

The Cotton Production and Urban Transformations in Parahyba City.

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Abstract

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were marked by the shaping of an urban landscape in which modernity and progress were keywords to the new society that was rising at that time. Improving and ruling the existing spaces were necessities, as so was creating auspicious settings for the development of modern life. Haussmann's Paris was the model and inspiration to what would happen in Brazil at that time.

João Pessoa, former Parahyba City, as well as other Northeastern Brazilian cities, carried out urban improvements in order to allow the modern city functions to occur: circulate, sanitize and embellish. This way, *urban improvement* was the idea behind the altering of urban form, architecture and the very usage of public space, in order to deny or hide the traces of a colonial past. This process was intended to reassure the prosperity of local economy, pointing towards future and providing urban space with modern features.

At that moment, cotton was undeniably the main crop of North Parahyba. Its national and international projection coincided with the local spread of modern, illuminist and progressive ideals, and contributed to the rise of a new way of living and thinking about urban space. As a result of this process, João Pessoa, despite being known as a product of sugar cane economy, in fact owes cotton – the white gold – the major part of the features of its Urban Heritage.

This article analyzes the very relation between the shares of cotton in the state income and the urban transformation of the capital of the state in the first decades of the 20th century. It compares data of production and exportation of cotton with the investment in public works that resulted in the transformation of urban space and the consolidation of a new urban morphology under the aegis of modernity and economic progress.

The cotton production and the urban transformations in Parahyba City¹

João Pessoa², former Parahyba City, is a city that was founded in function of the royal interests in what it was then the principal colonial product, the sugar-cane culture. Although, its historic downtown area has been object of abandonment and ill-treatments, it still is a reasonably pleasant urban space where it is possible to find architectural samples and public places that preserve part of the city's heritage.

A little besides that 'impressionist' observation, going through the history of the city, it is possible to presuppose the exact date when those buildings were constructed. If the sugar cane production culture is in the origin of that nucleus, a considerable portion of it was built or remodeled nearly in the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginnings of the twentieth century and, without any surprise for the specialists, it is less linked to the sugar than to the cotton.

The hegemony of the cotton as main product of the economy of the state and its projection in the national and international markets, due to the excellent quality of its fibers, coincides with the diffusion of the Progressive, Enlightenment, and Modern (hygienist, republican, positivist and liberal) ideals, and contributes to the formation of a new way of thinking the urban space.

The wealth made from the cotton production corresponds to the moment of the urban activities valorization, as well as to the introduction of new social values that started to incite the modern ideal and the search for imported products and sceneries that gave the city a modern atmosphere, taking Europe as a reference at that time

At that moment the northeast region reaffirms its condition of agridustrial and exporter economy, enlarging the quantity of exchanges with the international markets, making its production for export dynamic, and moving forward in the imports, consuming great part of the manufactured products produced by the great potencies of the world. So, the investments in the infrastructure of the transport of goods have been increased: highways, railways and harbors.

"The head elites that altered in the power sought, throughout the first decades of the century, to equip the cities according to models from Europe and Rio de Janeiro (...) it was indispensable to extinguish the precarious hygienic conditions that the capitals were submitted because they tended to move the increment possibilities in the industrial activities away" (Novais, 1997).

So, modernizing the Brazilian urban centers meant to enlarge commercial opportunities and to create new investment fields. Therefore it was necessary to endow the city of public, clean and beautiful spaces through where modern life could grow.

The modern culture under the pillar of "order and progress", created a certain aversion for everything that could remind the colonial past or the provincial habits. The streets were rectified and enlarged. Small constructions gave place to newer and larger constructions and the public spaces won importance. Those actions financed by the state revenue were directly linked to the export of cotton, which was known as the "White Gold". A message from the former governor Solon de Lucena corroborates such statement with the following passage:

"The cotton continues being and it will be for many years the principal basic element of our public fortune, the main source of the

¹ This article is a deep study on the urban transformations financed by the cotton, approached by GUEDES (2006) in his Dissertation for Master's degree, *O ouro branco abre caminhos: o algodão e a modernização do espaço urbano da Cidade da Parahyba (1850-1924)*.

² At the beginning of 20th century João Pessoa was called Parahyba City and the State was called North Parahyba.

private wealth and the product which we should go back to, with the whole commercial sense that we are capable, to promote the development that our lands hold and, for a rigorous classification of kinds, elevate it in the American and European consumers' concept. (Message (...) 1922).

