

# São Paulo Past and Present: Comparative Albums and Architectural Photography in Brazil

São Paulo pasado y presente: álbumes  
comparativos y la fotografía de  
arquitectura en Brasil

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## Abstract

A principle feature of São Paulo photography is the predominance of comparative albums that illustrate modern progress by juxtaposing contemporary and past imagery. Within these comparative albums, paired architectural vistas became a primary means of demonstrating São Paulo's transformation into a modern city, especially as the city became increasingly "verticalized" in the mid-twentieth century. This paper employs the iconographic analysis of photographs in comparative albums and magazine spreads to show how photographic narratives of infrastructural progress helped to propel architectural trends and shift public opinion about the aesthetics and function of the city. In doing so, I demonstrate how architecture and photography operated as symbiotic practices in midcentury urban Brazil.

**Keywords:** photography, photo albums, comparative albums, architecture, skyscraper, urbanism, São Paulo, Brazil, modernization

## Resumen

Una característica principal de la fotografía en São Paulo es el predominio de álbumes comparativos que ilustran el progreso moderno con la yuxtaposición de imágenes contemporáneas y pasadas. Dentro de estos álbumes, las vistas arquitectónicas pareadas se convirtieron en el medio principal para demostrar la transformación de São Paulo en una ciudad moderna, especialmente cuando la ciudad empezó a hacerse cada vez más vertical, a mediados del siglo xx. Este artículo emplea el análisis iconográfico de fotografías en álbumes comparativos y revistas para mostrar cómo las narrativas fotográficas de progreso infraestructural ayudaron a impulsar las tendencias arquitectónicas y a cambiar la opinión pública sobre la estética y la función de la ciudad; con ello se demuestra que la arquitectura y la fotografía operaban como prácticas simbióticas en las zonas urbanas de Brasil a mediados de siglo.

**Palabras clave:** fotografía, álbumes fotográficos, álbumes comparativos, arquitectura, rascacielos, urbanismo, São Paulo, Brasil, modernización

In an image-saturated world, what role does photography play in shaping architectural design and development? According to the historian Peter Blundell Jones, architecture since the modern period can be considered “photo-dependent,” because its ideal viewing conditions are not in situ, but isolated in photographs: framed, cropped and collaged to enhance symbolic and aesthetic value.<sup>1</sup> In this essay, I argue that Jones’s architectural “photo-dependency” is only half of a co-dependent relationship between photography and architecture that has developed since the former’s nascent years. Many of the first photographs taken by early experimenters with the medium featured architectural content, a pragmatic response to photography’s extended exposure times. Before it was considered an art form, photography’s utilitarian role in documenting historic structures afforded it a prominent place within the cultural dialogue. Even after exposure times decreased sufficiently to widen photography’s practical applications around the turn of the twentieth century, architectural photography remained a key genre well into the modern period.

The infrastructural development of twentieth century São Paulo, Brazil offers a prime example of photography’s power to impact urban spaces and architectural style. At the beginning of the century, São Paulo was emphatically flat—and Paulistanos liked it that way. Brazil’s first skyscraper, the Neo-Renaissance Martinelli building, was built between 1929 and 1934. At 30 stories high, the building was not only the tallest in Brazil, but in all of South America. However, the Martinelli was also an elaborate exception that proved the rule of the city’s horizontality: the year of its completion was the first year that buildings of two stories or more made up at least 50% of all new construction.<sup>2</sup> For almost four hundred years, since its founding in 1554, São Paulo had been a sleepy village set in a swampy floodplain. Its emergence in the modern period as a global megacity was determined in part by technological innovations—like elevators and concrete construction—that allowed for its dramatic “verticalization” as skyscrapers took root in the city center, but also by the maturation of a photographic narrative that began almost a century prior.

This article attempts to demonstrate the effect of circulated photographic images on São Paulo’s urban development through an examination of a particularly popular genre in the city: the comparative album. This format set historical views of the city alongside contemporary scenes taken from the same or similar vantage points in order to cultivate comparisons that illustrated how the city’s urban development manifested architecturally. Beginning in the late nineteenth century and culminating in the lead-up to the four hundredth anniversary of the city’s founding in 1954, comparative albums were an immensely popular form whose analysis in the present not only offers a visual voyage through São Paulo’s changing landscape, but also deconstructs how the narrative of architectural progress became a pillar of Paulistano identity. The central premise of comparative albums—documenting urban change over time—illustrated the city’s modernization and helped to concretize the idea of “progress” as one of its defining characteristics. By examining individual spreads within comparative photo albums and essays published over the course of seventy years, I will demonstrate how infrastructural and architectural development became the defining feature of Paulistano visual culture, and how photography helped to publicize and promote local construction.

