

Biological Citadel: discursive formations about the city of São Paulo from the beginning of the century^{*}**

Profa. Dra. Mariângela P. Galli Joanilho*

Prof. Dr. André Luiz Joanilho**

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to discuss the establishment of the urban space of São Paulo at the beginning of XX century that restores the opening of a great field of studies for the understanding of discourse practices that were established about the city at the same moment that it was built. With the physical expansion of the city, it was possible to create new institutions, which had promoted the scientific ideas practices on hygienic ideals of the time, as well as, had stimulated the quarrels on the Brazilian and establish nationalistic ideas through intense propaganda. They had allowed a field of performance for the elite educated in the city, closing, in certain way, the circuit farmers/education/urban activities. The scientific ideas and the formal education had got to be part of the class marks distinction of the elite, which, at least for part of it, found in the urban institutions a performance field in its activities beyond the politics. São Paulo becomes the privileged field for the application of discourse practices that aim at the control and the conformation of the individuals. These practices consist of enunciated that have origin in several places that are correlated (biology, education, nationalism, etc.).

***Urbis et Orbis* – The urban illusion**

The constitution of the urban space of the city of São Paulo followed only one logic: not having any logic. The growth of the city happened due to the speculative craze

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* Linguistic Professor - Universidade Estadual de Londrina

* History Professor - Universidade Estadual de Londrina

and the planning was done by chance. But this process was not seen only in São Paulo. In all the cities that grew due to industrialization, the urbanization process had the same characteristics: unorganized and exclusionary growth, in other words, the random dissemination of the urban network and, therefore, the segregation of a large portion of the population.

The rapid industrialization of São Paulo, however, is characterized by the destruction of former social bonds and, in fact:

“once more we are confronted, not with the iniquity of the modern city, but with the lack of an intrinsic reference scheme, of a singular and integrated 'urban perspective' that could be referred to for the censorship or approval of behavioral patterns, moral or immoral. In numerous planes of city life we can see the anti-communal effects of this liberation of tradition” (R. Morse, 1970, p. 268).

This does not mean that before was better and that capitalism came to destroy the past and what was good about it. However, the destruction of the sociability bonds historically constituted was not followed by the construction of other bonds. This fact is decisively marked by mass immigration and the

“sudden flow of rural immigrants to the Latin-American cities generates hybrid or heterogeneous urban societies, this fact led social scientists to question the validity of simplistic dichotomies among isolated and integrated communities and the secularized and individualizing city life. Nevertheless, if in the history of São Paulo we detain ourselves in the metropolis that was sprouting in 1890 and compare it to the rural city of 1820, we will be able to confirm a linear progression towards social 'disintegration'. Even more, even a hasty look over the 20th century city suggests that the tendency did not revert itself or weaken, that life is permeated, more than ever, with transitory, partial and individualizing relations; for the neurotic urgency for power, prestige and wealth” (R. Morse, p. 274).

This tendency noticed by Richard Morse is accompanied, since the 19th century, by discourses about modernity and progress. The industry, the intense traffic of cars and people, the buildings, the avenues, the associative and economical cultural institutions, the railroad, all these are noticeable signs that the city was modernizing, creating the cosmopolitan illusion of what the metropolis could offer. However, these things that were

offered had a price, which was the exact opposite of what was offered: isolation in the metropolis.

The relationships that are established in the city become “schizophrenic”, because there is no previous order traditionally passed down. The abundance of languages, before being the sign of the cosmopolis, is the sign of the impossibility of communication, for it sets the tendency of the isolation of specific social groups in ghettos.

Therefore:

“such urban conglomerates could expand themselves and had in fact expanded themselves a hundred times, without acquiring more than traces of the institutions that characterize a city in a sociological sense – that is, a place where social heritage finds itself concentrated, and possibilities of continuous communication and social interactions elevate to a higher potential level human activities.” (Lewis Mumford, 1961, p. 172).

