin Castellucci's analysis, the historian separated these individuals according to the denominations that appear in their sources: “preto”, “white”, “pardo”, “mestizos”. As extensive historiography has pointed out, all these terminologies were attributed in a way full of meanings and equally fluid from context to context. In the brotherhoods themselves, they served as an identifying and demarcating mechanism for roles (REIS, 1996; VIANA, 2007). For reasons of space, I chose not to delve into the complexities of these classifications in this article. Whereas, except for those identified as “white”, I chose to treat everyone as “black”, “people of color”. Or, as it was addressed in the definition of the brotherhood in question and in the corresponding commitment of 1900, “people of color”. The term “non-white” also seemed appropriate to me, insofar as, in this context, these would be none other than black people, given the absence of mention of indigenous people or other ethnic-racial classifications outside what is understood as “black” in the observed groups.

and crossing them with the lists of members and components of the Ordem Terceira do Rosário table from the same period, we found exactly equivalent names that would increase this list to 32 members mutually affiliated to the Irmandade do Rosário and the Centro Operário. and/or their original organizations – Partido Operário and União Operária Bahiana. A similar process took place with the analysis of lists of SPD partners to which I had access. Other names in this condition can still be verified from verification in other sources, also seeking to confirm that the homonyms correspond to the same people Among the names confirmed by Castellucci's work, we have the black carpenter Tibúrcio Luiz Souto (1873-1955), who, in addition to the Irmandade do Rosário do Pelourinho, composed the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos, was leader of the Union of Workers in Madeira and the Centro Operário da Bahia, member of the Dezesesseis de Julho Society and was part of the Central Strike Committee during the June 1919 general strike in Salvador (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 130-131). In the brotherhood of Rosário, he played at least eight times at the table.²⁶ In the SPD, he was listed as a redeemed partner and member of the fiscal commission in the 1918 report.²⁷ His trajectory in the labor movement and in the two black associations indicate that he was a prominent person in the Salvadoran community (Image 1).

Domingos Francisco da Silva (Image 2), in turn, was a master builder who held the presidency of the Centro Operário in its first years of existence, he joined the black brotherhood of Rosário in October 1892 (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 131; 99-100).²⁸ He participated in the foundation of the Círculo Católico da Bahia and was the brother of two other black brotherhoods, that of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 75; 100). He left written records of his work as a mobilizer of the working class, such as the “Manifesto to the worthy Artists, Workers and Proletarians of the State of Bahia” (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 45). He was also captain of the National Guard and in the Republic, he was called to act as a public works assistant for the Secretary of Agriculture, Transport and Public Works, among 1896 and 1898. Thus, he gained recognition and experience that allowed him to occupy

²⁶ AINSR. “Terms of possession of the administrative table”. Loose Book. “Brothers who make up the administrative board of 1914-1915”. Box 10 Doc 06-C. AINSR “Single Minutes”. “Brothers who make up the table of 1922-1923”. Box 10 Doc 06-F. “Brothers who make up the table of 1927-1928”. Box 10 Doc 06-H.

²⁷ AINSR. “General balance of the coffers of the Society for the Protection of the Disabled. 1917-1818”. Box 18 Doc 01- A.

²⁸ AINSR. “Brothers entry book. 1888-1920”. (Open Book). Sheet 92.

elective positions such as justice of the peace, member of the Santana district council and municipal councilor of Salvador (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 100).



Image 1. Tibúrcio Luiz Souto
Source: History and Report of the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos 1832-1932. Presented by the President of the Juventino Directory Silvino da Costa. Approved at the General Assembly of September 7, 1934. Financial year 1931-1934. Bahia, 1934. apud. CASTELLUCI, 2008. p. 131.