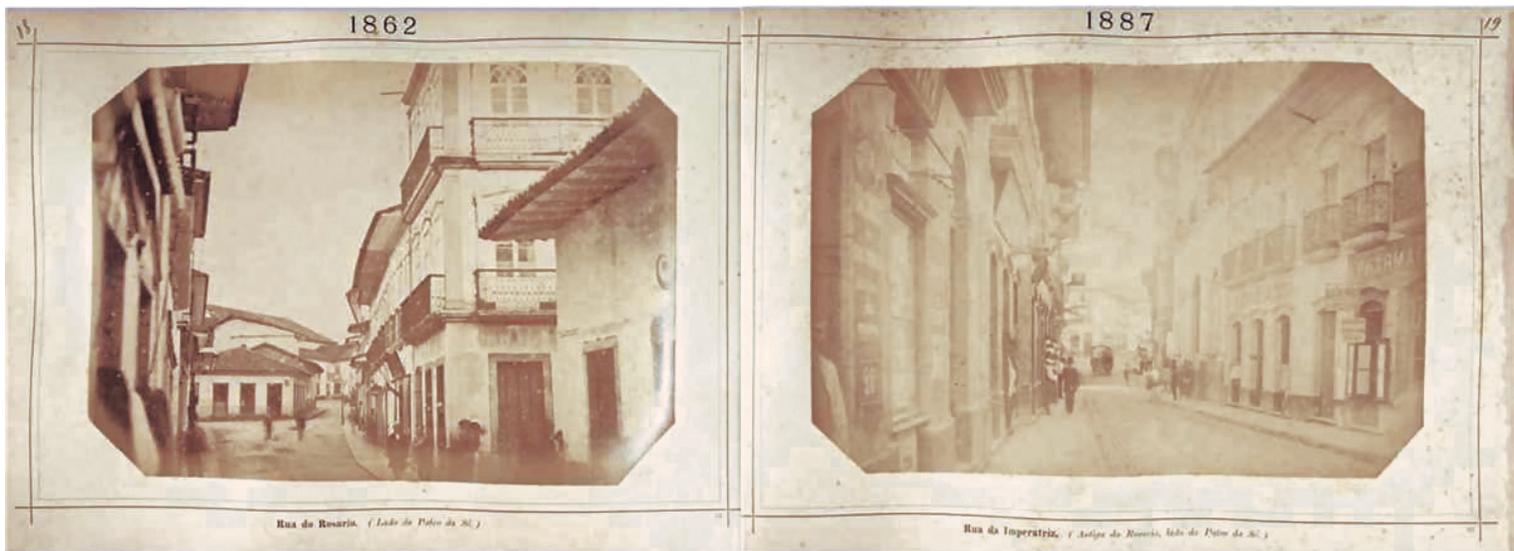
### Architectural Photo Narratives in the Late Nineteenth Century

São Paulo has a rich photographic legacy dating back to the mid-1800s. Early documentary photographers set the geographical axis and dialectical tenor for twentieth century representations of São Paulo.<sup>3</sup> Many of these photographers—including Militão Augusto de Azevedo (1837-1905), the most well-known of São Paulo’s documentarians—were newcomers to the city. Azevedo was a Carioca<sup>4</sup> by birth who began taking pictures of São Paulo in 1862, when he arrived in the then still-colonial city from the much more cosmopolitan Rio de Janeiro. In spite of nineteenth century São Paulo’s backwater provinciality, Azevedo felt compelled to document the city’s growth over the course of more than twenty years. In 1887, he published a portion of his oeuvre as *Álbum comparativo da cidade de São Paulo, 1862-1887* (Comparative Album of the City of São Paulo), a tome emphasizing portions of the cityscape that were culturally homogenous and architecturally modernizing.