Aside from the author's longing for the small rural villages, he notices that the urbanization process of the 19th century was done based on industrialization and the massive dislocation of populations.

The guarantee of supplies enabled the spectacular growth of cities during the 19th century. Its model was logistic, the same model that served for large troop dislocations such as in the napoleon army. This causes profound alterations in the relations between the city and the countryside. The city ends up taking its production relations to the countryside, rather, the acceleration of the production, as seen above, through which these relations *“have shown that the city, projecting its shadow to the countryside, contributed in the disturbance of the ecological anatomy of a vast agricultural region”* (R. Morse, p. 268). This does not mean that the purity of the countryside was tarnished by the vileness of the city, but that the agricultural production turned itself exclusively to the urban centers, dictating what, how, when and how much is produced.

Using war as a model, everything in the city becomes superlative. Buildings, factories, production, food, water, sewage, energy, people. Therefore:

“men would build things in a hurry and barely had time to regret their

mistakes, before taking down original structures and building again, with the same lack of attention. The newcomers, may them be babies or immigrants, could not wait for new homes: they would pile up wherever they would find space. It was a vast period of urban improvisation: the temporary would pile up on the temporary.” (Lewis Mumford, p.157).

São Paulo, since the renovations of 1870, is temporary. Each day the capital would arise from its ruins. Its non-permanent character was noted by many who visited the city:

“what set this city apart from other cities of the interior and turned it rightfully in to the object of pride of the paulistas was the fact that it possessed, even at that time, a good amount of improvements, the result of not only the official energy, but of private efforts: multistory houses of one or two floors, the first steps of future skyscrapers; streets and houses with gas lighting; animal traction tramways; private cars and taxis of various shapes and sizes [...], etc.” (Ernani S. Bruno, 1981, p. 110).

As an example we have the Anhangabaú Valley, its transformation in the 1910's in a park was completely deformed in the 1930's when:

“the lack of transportation, the distressing inadequacy of telephone and post office services has discouraged the creation of alternative centers for the expansion of the commercial center. Therefore, one by one, the beautiful buildings of the coffee metropolis were demolished to give way to buildings that would have a better use of the soil. In São Paulo things were built 'on top' instead of 'next to'” (Benedito Toledo de Lima, 1983, p. 105).

Despite the author's nostalgia, the capital was built on shattered land, generating anecdotes as the one registered by Jorge Americano:

*“- This city hall doesn't predict the future.
- How so? Look at the afforestation of the streets.
- A few trees that sheds dry leaves during most part of the year.
- What about the little yellow magnolias of Aurora Street?
- It has a viscous seed, which is slippery. It is a rib-breaking factory.
- And what did you want?
- I would like them to predict the future. I would create a law that obliged the downtown constructions to 20 floors. I would tare down all the buildings between 15 de Novembro Street and Comércio (Álvares Penteado) Street and would make a large street, a hundred meters wide. I would tear down everything between Direita and Benjamin Constant Street and would stay with another wide street. I would tear down the*

blocks between São Bento and Libero Badará Street and would stay with a third wide street. I would get São João Street, with its 8 meters in width, and I would expropriate everything, making the avenue 60 meters wide.

- (There is no use talking to him. When he gets carried away by progress, he goes mad)." (Jorge Americano, p. 103).

It is clear that the anecdotal of this passage is in the fact that the speaker wishes to tear down the entire central triangle, from the Sé Square all the way to the Anhangabaú Valley.