Image 2. Domingos Francisco Silva. Source. Associação Centro Operário da Bahia. Report (Exercise 1949-1950). Salvador: Bahia Official Press, 1950. Apud. CASTELLUCI, 2008. p. 51

Faustino Gomes da Silva was also an artist and held several times the position of Secretary and others in the administration of the Ordem Terceira do Rosário. Its first visit to the table, according to the documents analyzed, took place in the 1890s, appearing again in the next twenty years a few times.²⁹ At Centro Operário, he acted three times as a director, he was also a member of the Philanthropic Union of Artists and the Society for the Protection of the Disabled (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 132-133). Manoel Friandes, bricklayer and captain of the National Guard was also among the ranks of the Baixa dos Sapateiros, the SPD and the Centro Operário. Analyzing his inventory, Castellucci identified that in addition to that brotherhood, Friandes also bequeathed goods to the Irmandade dos Quinze Mistérios, the Irmandade do Rosário

²⁹ AINSR “Terms of possession of new brothers” (1888-1920). Single book. “Composition of the Administrative Board of 1918”. Box 18 Doc 01-A. “Brothers who make up the table of 1920”. Box 10 Doc 06-D. “Brothers who make up the table of 1923-1924”. Box 10 Doc 06-F.

do João Pereira of the Parish of Vitória and the Irmandade da Conceição do Tororó. Although he participated in several confraternities, he explicitly asked in his inventory that his burial be the responsibility of the Third Order of the Rosary (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 132). With a similar profile, the contractor and captain of the National Guard José Maria da Conceição appeared in our brotherhood and in the Workers' Center (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 133). It seems to us that his role in the order may have been accompanied by the affiliation of his daughter, Olga Lídia da Conceição, whose name also appears in the list of professed sisters in 1920.³⁰ We would like to find more evidence to attest with greater conviction that this doctor, daughter of the black contractor, was part of the daily life of the brotherhood. The presence of her father, who left her a valuable estate, attests to the social diversity of the order's ranks, as well as sheds light on the presence of black women, albeit limited, in jobs of social distinction such as medicine in the Bahian capital at the beginning of the nineteenth century (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 114-115).

Friandes appeared on the administrative table several times, which indicates that he had a relevant position in the association.³¹ According to Kim Butler, he also composed the Montepio dos Artistas and the Irmandade de São Benedito, having organized a party so grand that, according to reports, no other was ever seen (BUTLER, 1998, p. 156-157). We can see that it was common that these subjects who moved between various collectives not only composed them, but also assumed bureaucratic functions and had great recognition in the collectives.

Another bricklayer, Affonso João Maria de Freitas, held different positions in the administration of the Order of the Rosary, without ceasing to dedicate himself to the Protector of the Disabled. Despite the engagement, Butler found traces that point to irregularities committed in the care of the Rosário treasury, which in the succession of the position led to tensions within the Order. In addition to a possible mismanagement of resources promoted by Freitas, that was also a period of “lean cows” for the brotherhood, which increased concerns about its survival and the need to broaden its membership base (BUTLER, 1998, p. 152-153).

³⁰ AINSR. Separate minutes. “Minutes of the extraordinary session of the Table and Board of the Venerable 3rd Order of the Rosary of Nossa Senhora das Portas do Carmo (01/11/1921)”.

³¹ AINSR. “Elections 1889”. Box II Doc 03-K. “Elections 1890”. Box II Doc 03-L. “Elections of the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário das Portas do Carmo for the year 1892” (Single book. No pagination). “Election 1893”. Box II Doc 03-N.

Another space in the city that had Manuel Querino was the carnival club Pândegos d'África, where he applied his knowledge of the African continent to suggest and/or organize the parades of the block in the Bahian carnival (ALBUQUERQUE, 2009, p. 217). This club was also founded with the participation of Bibiano Soares Cupim, an active person who traveled through many spaces in Salvador. According to historian Wlamyra Albuquerque, his curriculum was quite broad: butcher, captain of the National Guard, banker in the animal game, carpenter, member of the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos and the Irmandade da Boa Morte, ogã of the Gantois terreiro (ALBUQUERQUE, 2009, p. 220). He not only acted in associations, but also occupied prominent positions in these groups. In the SPD, he was president in 1918.³² In the Ordem Terceira do Rosário, he was on the administrative board in the years 1907, 1908, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1927 and 1928.³³ He came to hold the positions of Attorney General, Definitor, deputy deputy Prior and Prior (in 1907) (BUTLER, 1998, p. 139). Butler also recorded that he was vice-president of the Centro Operário in 1926. His involvement in these spaces, as well as the condition of owner of some properties in the city, indicates that he was a representative of the Afro-Bahian community of social and political expressiveness in Salvador. in the post-abolition period, as highlighted by Albuquerque (ALBUQUERQUE, 2009, p. 221).