The amplification of the cotton production in the Brazilian Northeast met three golden periods: a) in the first which coincides with the North American Independence War (1776-1783), the case of state of Maranhão is highlighted because it has assumed the condition of one of the richest Brazilian captaincies for nearly two decades (Prado Júnior, 1981); b) in the second, that coincides with the American Civil War (1860-1865), between the decades of 1850 and 1870, North Parahyba conquers an important space in the exporter market of the product that, with the retaking of the North American production, suffers a decrease but it doesn't stop being significant due to the demand and the high quality of its long fibers cotton, besides the improvement in the textile industry²³ and in the production of cotton seed oil in the south-center of Brazil; c) in the third and the most important one that coincides with First World War (1914-1918), the production of the cotton in North Parahyba that was in a stable rhythm, in spite of the precarious production conditions and of the eventual droughts and curses with the deflagration of the war, retakes the growth during the decades of 1910 and 1920 and reaches the highest quotations of the product.

Those last two periods of growth of the cotton economy affected the image of the city directly because they coincided with the modern actions of the state. The second period (1850-1870) was marked by the first urban transformations route to a modernization era promoted in Parahyba City by Henrique Beaurepaire Rohan; and they were related to the subjects of sanitation and transport of goods, although it has already begun to appear concerns with the creation of urban sceneries in the European moulds as well. However it was the last one that brought important transformations in the remodeling process of Parahyba City, leaning in the amplification of the state collections and in the diffusion of the modern and progressive ideals.

That moment, in the context of the post war period and of the international demand for fibers, and when it had happened a change in the urban landscape of Parahyba City and where its main streets, avenues, squares, public and private buildings acquired new features and tastes aided in the modern patterns, is the privileged focus of this article.

The Cotton Economy in North Parahyba

The cotton economy was the main source of accumulation of public and private wealth of North Parahyba during the First Republic period. The process of modernization of Parahyba City in such a period has a direct relationship with the financial situation the State was going through, specifically, the participation of the cotton in its revenue. The inexistence of loans was verified for the materialization of larger works undertaken in the capital; the federal aids destined to North Parahyba were used in urgent works to combat the drought. It is possible to conclude that resources from the state treasure were used for those works and that in most cases they came from the taxes collection with the cotton export and commercialization. Another factor that demonstrates the interdependence between the urban remodeling and the cotton economy is the fact that, during the years of accentuated drought or

³ “At the end of the decade of 1880, the textile center of Brazil had moved from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. For the raw material supply the factories of that area started to depend on the cotton production of the Northeast, besides the one from São Paulo. On the other hand, the international demand was still supplied by the United States, by the valley of the Nile and by India. The Republican period in Brazil parallel to the coffee production development of the South Center created the favorable domestic conditions for the expansion of the North eastern production (LEWIN, 1993).

curses attack in the cotton plantations, the revenue numbers used in public works were reduced and the administrators suspended the city's restoration services.

In North Parahyba the cotton grew mainly in areas where it has found favorable climate and soil for its development. The cultivating land bands close to the coast, where it is located Parahyba City, for a similar reason had been occupied for the sugar-cane farms, even though this culture was in decadence since the ends of the nineteenth century (see Table 01).

The expansion of the cotton culture in the state happened mainly from the American Civil War (1860-1865) when the potential exporter of that product was verified, to supply mainly the demand of the European industries and the inherent means to its cultivation and improvement in the soil of North Parahyba (see Table 01).

TABLE 01: Exported products (1@ = 15kg) North Parahyba from 1862 to 1871.

YEARS	COTTON	SUGAR	LEATHERS
1862	216.468	683.081	9.600
1863	197.505	574.274	21.377
1864	397.728	432.318	22.259
1865	446.937	269.885	13.258
1866	542.133	400.047	19.938
1867	398.620	320.075	12.867
1868	569.893	300.937	27.817
1869	533.609	448.445	30.127
1870	377.178	268.205	17.202
1871	681.355	230.481	45.497

Source: Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Parahybano (1912).