Chroniclers do not fail to give an account of the pride related to the city's rapid progress, proof that the city was civilizing itself and, therefore, the country. In the end of the 19th century, the modern aspect of the city sets itself apart. The businesses, the industries and the incipient cultural institutions were a reason to be proud of the capital and were always a highlight for travelers. For many the city grew, came to life, finally, became a metropolis. Thus, for many that came to the capital *"the city's aspect is not ugly, we can feel in it life and the enthusiasm of great European cities"* (Alfredo Moreira Pinto, 1979, p. 24). Dreams of progress and the Europeanization of the city:

"From the Chá viaduct we could see the industrial neighborhoods of Bom Retiro and Luz. From the patio in front of the Carmo Church on the corner of the street with Carmo Slope, we could see all the rest, Brás and Mooca. [...] the four industrial neighborhoods (Bom Retiro, Luz, Brás and Mooca) included all the industries from São Paulo: jute fabrics for making bags and cotton fabrics; sawmills and furniture factories; sugar refineries, coffee roasting; bone button factories, roof tile factories, brickyard and pottery; table dishes called 'stone dust'. Rudimentary leather industries and some other things. There would be thirty or forty coke black smoke chimneys from England (there was still no electricity in São Paulo). The people from São Paulo said these things with pride. The 'Brazilian Manchester!'" (Jorge Americano, 1957, p. 104).

However, this progress generated by the rapid industrialization and the destruction of the city's traditional space implied in an inconsistency or in an instability lived as a metropolitan quality. Hence, memories in São Paulo soon fall into oblivion. Oblivion for consumption: the city is made to be consumed. Buildings, public squares, streets appear and disappear due to the speculative randomness and not to urban planning. The capital, in a capitalist economy, takes on an impermanent character. While

the colonial city could be easily recognized by its relationship network, both physical and social, the new city becomes an empty field by non-recognition, except sentimentally, that is, the relation with the urban space becomes subjective and abstract, since the city itself is made of temporary and not permanent relationships.

The traditional city loses ground to the industrial metropolis. Hence:

“after 1879 the tendency that was outlined in the period before the existence of the city was accentuated: the religious manifestations lost some of the importance that they had during the colonial era [...]. The processions, in particular, lost a lot of its splendor and their interest from before. All kinds of modifications were made to the most important ones [...]. In the beginning of this century some religious and traditional parties even happened to disappear for their provincial aspect proved to be too much and could clash with the cosmopolitan form that the city was starting to acquire.” (Ernani S. Bruno, 1954, p. 1.215).

These modifications can be translated in the reformist craze that took over the municipal administrations, especially in the hands of the mayor João Teodoro:

“During his administration they spent a quantity approximately equal to half the Province's annual budget in the embellishment of the Capital -a very clear indicative of the urban mentality (or Versailles psychology) that prevailed and an added incentive to rich farmers to transfer to the Capital. Many new streets were opened, some in new zones and other ones connecting existing neighborhoods”, being that “an unmistakable clue appears in the fact that around 1870 municipal laws don't define the city as an extension across the main roads to certain farms, but circumscribe them with an artificial line, the 'limits of a city'. A more complete use of economical and demographic statistics, very frequent at the time, could give even greater emphasis to the 'triumph of the abstract over the corporeal’”(R. Morse, p.244 e 254).

However, what did all these changes mean? In this aspect, we can highlight the nature of this process and, just like the production process intends to amplify consumption, the architecture itself is made to be consumed and also modified. We could, using Hannah Arendt's expression (1983), call this consumption process as metabolic. In her distinction between manufacturing and laboring, the author shows us the permanent nature – an object manufactured to last, not being natural, that is, that one cannot find in nature – and the non-permanent nature - the act of labor to preserve

one`s own existence.

The political economy causes significant changes in contemporary societies. For instance, what was considered household tasks – to eat, to protect yourself, to reproduce – became public interest, while:

“labor activities, although always related to the vital process in its most biologic and basic sense, has remained stagnant during thousands of years, a prisoner to the eternal recurrence to the vital process that it refers itself to. The promotion of labor to public stature, far from eliminating its process nature [...] liberated, on the contrary, this process of its circular and boring recurrence and transformed it in rapid evolution, which the results, in only a few centuries, altered the inhabited world entirely [...]. The social sphere, in which the process of life established its own public domain, triggered an artificial growth, so to speak, from the natural” (Hannah Arendt, 1983, p. 56).