Azevedo arrived in São Paulo just as the city was awakening to its potential as a regionally, nationally and (eventually) internationally important hub. But in 1862, when he first began to photograph the sleepy town, it was just beginning to stir from its long period of dormancy.<sup>5</sup> Coffee plantations had only taken root in the state in the previous decade, and not in the near vicinity of the state capital.<sup>6</sup> A railroad linking the city of São Paulo and the port of Santos had been proposed, but it would not be completed for another five years. In retrospect, the completion of the São Paulo Railway in 1867 (operated and financed by the British, hence the English name) is easily identified as the linchpin of the city’s prosperity and, perhaps, the *raison d’être* for the first comparative photo albums.<sup>7</sup> The railroad brought in investments that rapidly altered the city’s fabric and photographers struggling to display the fantastical nature of these changes turned to comparative imagery.<sup>8</sup> By 1887, when Azevedo published his album, coffee capital was already transforming São Paulo from an agricultural economy to an industrial one through the development of new textile mills and, soon thereafter, hydroelectric plants.<sup>9</sup>

São Paulo’s lack of natural landmarks and its sudden proliferation of man-made ones compelled Militão Augusto de Azevedo to organize his images into a comparative format that would become standard for photographic albums of São Paulo.<sup>10</sup> For his *Álbum comparativo...*, Azevedo collected thirty of his earliest photographs, dating back to 1862, and paired them with recent photographs of the same spaces.<sup>11</sup> Today the *Álbum* enjoys a certain prestige as the first comparative photo album of São Paulo, a genre that would become enormously important in the first half of the twentieth century, especially in the years preceding the quadricentennial.<sup>12</sup> Azevedo’s luxurious leatherbound and gold-embossed album included sixty landscape-oriented albumen prints individually tipped-in to each 5.5 x 8.5 inch page: a photograph from 1862 on the left and a photograph from 1887 on the right.

One emblematic pairing, “Rua do Rosario, 1862” and “Rua da Imperatriz, 1887,” demonstrates the extent to which São Paulo’s identity was tied to ideas of architectural evolution and modernization. So much changed in the twenty-five years between the first and second pictures that even the name of the street is different. To clarify for viewers that the photographs were, in fact, taken at the same location, Azevedo’s caption parenthetically adds that Imperatriz is the “former Rosario,” the street “by the side of the church.” Azevedo includes little captioning in his tome (there is no written



Militão Augusto de Azevedo, "Rua do Rosario, 1862" and "Rua da Imperatriz, 1887" from *Álbum comparativo da cidade de São Paulo, 1862-1887*, Biblioteca Mário de Andrade

preface or conclusion to the volume), so the photographer's overall vision of the city can only be discerned through careful visual analysis of his inclusions and comparisons.

In the picture of Rua do Rosario from 1862, the street is flanked with two-story, iron-balconied buildings that are remarkably well-appointed compared to the unadorned shacks pictured elsewhere in the album. A gas streetlamp in the foreground signals the city's attention to infrastructure development, as does the well-manicured, although unpaved, road. The architectural style is a fashionably ornate colonial, with whitewashed façades, overhanging terracotta roofs, arched colonnades at street level and church belfries. A large but indecipherable sign above one of the doors in the foreground suggests that Rua do Rosario is primarily a commercial street, an idea corroborated by the large shop windows that adorn almost every building. Although the photograph is significantly faded, it is possible to discern a few blurry figures parading down the avenue.<sup>13</sup> São Paulo of 1862 is represented as attractive and clean, but ultimately provincial.

In the photograph from 1887, the streetscape has changed dramatically. Storefronts on the right-hand side of the street are now several stories taller. A proliferation of shop signs and striped awnings stretch out over the sidewalk, indicating increased foot traffic and commerce. Thus, one primary change from 1862 to 1887 seems to have been an uptick in mercantile activity. Many more pedestrians now circulate the sidewalks and there are ghostly traces of horse-drawn carts in the streets. However, another important change is the shift from a colonial architectural style towards neoclassicism, as evidenced by the rising rooflines and the use of stone, as well as the cornices and pediments beginning to appear alongside wrought iron and plate glass. In twenty-five years, the street has modernized and come alive. The once-sleepy municipality has awakened to its future as a commercial-industrial epicenter, an ambition embodied by its upward-reaching, multi-story architecture.<sup>14</sup> Through comparisons like this one, Azevedo's images helped to consolidate the idea that São Paulo's civic identity was fundamentally tied to architectural renovation and modernization, an interpretation

of the cityscape that would become especially powerful in the twentieth century as urban renovation gave birth to verticalization, by which I mean both the upward rise of the municipal horizon and the popular association of urban space with multistoried architecture. Comparative albums, beginning with Azevedo's, helped to brand São Paulo as the center of Brazilian infrastructural development, a city iconographically identifiable by the imagery of new construction.