The historian Eric Brasil Nepomuceno also identified this configuration of a black network, consisting of carnival clubs, Candomblé terreiros, workers' demonstrations and the Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário e São Benedito in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in the 1910s. The Club Liga Africana was founded by João Martins, the babalorixá known as João Alabá de Omulu (NEPOMUCENO, 2013, p. 7). He recorded the involvement of this club with the organization of a demonstration in honor of the foundation of a workers' village and also pointed out that, on the occasion of the death of its founder, the associates had a mass said in the name of his soul in the Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário and São Benedito from the capital of Rio de Janeiro. For the historian, this network “demonstrates that the black population of the city from Rio de Janeiro sought to expand their alternatives for acting in the public space while reinforcing what kind of presence and performance they should exercise”

³² AINSR. “General balance of the coffers of the Society for the Protection of the Disabled”. Box 18 Doc 1-A. P. 23

³³ AINSR. “List of brothers who make up the table from 1908-1909”. Box 10 Doc. 06-A. “Brothers who make up the table of 1920-1921”. Box 10 Doc 06-D. “Brothers who make up the table of 1927-1928”. Box 10 Doc 06-H.

(NEPOMUCENO, 2013, p. 8). In our view, in Salvador the strategy was very similar.

We did not have access to the list of members of the Sociedade Musical Luso Guarani. But the news that record the holding of meetings and other activities of the workers' associations inform that the headquarters of this philharmonic repeatedly received meetings of workers. The relationship of this musical society with the Irmandade do Rosário seemed to be close, as in 1891 and 1892 his name was included in the list of members of the administrative board as Protector.³⁴ It is likely that the physical spaces of the order and the artistic services of the band were exchanged in meetings and festivities. Aldrin Castellucci mentioned several meetings of the Partido Operário (a group whose dissent later gave rise to the Centro Operário) that were held in the hall of the Luso Guarani Philharmonic (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 56-59).

Women, “dual religious affiliation” and other extensions of “associative geography”

At this stage of the research, we hope to find more female names registered in the documents of the brotherhood in question that echo in other associations close to it. Analyzing the historiography in search of these data, it is inferred that the associative collectives with evidence of the protagonism of black women in Bahia were the religious spaces of brotherhoods and candomblés. As beneficiaries of associations, their benefit went further, as was the case of orphaned, enslaved or daughters of enslaved girls who integrated the Casa da Providência, where they received instruction and education at the end of the captivity regime (CONCEIÇÃO, 2013, p. 21). In Salvador, other experiences of women in the position of beneficiaries, and not as partners themselves, were identified. Thus, it is important for us to think of brotherhoods as a relevant space for black female assemblages in the capital of Bahia, so that their commitment and their daily lives gave them significant attributions in this community, despite the prohibition of associations to their participation, as we assess below, dialoguing with the notes recorded by the research concerning the associativisms of the worlds of work in Bahia.

To a greater or lesser extent, the works that focused on the brotherhoods, black associations did not fail to shed light on the specifics of the sisters' experiences in their

³⁴ AINSR. “Election 1890”. Box II Doc 03-L. “Election of the brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário das Portas do Carmo for the year 1892”. (Open Book).

studies.³⁵ On the other hand, when we analyze the circularity that men like Manoel Querino demonstrated to have outside the Church of the Rosário at the end of the 19th century in Bahia, especially in the worlds of work and associativism, it seemed reasonable to question whether there were relationships between the sisters and others. types of construction of organized collectivity in Salvador. For example, João José Reis bets that, at the end of the 18th century, women would be inserted in the work corners. Because the regulation of the winners was included in the city's book of postures, but the lack of female enrollment in the following years led the historian to believe that they ended up away from the corners (REIS, 2019, p. 83-84). Would the experience of their brothers in other associations have any effect on them, or the knowledge of a possible previous female experience of organization, such as the songs? We have been engaged in the search for these answers in the doctorate. For now, the trajectory of the sisters in the field of religiosity of African origin already presents us with rich evidence of the breadth of their collective action.