Thus, the memory of the vital process, or metabolic restricts itself to the biologic memory, better yet, physiological, so much that:

“unlike work productivity, that adds new objects to human artifice, labor productivity only occasionally produces objects; its major concern are the means of its own reproduction; and, since its strength does not extinguish when its own reproduction is already assured, it can be used for the reproduction of more than one vital process, but it never 'produces' anything else but 'life'” (Hannah Arendt, p. 99).

The city itself becomes the place of biological memory. We have difficulty to remember what we ate yesterday, and it is the same for the use of urban equipment, we remember them when they present themselves as obstacles to our dislocation, better yet, an obstacle for us to achieve our objective which is to keep ourselves alive. We consume the city and it should renew itself so we can consume it some more.

The idea of a vital process around the megalopolis relates to the hygienic ideals: cleanliness, intervention, prevention, creating a moralized city ready to tend to work aspirations and biological virtue.

The city of São Paulo served for such experiences, since it was recently constituted. The urban advancement happened under the coffee cycle, therefore, the old social bonds were redone. Late urbanization, immigration, specialized foreign workforce, first industrial, coffee growers educated in Europe, they all form a new image

of the city which is not recognized by its old inhabitants now. In Rio the elite recycled itself (cf. J. Needell, 1993), in São Paulo it had to form itself, because, even the coffee related fortune represented just the ascent of the new rich to the traditional families from the Empire. The education, the trips provided the farmers with the opportunity to “civilize” themselves, summing up to other new-comers.

With the physical expansion of the city it was possible to establish new institutions: Pasteur Institute, Vacinogênico Institute, Bacteriological Institute, Medical and Surgical College, Normal School, to name a few. These institutions promoted the scientific ideology and started to act in the sense of establishing practices related to the hygienic ideals of the time, as well as stimulating discussions about Brazilians, about the individuals and instilling nationalist ideals through intense propaganda, as we have seen. They also offered a playing field for the city's educated elite, closing, in a certain way, the farmers/education/urban activities circuit.

Scientific ideology and formal education started to become the mark that distinguished class on the elite side, and that now, at least part of it, found in urban institutions a playing field for their activities beyond politics. Thus, it can arrogate itself the right to intervene in the population that should be constituted according to these ideals. First the overcoming of distance between the fact and the right through racial whitening is announced praised by the elite from that period. Afterwards, the possibility of this overcoming when the individual graduates in the State institutions (schools, barracks, penitentiaries, etc.) is announced, better yet, with the pretension of obtaining judicial and political equality.

Work, moral, hygiene, housing, nationalism and education become the themes of this scientific elite. Hence, the city becomes a privileged field for the application of these ideals and themes. The city created almost like a metabolic process consumes itself in these ideals. Chaotic due to speculation, it must be profoundly transformed by the ideals of purity, hygiene, becoming the appropriate place for individual action to take place, marked by a very clear conception: the individuals must be built as the city itself. In this sense, the city is seen as a biological being in two aspects: in its consumption through its own transformation and in the hygienist ideals.

The clean city

From this temporary city that was São Paulo, and still is, some marks remained indelible during many years. One of them is the sense of modernity that the industrial metropolis assumed due to its dizzying growth. The need to reread the past from this viewpoint has led the myth of the industrialism and productiveness of the people from São Paulo to become a part of their “spirit”. (Solange Ferraz de Lima e ou, 1993, p. 165).

Nevertheless, this industrial, modern “spirit”, that many times has served as a counterpoint to the carioca (slacker, swindler, lazy), indicates a frustration regarding to the geographical and political situation of São Paulo's capital and that, in reality, conciliated with the utterances concerning the individual promoted by the literate elite of the city.