### Comparative Albums and Infrastructural Progress

Photography's ability to document and publicize urban change provided a useful tool not only for the construction of civic identity, but also for the expression of political power. Following the publication of Azevedo's *Álbum comparativo...*, two early twentieth century mayoral administrations used Azevedo's photographs to mount their own "comparative albums": those of Raimundo da Siva Duprat, who served as mayor from 1911 to 1914, and Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa, who assumed the position from 1914 to 1919.<sup>15</sup> While both albums inherited their titles and much of their imagery from Azevedo, they did not continue his paired before-and-after format. Instead, these later comparative albums incorporated selected early views of the city into an album of predominantly contemporary views that served as propaganda for the current municipal government. Because these later albums relied on Azevedo's nineteenth century photographs to demonstrate progress, the photographer's itinerary through the city had an immense influence on the trajectory of later illustrated albums.

The Duprat and Luís albums, which were leatherbound, privately financed and printed in small runs, were probably limited to a very small circulation. However, they illustrated the urbanizing power of the city government to all that had the opportunity to come into contact with them. One of the albums produced by the Washington Luís administration in 1919 includes a photograph documenting roadworks on Libero Badaró street in the heart of São Paulo. Located directly across from the then newly-built Teatro Municipal (completed in 1911), Libero Badaró was both a culturally



Photographer unknown, "Rua Libero Badaró, 1918" and "Rua Libero Badaró, 1919" from *Album Comparativo da Cidade de São Paulo (1887-1919)* [organized by authorization of Washington Luiz Pereira de Souza], Biblioteca Mário de Andrade—Seção de Obras Raras e Especiais

and commercially significant thoroughfare, and public works were a significant part of Luís's political strategy.<sup>16</sup> The city of São Paulo, which in 1920 would exceed half a million residents (an increase of about 2500% over the course of fifty years), was bursting at the seams and in desperate need of infrastructure improvements to ease circulation around the city center. Public projects like roadworks also helped consolidate Luís's political power and affirmed the city of São Paulo's autonomy from the state government: by shoring up local support through popular public works, Luís became less reliant on favors from state-level politicians.<sup>17</sup>

The anonymous photographer (or photographers) who supplied the images for Luís's commemorative album meticulously documented the mayor's construction of new roadways and public plazas with a straightforward matter-of-factness that belies the album's propagandistic intent. Even when the landscape seems little-changed by the intervening years, São Paulo is always rendered more hospitable and habitable through the photograph's angle and processing. The paired photographs of Libero Badaró street, however, show the road's remarkable transformation—in only a year's time—under the direction of the Luís administration. In the first, a deep trench carved into São Paulo's rich red clay soil stretches from the foreground into the middle ground, contrasting sharply with the rising silhouettes of the multi-story structures in the background. The tallest of these, in the left-center of the image, gleams white below its mansardesque roof, evidencing Brazilian interest in French architecture and urban design.<sup>18</sup> The following image in the album demonstrates the reason for Libero Badaró's upheaval: the 1919 photograph shows the street relaid with trolley tracks down the center. For Paulistanos, trolleys were an important marker of their emergent cosmopolitanism as well as being a form of public transit.<sup>19</sup> Alongside architectural development, infrastructure projects—like the implementation of trolley systems—were a marker of urban progress and an important subject of early photographic documentation.<sup>20</sup>

### Shaping Popular Opinion through Urban Media

Though sponsored by politically-important patrons and impressively bound, photographs in restricted circulation—like those that made up the Duprat and Luís albums—had limited potential to affect the developing urban landscape. Likewise, although São Paulo's early, state-appointed (i.e. not elected) mayors had considerable leverage in determining municipal projects and directing city funding, in order for São Paulo to transform from a horizontal city into a vertical city, there needed to be a radical change in the way that Paulistanos as a group thought about the shape and function of their city. As the century advanced, civic "progress" was increasingly advertised in the popular press as grounded both in stylistic modernism and architectural verticalization.