That picture shows that up to 1864 the cotton production in the lands of North Parahyba was still inferior to the sugar one. Though, from 1865 on that reality is inverted when the cotton assumed the hegemony of the local production, impelled by the momentary removal of the United States from the position of main fibers supplier for European factories. In the interval presented in the same table (1862-1871) there was a progressive increase in the cotton production, except for those years which were certainly affected by drought periods. Nevertheless, after 1865, the cotton production overcomes the sugar. In 1871, the cotton production was almost three times larger than the sugar one.

TABLE 02: Main Exports from North Parahyba (1900-1929). Values in “contos de réis⁴”.

YEAR	Total Value of the exports	COTTON		Cattle and Leather		SUGAR		Cotton, cattle and sugar with the percentage of the total of the exports
		Official value	% of the Total	Official value	% of the Total	Official value	% of the Total	
1900	10.050:842\$	6.882:815\$	68,5	1.891:404\$	18,8	916:767\$	9,1	96,4
1905	9.574:138\$	6.151:402\$	64,3	2.118:435\$	22,1	665:396\$	6,9	93,3
1910	17.890:471\$	13.531:221\$	75,6	2.988:432\$	16,7	386:789\$	2,2	94,5
1915	23.498:661\$	13.776:979\$	58,6	7.601:585\$	32,3	540:035\$	2,3	93,2
1920	44.715:407\$	27.319:345\$	61,1	6.739:329\$	15,0	2.502:381\$	5,6	81,7
1925	87.934:876\$	69.427:809\$	79,5	8.457:721\$	10,1	2.961:029\$	3,4	93,0
1929	99.555:330\$	73.557:230\$	73,9	4.375:617\$	4,4	1.652:825\$	6,7	80,0

Source: Lewin, L. (1993).

The numbers presented in table 02 indicate that between 1900 and 1905 there was a decrease in the export of cotton and sugar in North Parahyba. Between 1905 and 1910, there is significant difference when the collection with the export of cotton duplicates in relation to the previous five-year period. In the following five-year period, a fall in the export percentile of cotton in relation to other products happens again, in spite of the obtaining of higher values of collection, factors which came from of the 1915 drought period and from the deflagration of the First World War⁵. In that same interval, the sugar production kept the stability with a short contribution to the total of the exports in the state.

⁴ Old Brazilian currency.

⁵ With the deflagration of the First World War in 1914, North Parahyba had its cotton stocks initially leaned. In 1916, though the situation was opened up for those that had what to sell because there was great shortage of raw

In the interval between 1915 and 1920, presented in the same table 02, the production and the percentile of collection with the cotton culture grew progressively and it was certainly impelled by the high quotations reached in the post war period when it was obtained up to 70\$000 for 1@ of the product.

With the deflagration of the First World War in 1914, there was decrease in the imports and the national textile industry absorbed great part of the North eastern production. Before the fibers were picked in the Southeast of the country, the Northeast area maintained the position of the largest supplier of fibers for that area strengthening one old bond between the production and industrialization sections.

The period that marked the impulse of the cotton production in the South-Center of Brazil, in the post war time, coincided with the great search of the external market and, at that moment, the effects of the drastic decrease of the export of the internal market were not so perceptible in the collections of the state. Though from 1916 on the increase in the production in the South-Center began to disturb the government of North Parahyba that was in state of alert motivating the intensification and the improvement of the local production.

In 1916, North Parahyba represented a national main producer followed by the states of Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, São Paulo, Pernambuco, Maranhão and Minas Gerais. At that moment, the state of São Paulo stood out as the fourth producer in the country, in spite of its climatic conditions were not totally favorable to the culture of the cotton. There are some notes and reports in the press of Parahyba City from that period, in a concerned tone, about that progress in the production of São Paulo.

At that time it can also be observed that the production of the South-Center – São Paulo and Minas Gerais - was already very high, overcoming the production of some north eastern states. That was one of the factors that further on had caused a great fall in the production from North Parahyba.

In spite of the intense drought period in 1919 and the propagation of a specific plague throughout the cotton plantations in North Parahyba's territory, the cotton export reached 12.351.839 kilos in 1918; 8.227.276 kilos, the following year; and it arrived to 15.541.398 kilos in 1921. North Parahyba could maintain high indexes of cotton fibers export, keeping certain stability in its collections. In general, an important increment in the cotton economy could be observed in the state between 1915 and 1924.