In the debates that followed after the State Government paid an homage to the doctors Adolfo Lutz, Emilio Ribas and Pereira Barreto, through the experiments made concerning the transmission of yellow fever, in the Isolation Hospital on October 12th 1903, besides the discussion about the vector of the disease, questioned at length by the doctors Arthur Mendonça and, especially, Nuno Andrade, ex-director of Public Health Services, Dr. Pereira Barreto took the opportunity to oppose the dignified doctor from Rio de Janeiro, Dr. Nuno. Confronting the archaic hygienist from Rio de Janeiro, Pereira Barreto uses irony in a debate that would drag out until the end of the year of 1903 in the pages of *O Estado de São Paulo*, discussing philosophy and science, leaving the discussion of the transmission of yellow fever to the background. But what really matters in this rhetorical sword play is how Pereira Barreto presents the São Paulo native to the doctor from Rio de Janeiro in face of the debate:

“the dull minded São Paulo native [...] calls this specimen of subtle casuistry dissection, operated by our colleague: a neck breaker. It is useless to ask him an effort in interpretation; he turns his back and unwaveringly sends all the compendiums and masters of philosophy to

hell, which have fun by making his brain work.

And, what is even more serious, in detriment to the toga, he goes to his first neighbor's house, a blacksmith, and learns that a horseshoe done over an anvil, while the iron is hot, will be forever iron, for it came from iron, and that this artistic iron product is the best shoe for those that suit it. If the blacksmith would tell him the opposite: this horseshoe, that I have made using iron, is not an iron product, but a copper product, which does not exist in my house... our São Paulo native, for sure, would show him the Juquery path.

It is always prudent to talk to someone who does not have any relations with the Parnaso.

The rustic São Paulo native is extremely suspicious. He is used to the great sunlight, requires lucidity in everything, in thought as well as in actions. He particularly suspects from things and people of Rio: everything that comes from there smells like pestilence or capoeira [...].

The rustic person only finds refuge and moral revival in clear and precise language" (Pereira Barreto, O Estado de São Paulo, 04/12/1903).

It is clear that Pereira Barreto is the rustic person, but it does not fail to present some elements that characterize the paulista, better yet, that would make him specific, by his traditions, his racial formation, for some during a period, due to his education and eugenic past, for others in the next period. Therefore, Alberto Sales, justifying the specificity of the inhabitants of the lands of São Paulo, as we have seen before, clearly states that

"it is the biological influence of the race that, modified by thousands of external circumstances, by adaptation conditions, by selection and breeding, is felt strongly by the force of spontaneous desegregation and translates itself in practice by the constitution of new nationalities [...]. Our population, in spite of the original community that connects itself to other provinces of the empire, keeps away and distances itself from many, for secondary ethnic characters, whose importance and energy cannot be dismissed.

The settlers, those who populated the captaincy of São Vicente, were much superior, due to their moral culture and their genealogy, than the others that were sent by the Portuguese government to the northern provinces" (Alberto Sales, 1983, p. 102).

Alberto Sales' vision, covered by racial ideas, of individuals' bearers of tendencies, sets the tone of the feeling that spread with the growth of the city: São Paulo is different because its story is different. In this aspect, but already connecting to the

idea that the individual is susceptible to being educated, Affonso of Escrangnole Taunay, as the director of the Paulista Museum, organizes, from 1917, iconographic expositions of the city, and:

“in this historical construction, the current city (1910's) emerges as unstoppable result of a territorial conquest, projecting in this way, a discourse that seeks to legitimize the political and economic power practiced by the oligarchic coffee grower elite in São Paulo, justified by the 'natural' entrepreneurship of São Paulo natives” and “the archaic city of Taunay does not present itself as an ideologically opposite model to the new order, but as a previous moment before its metamorphosis in an industrial city. What deserves to be highlighted is an appeasing view of society, in constant evolution, being social disadvantages, hence, contrasting to rupture views, even if loosened by expectations of change” (Solange Ferraz de Lima e ou, 1993, p. 163 e 164).

These two views that share a common past, despite stated differences, place a continuum in history, correlative of a legitimizing view of the present. Therefore, the desire for cleanliness, sanitation, industrialization, education, are the effects of the notion of progress and modernization by which society must follow, in this case, the city of São Paulo, setting its specificity as regards to the rest of the country.