The example of the ialorixá Eugênia Anna dos Santos (1869-1938), Mãe Aninha, is a visible and recorded case of the mutual filiation practiced by black women in Salvador, whose networks reached the then federal capital. Creator of the Ilê Axé Opô Afonjá in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, Mãe Aninha, Obá Biyi, held positions on the administrative board of the brotherhood,³⁶ lived near her temple, where she was also veiled (SANTOS, 2007, p. 266). One cannot ignore the social and political foundations of the prestige of the ialorixá in a black city like Salvador. Around him was a network of personal relationships, which involved the candomblé of Mãe Aninha and other congeners, woven in the midst of the exchange of favors, of support, of some solutions found by the mediations of her prayers and other religious assemblages, which accommodated also the Brotherhood of the Rosary.

Butler identified another active female participation, that of Joana Maria Ritta da Conceição. Daughter of an African woman, who, as a sister of Rosário das Portas do Carmo, was elected to the table at least three times.³⁷ In the brotherhood of Boa Morte, she acted again as a judge and was also part of other confraternities, bequeathing goods

³⁵ On the subject, see: FARIAS (1997); KARASCH (2012); SILVA (2017); SOARES (2001). For the late 20th century experience, see: SANTANA (2013).

³⁶ AINSR. "Sisters who make up the table of 1927/1927". Box 10 Doc 06-G.

³⁷ AINSR. "Election 1890". Box 11 Doc 03-L. "Election of the brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário das Portas do Carmo for the year 1892". (Open Book). "Election 1893". Box 11 Doc 03-N.

not only to the Third Order of the Rosary, but also to the brotherhood of Senhor Bom Jesus dos Martírios da Barroquinha, Santa Bárbara do Corpo Santo, São Benedito and São Vicente Ferrer (BUTLER, 1998, p. 157).

Local historiography informs us that many African and Afro-Brazilian women had great economic importance in supplying the city, developing commercial activities, which allowed them to leave properties for the confraternities (OLIVEIRA, 1988, p. 34). However, mutual organizations do not seem to have considered these workers as associates or they did not choose this form of organization. In the case of SPD and Montepio dos Artistas, for example, women only appeared as beneficiaries because they were wives or daughters of associates, despite attempts by these women to make proposals (CAMPOS, 2018, p. 36). As most associations were geared towards craftsmen, it can be deduced that there were few women dedicated to these activities and, therefore, their low representation in these institutions (BATALHA, 1999, p. 65). Deeming that research that closely investigates this supposed absence of female presence in mutual associations and work environments in Salvador and Brazil as a whole is essential, I have been seeking to expand this analysis in doctoral research in progress.

Castellucci believes that the exclusion of women from the Workers' Center must be credited to the group's electoral intentions. As they only acquired this right to vote in 1932, the workers would have been excluded from the associative spectrum of this association in the First Republic (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 129). An exclusion that reinforces our assessment of the misogyny and sexism operating in that society.

Significantly, the status of partners was vetoed to workers from Salvador in other mutual associations, even those without electoral intentions, such as Montepio dos Artistas and the SPD. In the case of the Workers' Center, this explicit exclusion in the relation to female participation is also confirmed by one of their struggle guidelines: the fight against the employment of married women and widows (CASTELLUCCI, 2010, p. 83). This project reinforces the expressive belonging of women to the Bahian working class, given the attempt to interrupt their activities. On the other hand, the defense of restricting work to married women and widows is an indication of the patriarchal vision of the group, which is repeated with the ban on the entry of women autonomously in some mutualists in Bahia. Taking into account the

high rate of women from the popular classes who supported their families alone,³⁸ the lack of openness of these organizations certainly made these workers maintain and/or reinvent their own strategies of collective support from the period of slavery, such as black brotherhoods, or even create new ones.