Engineer-turned-mayor Francisco Prestes Maia (1938-1945) understood the importance of widely propagandizing the city's vertical development. In a speech made before the Sociedade Amigos da Cidade (Society of Friends of the City) in 1936, Prestes Maia insisted, "All that is necessary for popular acceptance [of skyscrapers] is a little propaganda."<sup>21</sup> Prestes Maia and his colleagues viewed architectural modernization not merely as an engineering project, but as a political platform necessitating a massive paradigm shift. Mass media photography was Prestes Maia's primary means of directing Paulistano's ideas about urban spaces towards verticalization. Although advertising had not yet developed as an industry in the 1930s,<sup>22</sup> through a mix of precedents set by political propaganda and intuition, Paulistano photographers successfully marketed their city to both domestic and foreign audiences, often through the medium of the comparative album. Photography in general, and comparative albums in particular, allowed Paulistanos to reimagine the cityscape by visually repeating specific, skyscraper-dense sections of skyline until the idea of a vertical city had been sufficiently normalized.

Only illustrated magazines, then in their golden age, could provide the critical mass of imagery necessary to produce this paradigm shift. São Paulo politicians thus shifted their focus away from producing leatherbound luxury albums and looked towards the penny press. Cheaply and rapidly printed, these publicly and privately-funded publications promoted São Paulo's urbanist projects. The São Paulo State Department of Press and Propaganda, a division of the dictator Getúlio Vargas's federal engine of media censorship, published the free monthly magazine *Boletim São Paulo de ontem, de hoje, e de amanhã* (Bulletin of São Paulo Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow) from 1941 until at least 1945. Although the magazine lacked images, its rhetoric capitalized on the comparative approach to the Paulistano landscape prevalent in other, densely illustrated periodicals.

For example, the magazine *Paulistania*, sponsored by the conservative social group Clube Piratininga, featured a monthly column entitled "São Paulo de ontem, São Paulo de hoje" (São Paulo Yesterday, São Paulo Today). In January 1951, *Paulistania* ran a special, multi-page portfolio of "São Paulo de ontem, São Paulo de hoje" photographs. Beginning with etchings of the city's sixteenth century walls and moving through illustrations of its first churches, the album referenced images created by Azevedo and even reproduced a few of his photographs. The last spread announced the future city— "São Paulo 1951"—in bold letters and included photographs suggesting what the upcoming year might look like. The unattributed *Paulistania* photographs emphasized architecture's role in illustrating the passage of time in the Paulista capital.<sup>23</sup> At the top of the layout, a photograph of high-rise apartment buildings along Avenida Ipiranga emphasizes the city's vertiginous ascent. On the far right of the image, one of the buildings is cropped so that neither its top nor base are visible within the picture frame: all that is left is a thin slice of curtain wall punctuated by balconies. These diminutive parapets serve as viewing points to watch the city as it rises above the flowing



"São Paulo 1951" from "São Paulo de ontem, São Paulo de hoje," *Paulistania* 12, 38 (January-February 1951), 42. Biblioteca FAU-USP

thoroughfare. With neither its foundation nor crown visible, this building stretches off into infinity, suggesting to the viewer the city's limitless potential. The accompanying caption reinforces the idea of perpetual upward growth by relating how the "terraced houses and small two-story buildings" of the previous century have transformed into "monumental constructions" marked by the "bold lines of modern architecture."<sup>24</sup>