In this sense, the capital of São Paulo, becomes a privileged field for the application of discursive experiences that aim the control and conformance of the individuals. These practices, on the other hand, are constituted by statements that originate in different places and correlate (biology, education, nationalism, etc.).

Columnists, doctors, hygienists started to be proud of Scientific institutions:

“One of the the public offices of São Paulo that has acquired the most appeal and renown for the State is without a doubt the one that is in charge of hygiene services [...]. All the illustrious visitors that the State receives, without exception, get impressed with the organization from our hygiene services, from the meticulous constructions of its many sections and the nature of all the referent responsibilities [...]. They heard the news about the priceless services provided by theses establishments to the population and credited to São Paulo, recognized and exalted as one of the most progressive and forward-thinking regions of Brazilian territory” (d. Victor Godinho, O Estado de São Paulo, 01/10/1903).

The enthusiastic boasting of Dr. Godinho is exactly in the scientific institutions of

the city, but he is not the only one. A prosecutor, when commenting the instructions of the Police Brigade, cannot help to notice that:

“all the nations will one day achieve the degree of civilization that the more educated, freer and more enlightened nations of the whole world have reached.

This rule, this norm [...], will surely show its veracity.

Brazil, as a nation, cannot escape from this rule, and São Paulo, which marches in the front line of Brazil's progress, in search of perfectness, of improvement, São Paulo which is the intellectual center that we all know, where education is widespread, where businesses, agriculture and industries are taking major steps towards improvement, where art, literature have nested, São Paulo, the home of grandiose generations of remarkable Brazilians that have reached the intellectual top, São Paulo that enraptures the visitor's eyes when they see the proof, day by day, of its progress that transforms itself in the prettiest and most brilliant metropolis, São Paulo needs to provide this brilliant and wonderful progress with the balance that comes from order, that comes from tranquility, that comes from prevention and crime repression.”. Ufa! (O Estado de São Paulo, 02/08/1907).

The prosecutor's boasting about São Paulo does not fail to project images concerning the city that, little by little, transforms itself in the privileged space of normative actions of public institutions. Moreover, it is not different when Roberto Simonsen realizes that *“we are in a blessed State, in an exceptional portion of our nation”* (O Estado de São Paulo, 31/05/1919).

We can see that the projections about the lands from São Paulo and, specifically, about its capital, prompts actions. Actions for more control over its population, educating them for industrial work, for progress, for modernization and, indeed:

“in a new country as ours, given cosmic conditions, we have to create this spirit, one that already exists in the old countries through traditions and accumulated experiences from centuries [...]. We have to thoroughly study our national problems; of rapidly vulgarizing economic education and scientific teachings, as an indispensable piece of patriotism, so we can, in the arrangement of the nations, occupy the position rightful to us by our grandeur and by the aptitude of our race” (Roberto Simonsen, O Estado de São Paulo, 31/05/1919).

Getting prepared in such way, would mean that individuals would be prepared for the future.

However, what good is all this preparation for if the field of application was not in good conditions? That is how we turn back to the cities physical space, trying to cleanse it, and it is not only about a sanitary policy. To clean the urban space means to clean it from all that is undesirable, to eliminate exactly what contradicts with the image of progress and modernization.

In this aspect, one of the fundamental elements turns out to be water: the element of cleanliness and disinfection. The discussions about the water supply in the turn of the century indicate this concern. Where it should come from, its quality, quantity, costs, and so forth, become frequent issues. This problem is only solved in a satisfactory manner after the use of the Guarapiranga dam in the 1910's.