In the Society of Mechanical and Liberal Artists of Recife, women also did not have a chance. According to Marcelo Mac Cord, its statute of 1841 records the concern of the partners in keeping up with the precepts of the “progress” of the workforce in the capital of Pernambuco, which inclined them to deny them access in the name of the social recognition of the association. But seats in the allied brotherhood of São José do Ribamar remained assured to them (MAC CORD, 2012, p. 77). Thus, from the consistory of the brotherhood, they ensured this associative alternative.

Black clubs founded at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries had greater space for women. In Rio Grande do Sul, the Beneficente Laço de Ouro, organized only by members, was dedicated to supporting unassisted black girls (MULLER, 2013, p. 118). In Rio de Janeiro, Leonardo Affonso Pereira found regiments of black dancing clubs, such as the União das Borboletas, which opened its ranks to women, without requiring a marriage statute, allowing for an autonomous connection as allowed for men (PEREIRA, 2020), pp. 140-141). There were also those that had founders, such as the Rosa Branca society (PEREIRA, 2020, p. 66). Examples like these have been revealed by research dedicated to different regions, signaling that the female agency through associations was also activated, despite the patriarchal and racist foundation of Brazilian society.³⁹

Lysie Reis identified the existence of female-only social security societies in Bahia, such as the Ladies Humanitarian Society, created in 1891. Unlike mutual associations, social security societies did not have the bond of occupation as a binding factor. The Women's Humanitarian Society was concerned “with the support of

³⁸ “The strangled Bahian job market and the strength of tradition did not provide these women with husbands who provided for the household. On the contrary, in a stampede, men seem to flee from 1872 to 1940, in a true exodus, in search of better professional opportunities in other regions. In 1924, in a significant sample of 3,091 lactating or preschool-age children enrolled in the poor childhood care agencies of the Inspector of Child Hygiene in the capital of Bahia, 54.28% were illegitimate [offspring born out of wedlock]. Of the general total of those enrolled, 31.28% had unemployed or absent parents. The economically active mothers made up a total of 94.17%. This data shows us that in the midst of the Republic, childbirth still continued following the womb [as was already the case with black women as a result of enslavement]” (FERREIRA FILHO, p. 22-23, 1994. Our emphasis).

³⁹ On the historiography of black associations in Brazil, see DOMINGUES (2007); SILVA; XAVIER (2019).

members in 'critical life' situations", such as a "disease or any other cause that prevented them from getting a job" (REIS, 2012, p. 243). Its associates excelled in their policy of support to associates in situations such as illness, widowhood or unemployment. Among the criteria for admission to society was the requirement to be married or widowed, requirements not so accessible to black women, as pointed out above.

An exception to this rule of exclusion of women from workers' associations in Salvador was the Sociedade Bolsa de Caridade. It was created in 1872, dedicated exclusively to the workers of the Arsenal de Guerra da Bahia. Despite its civil nature, it was initially installed in the church of the orphans of São Joaquim and had a patron saint, Nossa Senhora do Noviciate. Subsequently, the association opened for the affiliation of workers from other areas, due to the extinction of arsenals. This inclusion even opened space for the affiliation of women, as long as they were "relatives of the partners". Later, they were granted the right to vote and be voted for any position in the association (CASTELLUCCI, 2010, p. 49).

The Bolsa de Caridade was part of this map of the network of associations in the Historic Center of Salvador. One of the names of the Irmandade do Rosário that possibly figured in its ranks was Manuel do Nascimento de Jesus. According to Castellucci, he was a member of the Partido Operário, the Club União dos Artistas Republicanos de Pirajá and the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos (CASTELLUCCI, 2008). In the SPD, he was as a meritorious member in 1895.⁴⁰ In Rosário, his name appeared as attorney general in 1890 and 1891⁴¹ and as a clerk in 1892 and 1894.