Below the photograph of Avenida Ipiranga, the editors inserted an even larger wide-angle view of the city's central core. Again, the photograph looks down Avenida Ipiranga, but this time from a much higher, aerial view. As a result, the viewer feels disoriented by the glut of skyscrapers jammed into the photographic frame. A single dark patch of organic forms, the tree canopy above the Praça da Republica, helps to orient the viewer, while another landmark, the Martinelli building (now small and unimpressive

amidst its modern neighbors), materializes in the top left corner of the image. The picture emphasizes the dramatic scope of São Paulo's transformation by filling the frame with the most verticalized portion of the urban landscape, thus suggesting—like the skyscraper in the previous picture—that such growth goes on indefinitely. Ironically, both of the pictures in this spread were photographed from approximately the same location, on Avenida Ipiranga, albeit from dramatically different angles. By focusing on the modern architecture in only one area of the city, these photographs demonstrate that such development was the exception, rather than the rule. While São Paulo's midcentury skyscraper construction was impressive, it was also localized within a limited part of the city's downtown and did not extend out to the working class residential *bairros*. Nevertheless, photo essays like this one fulfilled Prestes Maia's mandate for skyscraper propaganda and helped train Paulistanos to accept, and even celebrate, the upward growth of their city, while making the verticalization process appear ubiquitous and natural.

### São Paulo Today, São Paulo Tomorrow

As the four hundredth anniversary of the city's founding approached, the Paulistano press feted the year's arrival with a spate of photo books that payed tribute to São Paulo's founding fathers and its recent industry-fueled growth. The lead-up to the quadricentennial inspired the publication of at least six photo books, one of which ran into multiple editions.<sup>25</sup> Two of these volumes cultivated a comparative approach that focused on architecture as the primary marker of civic progress: José Medina's<sup>26</sup> *São Paulo: O que foi, o que é* (São Paulo: What It Was and What It Is) and *São Paulo antigo, São Paulo moderno* (Old São Paulo, Modern São Paulo), both compiled by the publishing house Editôra Melhoramento. These books recycled photographs from the comparative albums already discussed in this essay to continue the narrative of progress that had undergirded photographic depictions of Paulistano architecture since the nineteenth century.

Selecting historically and commercially significant locations within the urban core, Medina's album usually featured three images per page. In a now-familiar pattern, these three images demonstrated the evolution of the cityscape from premodern to fully modern, a transformation embodied by the city's verticalization. Thus, while the first picture (from 1905) shows a row of single and two-story buildings mostly obscured by antique trolleys, the second (from 1933) centers on the Martinelli building, which bursts through the top of the optical frame. By 1954, just over twenty years later, the once-mighty Martinelli had already fallen into the shadows of the Altino Arantes Building (often referred to as the Banespa tower), which is seen in the back of the third photograph. The Banespa tower held the title of tallest skyscraper not only in São Paulo, but in all of South America until the end of the decade, when it was superseded by another Paulistano colossus. The upward thrust of these buildings is echoed in the position of the camera relative to the horizon as well: while the first picture is taken from street level, subsequent images float above the roil of the crowds, levitating over the heads of the masses, ascending into the sky along with the buildings they document.

With its depictions of gleaming white skyscrapers, Medina's album represents the culmination of a Paulistano narrative that took root almost a century prior in the photographic record of Militão de Azevedo. It also demonstrates glaring imbalances in representation, since most of the photographs published in the book were taken in a small downtown radius, omitting the unmodernized, un-verticalized São Paulo *bairros* (residential neighborhoods). While these *bairros* housed the majority of Paulistanos—especially those in the working class—they were not deemed appropriate content for comparative albums meant to illustrate a narrative of forward progress. The comparative albums, from Azevedo to Medina, privileged a narrative of aesthetic and technological, rather than social,

## Avenida São João

Começou com a Descida do Acú que dava acesso ao riacho do mesmo nome, conhecido por suas águas poluídas (Acú quer dizer água venenosa). Uma ponte de madeira ligava esta trilha à antiga Rua São João e o seu estado precário originou a conhecida quadrinha:

“Eu fui passar na ponte,  
A ponte estremeceu,  
Água tem veneno morena!  
Quem bebeu morreu.”

Hoje, completamente transformada, é uma das principais artérias desta grande metrópole.

**Saint John Avenue** — Its origin was the Acú Descent which took to the rill of the same name, well known for its polluted water (Acú means poisonous water). A wooden bridge connected this track to the old Saint John Street, and its bad condition inspired the well known Brazilian rhyme (though it is not a rhyme in English):

“I was crossing the bridge,  
And the bridge shook,  
The water is poisonous, baby!  
He who drank, died.”

Nowadays, Saint John Avenue, completely transformed, is one of the principal of this great city.