The authors of a booklet that discussed the water supply to the capital, Ataliba Valle and Fonseca Rodrigues, measure the purity of the water by the incidence of typhus according to a specific chart. Aside from the technical issue, the concern with the purity of the water incurs in the concern about diseases. Therefore, this problem is not exclusive to technicians, but also of sanitary services, so much that the "*lack of assigned water to all the neighborhoods of this city imposes the increase of its supply and sanitary engineering has in this issue one of its most interesting problems*" (Ataliba Valle e ou, *O Estado de São Paulo*, 18/11/1903).

Pereira Barreto participates in this debate and believes that the water from the mountains are pure, so much that:

"the filter brings with itself its own condemnation: the more perfect it is, the more condemnable [...] And, while it does not cease to work completely, the organic matter that is retained alters itself and rottens, infecting all the body of water that passes by the polluted filtrating bulk; the filter converts itself in to a horrible breeding ground" (Pereira Barreto, *O Estado de São Paulo*, 09/12/1903).

Besides the picturesque image that Pereira Barreto had of the filters used in the catchment plants, that is, for him they would be similar to giant filters similar to domestic ones, the problem of the catchment and purity of water brings forward a bacteriological discussion, the forms of transmitting diseases, germ reproduction issues, etc. Moreover, the debate is recent, because the problem is also a matter of concern in Paris, London,

New York, just to name a few big cities.

In the 19th century the city is seen as a “pathological fabric” (Jean-Louis Harouel, 1990, p. 115), and must be purified. With the trending theories, action takes place with large constructions. However, with the changes in the conception of diseases and transmission from individuals, action starts to take place directly with the individuals themselves, hence the importance of water supply to every home. So, the discussion brings along these concerns: about the body, about the individual, about diseases and about ways to control (the body, the individual and, consequently, diseases).

In this aspect, the discussion about drinkable water supply for the population indicates the concerns with the city itself, with its cleanliness and tidiness. In addition, if water is one of the main factors for such, effective actions are still suitable to purify the urban environment. Nevertheless, these actions are beyond the attributions of Sanitary Services.

The cleanliness problem is not only about water and we could affirm that, on the contrary, it is a consequence: *“pure abundant water and complete extinction of all urban defecation, constituting the perfect cleanliness, are and always will be the two basic terms of the great general sanitation problem of any densely inhabited center”* (Dr. Marcos Arruda, *O Estado de São Paulo*, 13/03/1890).

It is a consequence of a cleanliness that involves the urban environment itself. Thus:

“on Saturday and Sunday nights the first sheriff of Santa Ephigenia, with diligence in his district, fined twenty-one people that were entertaining themselves with card games in many storehouses [...]. The players were fined according to municipal stances, being that the respective fined deeds were sent to the city council” (*O Estado de São Paulo*, 07/05/1907).

The doctor's concerns are backed up by police actions. The city that was inserted in the industrialization process faced itself with the “trash” produced by this process:

“they went yesterday to Santos, headed to the correctional facility on the Island of Porcos, the seventeen individuals recently condemned, for not having jobs [...]. In the police office of Santa Ephigenia the prosecutions will take place today against the unemployed Santo P., Mario de C. and Antonio T., so they can be convicted to sign a term that states that they

would find occupations, and against Pedro P. M., a repeat offender by unemployment, to be interned in the correctional facility” (O Estado de São Paulo, 31/07/1907).

The urban cleanliness problem starts becoming a concern for the elite: unwanted dirtiness, unwanted people, etc. At last, a clean city, without contamination of any kind. Free from impurities, the *urbis* can take up its role in the industrial order, better yet, it can be tailored by this order. In this sense, the concern for cleanliness surpasses the hygienic problem, “*it is as if the bourgeoisie didn't have to designate power that was immediately perceptible anymore, but that they had to dig for resources amply internalized. Reinforce a work upon itself. To affirm secret powers*”. (Georges Vigarello, 1996, p. 235).

The city cleans itself and the bodies should also be cleaned. The city becomes an emulation of the discourses that are composed by it, which foretells: progress and modernization foreshadows the new individuals. Forms of control are improved, and an image is projected as a background for day-to-day practices: the productiveness of the people from São Paulo.

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