This configuration of networks between entities of class, racial, religious, gender and sociability content was a common phenomenon in other parts of the country, as we saw in Porto Alegre and São Paulo. In Bahia, the addition of Candomblés to this "associative constellation" (CASTELLUCCI, 2008, p. 141) took place not only in Salvador, but also in the city of Cachoeira. According to anthropologist Luis Nicolau Parés, at the end of the 19th century, the Monte Pio Society of Cachoeirano Artists, the Irmandade de São Benedito and the Philharmonic Lira Cecilianiana formed a predominantly black "network of institutions" (PARÉS, 2007, p. 193). This network worked with conservative political factions and their respective

⁴⁰ AINSR. "Report of activities of the Society for the Protection of the Disabled – 1895". Box 19 Doc 01-G.

⁴¹ AINSR. "Election 1890". Box 11 Doc 03-K.

associations, as a way of establishing a negotiation around the interests of that network of craftsmen.

The character whose political-social performance symbolizes this proximity of associations and brotherhoods to the Candomblé of Cachoeira is José Maria Belchior, or Zé do Brechó, as he was known. He was the owner of the lands of Roça de Cima, candomblé of the Jeje nation, and president of the city's Montepio (PARÉS, 2007, p. 192). His mother was a vodúnsi⁴² from the same terreiro, which indicates that her son was not only the owner of those lands, but also had a religious connection with Candomblé. His prominent position as a landowner, captain of the National Guard and active in the Monte Pio Society, earned him the nomination for president and attorney of the Cachoeira Branch Council of the Workers' Center of Bahia (PARÉS, 2007, p. 194). We also located the proximity of Zé do Brechó to members of the SPD and the Ordem do Rosário. This was the case of his compadre Frederico Roque Guimarães, whose daughter had the “sorcerer” of Cachoeira and Lieutenant Manoel Friandes as godparents (CAMPOS, 2018, p. 31-32).⁴³ In this case, we can envision the possibility of an even broader extension of this network, which crossed different Bahian cities. Candomblé's connections with Rosário dos Pretos were not restricted by gender. So that the tombs deposited in the church of Pelourinho reveal the diversity of candomblé houses and their respective leaders close to the confraternity.

There are tombs of emblematic figures of the Afro-Brazilian cult, such as the tomb of the family of Rodolpho Bambocher.⁴⁴ His son Felisberto Américo Sowzer, or Benzinho, was the son of Maria Julia Andrade, an important priestess of Candomblé Ketu in Bahia. Raised in Lagos, Benzinho came to Brazil with the surname Sowzer (Souza). He died in 1935, he was one of the most famous babalorixás in Brazil (VO 3ª. N. SRA. DO ROSÁRIO, 2018, p. 20).

Despite the guidelines of a Catholicism imposed by the clerical authorities and

⁴² Term that indicates children of saints of the Jeje nation, who manifest the energy of vodun (deity of Jeje Candomblé).

⁴³ AINSR. "List of Brothers (1900)". Box 10, Doc 5.

⁴⁴ “Rodolpho Martins de Andrade” was the name “in white” of Bamboxê, which “is the Brazilian transcription of the Yoruba name Bangbose, which means ‘help me hold the oxê’ [the ritual tool of Xangô]” (LIMA, Apud. SILVEIRA, 2006, p. 403). The use of his name imposed by the traffic together with the Yoruba denomination (with another spelling) on his tombstone deposited in the Church of the Rosário is another sign of the inclusion of African heritage and the legacy of Candomblé in this temple. Bamboxê would also have participated in the process of making Mãe Aninha (TOBIOBÁ, 2007, p. 266). To see other figures linked to candomblés and the aforementioned brotherhood in the early 19th century, see: CASTILLO (2017).

racist repressions from other authorities, in that space the “double belonging” (SANTANA, 2013) was consolidated, marked by Afro-Bahian devotions that did not cancel out other religiosities and other belongings, which carried with them the shared mark of an Afro-Bahian identity. Certainly, other records, material or oral, attest to the frequency of such a phenomenon in the region.