1933



1905



1954

José Medina, “Avenida São João” from *São Paulo: o que foi o que é* (São Paulo: Donato, 1954). Biblioteca Brasileira Guita e José Mindlin - PRCEU/USP

development that was embodied in representations of road and skyscraper construction. Thus photography, through the production of comparative albums, helped to propel São Paulo’s architectural and infrastructural boom in the first half of the twentieth century, making photography and architecture symbiotic practices.

The quadricentennial, presided over by the Banespa tower and other modernist architectural projects related to the city’s anniversary festivities, passed in a blur of street celebrations, commemorative masses and artistic exhibitions, leaving behind an uneasy lull in both construction and photographic publications. The conjoined fates of midcentury Paulistano architecture and photography demonstrate the symbiotic relationship of the two fields and underscore urban development’s reliance on visual documentation for broad public legibility. Due to its ubiquity and malleability, photography was employed to propel São Paulo’s architectural boom and relentlessly advertise the city’s cosmopolitan transformation. Likewise, comparative architectural imagery was the primary content of many mass media publications, especially the popular genre of comparative albums. Together, these books and the physical landscapes they depicted demonstrate how a city’s reputation and form can be dramatically altered via just “a little propaganda.”

### Notes

1. Peter Blundell Jones, “The Photo-dependent, the Photogenic and the Unphotographable: How our Understanding of the Modern Movement has been Conditioned by Photography,” in Andrew Higgott, Timothy Wray (eds.), *Camera Constructs: Photography, Architecture, and the Modern City* (London: Farnham Ashgate, 2012).
2. Nadia Somekh, *A cidade vertical e o urbanismo modernizador* (São Paulo: Editora Mackenzie, 2014), 152.
3. These early photographs were republished in photo books, magazines and newspaper articles throughout the twentieth century.
4. A Carioca is a native of Rio de Janeiro.
5. The Brazilian historian Nicolau Sevcenko has called São Paulo an “accident of destiny,” one that only became regionally important after a coastal settlement at São Vicente, near Santos, failed. Nicolau Sevcenko, “De mameluca, mulata e gótica a moderna, cosmopolita e caótica: as metamorfoses de Piratininga,” in Antonio Fernando de Franceschi (ed.), *Cadernos de Fotografia. Brasileira São Paulo: 450 anos*, (São Paulo: Instituto Moreira Salles, 2004), 315.
6. Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880-1945* (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies by the University of Texas Press, 1969), 3.
7. Azevedo also photographed the railroad’s construction.
8. From the 1860s to the 1920s, the São Paulo region supplied 75% of the world’s coffee. Nicolau Sevcenko, “De mameluca...,” 326.
9. Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo*, 5, 8-9.
10. Solange Ferraz de Lima and Vânia Carneiro de Carvalho, *Fotografia e cidade: da razão urbana à lógica de consumo: álbuns de São Paulo, 1887-1954* (São Paulo and Campinas: Mercado de Letras, Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo, 1997), 20. Lima and Carvalho suggest that Azevedo’s album was a template for all Paulistano comparative albums going forward.
11. Íris Morais Araujo, “Versões do ‘progresso’: A modernização como tema e problemas do fotógrafo Militão Augusto de Azevedo,” *Anais do Museu Paulista* 18, 2 (July-December 2010), 149. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-47142010000200005>. Azevedo had a premonition that the album would be a commercial failure, yet he felt the work of documenting the city to be important.
12. Solange Ferraz de Lima and Vânia Carneiro de Carvalho, *Fotografia e cidade: 245-246* and Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo*, 4. Lima and Carvalho count eleven comparative albums, in addition to Azevedo’s, produced between 1889 and 1916. These photo books correlate with the city’s first period of rapid expansion from 1870 to 1920.

13. Exposure time in the 1860s was still a relatively slow 20-60 seconds, so any moving figures would have blurred significantly.
14. According to Araújo, "The expansion of the urban nucleus, public works, the transformation of buildings, increased pedestrian circulation . . . were some of the most visible results of the wave of newness interweaving itself into the city . . . Militão gave flourishes of monumentalism and spectacle to São Paulo's transformations" [...a expansão do núcleo urbano, as melhorias públicas, as transformações nas edificações, o aumento de pessoas a circular . . . eram alguns dos resultados mais visíveis da onda de novidades que se enraizava na cidade . . . Militão deu ares de monumento e de espetáculo às transformações de São Paulo]. Íris Morais Araújo, "Versões do 'progresso': A modernização como tema e problems do fotógrafo Militão Augusto de Azevedo," 166-167.
15. Washington Luís, as he was called, would go on to serve as the thirteenth President of Brazil from 1926-1930.
16. Roadworks became the great legacy of the Luís administration, with the mayor hosting both the First Paulista Congress on Roadways and the First Industrial Exhibition. Robson Mendonça Pereira, *O Prefeito do progresso: modernização da cidade de São Paulo na administração de Washington Luís (1914-1919)*, doctoral thesis (São Paulo: Universidade Estadual Paulista, 2005), 268.
17. Luís was appointed to his first term as mayor (1914-1917) by his fellow city councilmen, but won his second term (1917-1919) via direct vote. Luís introduced these changes in the way São Paulo's mayorship was determined in part to consolidate his own political power and in part as a way of diminishing the office's reliance on favors from the state government and local political machines. Robson Mendonça Pereira, *O Prefeito do progresso*, 234.
18. André Nunes de Azevedo analyzes the relationship between Brazilian and French urbanization in *A grande reforma urbana do Rio de Janeiro: Pereira Pasos, Rodrigues Alves e as ideias de civilização e progresso* (Rio de Janeiro: PUC-Rio, 2017), 39.
19. While nominally a public work, São Paulo's trolley system was a controversial political issue. As Joel Wolfe documents, the trolleys eventually came to be so detested for their slow and unreliable service that working class Paulistanos rioted in the 1940s, protesting schedule changes and fare hikes, and in the process smashing and burning hundreds of trolleys. Joel Wolfe, *Working Women, Working Men: São Paulo and the Rise of Brazil's Industrial Working Class, 1900-1955* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 107-109, 125.
20. The trolleys were owned and operated by the Canadian company Tramway, Light & Power Co. Founded in 1899, "Light," as it was commonly called, was also in charge of operating São Paulo's fledgling electrical grid.
21. Francisco Prestes Maia, *O zoneamento urbano* (São Paulo: Edições da Sociedade "Amigos da Cidade," 1936), 7. "Para a aceitação popular, bastará apenas um pouco de propaganda e ensinamento desinteressado."
22. The country's first advertising agencies—opened at the end of the 1920s—were American franchises, but they did not start producing really noteworthy campaigns until the 1940s. Armando Moraes Sarmento, "As agências estrangeiras trouxeram modernidade, as nacionais aprenderam depressa," in Renato Castelo Branco, Rodolfo Lima Martensen and Fernando Reis (eds.), *História da propaganda no Brasil* (São Paulo: T. A. Queiroz, 1990): 20; Augusto de Angelo, "A longa jornada da institucionalização," in Renato Castelo Branco, Rodolfo Lima Martensen and Fernando Reis (eds.), *História da propaganda no Brasil* (São Paulo: T. A. Queiroz, 1990): 25.
23. In contrast to Paulistano, Paulista is the demonym for a person from São Paulo state.
24. "As térreas e poucos sobrados," "edifícios monumentais" and "arrojadas linhas da moderna arquitetura."
25. The photo books printed in advance of the quadricentennial celebrations include: *Isto é São Paulo* (São Paulo: Editora Melhoramento, 1951/1952/1953/1954); *São Paulo antigo, São Paulo moderno* (São Paulo: Editora Melhoramento, 1953); Théo Gygas, *Eis São Paulo: uma obra realizada e editada no ano de 1954* (São Paulo: Editora Monumento, 1954); Kurt Peter Karfeld, *São Paulo: Álbum com fotografias em côres* (São Paulo: Editora Melhoramento, 1954); José Medina, *São Paulo: O que foi, o que é* (São Paulo: Donato, 1954); and Peter Scheier, *São Paulo, Fastest Growing City in the World* (São Paulo: Livraria Kosmos, 1954). Solange Ferraz de Lima and Vânia Carneiro de Carvalho, *Fotografia e cidade*, 23.
26. José Medina was a well-known Brazilian actor, as well as a filmographer and photographer.

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