In the correspondence sent to Ordem Terceira do Rosário, we find evidence of the existence of a wide-ranging network among black associations outside Bahia. In 1905, a letter was sent from the Secretariat of the Glorifying Commission to the Memory of José do Patrocínio, established in Rio de Janeiro, to the church of Rosário in Salvador. The purpose of the organ was to promote the achievements of Patrocínio for the conquest of the freedom of the black Brazilian population. In the correspondence in question, the secretariat requested donations to finance the construction of a statue in memory of the nationally renowned abolitionist. According to the editors, its name “synthesizes all the efforts, all the struggles and all the civic energies for the victory of the freedom of a race and the aggrandizement of the moral level of a country”. The letter appears to be a standard copy, there are no signatures or other handwritten inscription, and it was possibly sent to various other associations that the committee thought would be interested in the cause.⁴⁵

Being included in the list of recipients of the Commission Glorifying the Memory of José do Patrocínio reveals that the Third Order was part of the associations considered relevant by the black and abolitionist leaders of the federal capital. Soon, she stood out almost nationally. We do not know whether the brothers and sisters responded to the letter's request, sending a donation for the construction of the statue of Patrocínio. But only the dispatch of the correspondence already evidences the attempt to establish a rosary of black associations in Brazil at the beginning of the 20th century, with the Bahian brotherhood as one of its accounts.

Final considerations

It is worth mentioning that, despite the criticism of the lack of engagement on the part of the Afro-Bahian community based on racial condition, this approach

⁴⁵ “Correspondence of the Secretary of the Glorifying Commission to the Memory of José do Patrocínio”, (03/20/1905). Source: AINSR. Box 23 Doc 02-F.

indicates that these groups were not oblivious to the causes defended by the associations that were considered to be effectively organized by race, as was the case of those in the Southeast of the country, at the beginning of the 20th century. So, even considering its field of action, focused on the world of cultural and religious traditions, as a policy of resistance to the authorities and elites with their whitening political projects, we believe that the Third Order of the Rosary did not remain oblivious to the issues that involved the black community beyond the city of Salvador and Bahia. In addition to the festivities and carnival. In any case, to think that the struggle for the preservation of these practices did not include the search for basic rights, is to evaluate the mobilization and political actions of these communities and their associations under a strongly Eurocentric mentality.

Thus, as defended by Butler, it is necessary to understand that each struggle that emerged around blackness arose “in response to different trajectories and historical modalities of ethnic exclusion” (BUTLER, 1998, p. 218). Therefore, the ways of reacting were also different. The constitution of associations and the creation of networks between them, whose criteria were not just the dimensions of class or race, allows us to think about the experiences of black associations as a space where some citizen practices were exercised. In these mutualist associations, Salvadorans sought better living conditions in the post-abolition period, in a scenario where members of the State paid little attention to social issues related to groups marginalized and workers. Sometimes, these groups joined the employer class for pragmatic reasons, aiming to conquer their rights through negotiation with the elites.

We also observed that, at certain times, his action/reaction was not so aligned with the interests of the bosses, as occurred in the strike that started in 1919, which had as one of its leaders Tibúrcio Luiz Souto, Rosário's brother and a member of other religious associations. and by trade. There is no doubt that the establishment of this “associative geography” allowed us to identify and realize that the brothers and sisters of Rosário were not oblivious to the broader issues of the debate on political and social rights of the First Republic. Despite constituting a religious space, the engagement of some of its members both in the Order and in the workers' associations reveals that, there in the Church of the Rosary, the profane debates should be heated, since many of its members maintained this plural affiliation, participating in several mutual societies and *candomblés*. Even so, the commitment to the recognition of the religious

authorities was not forgotten, as revealed by the achievement of the title of third order. Thus, we consider that it constituted a space of dispute and diffusion of ideas in favor of the social question for an expressive segment, black, of the Salvadoran society.

We seek to follow the path suggested by historian Aldrin Castellucci, of carrying out a “cartography of mutualist associations” in Salvador (CASTELLUCCI, 2010, p. 74), focusing on Manoel Querino and other more or less known members of the Venerable Third Order of the Rosário das Portas do Carmo. Certainly, the connection was more extensive than what we have been able to trace so far. However, we conclude that, despite a certain decadence of the religious confraternities that occurred at the end of the 19th century, we saw that the Ordem Terceira do Rosário not only maintained itself but also inserted itself into the movement to modernize mutualism in Bahia, based on the close communication between its leaders and the availability of its space for events of workers' associations.

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