All that movement around the cotton production in North Parahyba, between 1915 and 1924, generated surpluses which promoted the enrichment of some producers and merchants and an improvement in the quality of life of the population of the state. It happened at the same time the urban atmosphere of some cities has been improved, including the capital, and some of its constructions were endowed with better hygienic, aesthetics, comfort and leisure conditions.

The largest participation of the cotton in the total of the state collections happened between 1920 and 1925, when the production more than duplicates in relation to the previous five-year period; however the attack of a specific plague was still verified. The value collected with the exports of the cotton reached 69.427:809\$000 contos de réis between 1920 and 1925 - approximately ten times greater than the amount collected in 1900 - what corresponded to approximately 80% of the total collection of the state (see Table 02).

Table 03 presents the values of that collection and displays the progressive growth of the cotton production in the total of the state collections in a more detailed way, except for 1915 and 1919 which were the years of the mentioned drought periods that affected the cotton plantations North Parahyba.

materials to supply the demands of the industries, mainly the European ones (Mariz, 1939). In spite of the great drought that affected North Parahyba in 1915, the stored stock became worldwide exported. The consequences of the drought period in 1915 were disastrous for the cotton production in course in the State though.

TABLE 03*: Collections (in Contos de réis) from North Parahyba between 1915 and 1924.

YEAR	STATE COLLECTIONS	COLLECTIONS WITH THE COTTON IN PEN AND THE COTTON SEED	PERCENTAGE OF THE AMOUNT COLLECTED WITH THE COTTON ON THE STATE EXPORTATIONS
1915	3.343:000\$000	1.114:612\$000	33,34%
1916	4.802:000\$000	2.113:942\$000	44,02%
1917	6.973:000\$000	3.450:618\$000	49,48%
1918	6.562:000\$000	3.014:276\$535	45,93%
1919	5.221:000\$000	1.908:000\$000	36,54%
1920	6.133:000\$000	2.390:000\$000	38,97%
1921	5.521:000\$000	2.363:562\$312	42,81%
1922	7.729:000\$000	4.179:000\$000	54,06%
1923	14.268:000\$000	9.823:000\$000	68,84%
1924	11.679:000\$000	6.024:000\$000	51,58%

* Table adapted by GUEDES (2006).

** (taxes charged due to sea departure, shipping through land and the 20% charged on the exportation are not included).

Source: MARIZ, Celso (1939) and LEWIN, Linda (1993).

Another important aspect to be considered in the process of urban remodeling of Parahyba City is the foreigners' presence, above all acting in the best transforming and trading firms of goods produced in the state, as it can be observed in the following table.

TABLE 04: Exporting and Importing firms of the Capital and Commercialized Articles (1909)

Exporting firms	Exported products	Importing firms	Imported firms
Cahn Frères & C ^a	Sugar, cotton, leathers	Amstein & C ^a	Fabric
Paiva Valente & C ^a	Sugar, cotton, leathers	Paiva Valente & C ^a	Stow
Kröncke & C ^a	Products from the state	Francisco Vergara & C ^a	Stow
Castro Irmãos & C ^a	Products from the state	Benevenuto Carlos & C ^a	Stow
J. Clemente Levy	Leathers, cotton, etc.	Pedro da Costa Serafim & C ^a	Stow
Iona & C ^a	Leathers, etc.	Castro Irmão & C ^a	Fabric
A. Cerf & C ^a	Products from the state	Brito Lyra & C ^a	Fabric
		A. Cerf. & C ^a	

Source: Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Estado da Parahyba (1908).

In relation to Table 04 it is important to observe that two of the three larger exporter firms in North Parahyba belonged to foreigners that settled down here and acted in several branches of the state economy. The first of them, Cahn Frères & CIA⁶, belonged to French people rooted in Brazil. Only in 1902 after its owner's death, Aron Cahn, that company was supplanted by Kröncke & CIA⁷.

The foreigners' presence in Parahyba City - especially brought by the progress of the cotton economy - was indispensable in the cultural transformation of its society. Assuming great part of the export and import trade and the companies of credit in the State, they dragged with them a relative part of the profits. However their largest contribution certainly was centered in the dissemination of the current patterns of cultural modernity keeping direct and

⁶ This company almost monopolized the external trade of North Parahyba in the last decades of the 21st century. Founded in 1864, it established branches in Guarabira and Mamanguape; it became the owner of lands and of sugar-mills; it dominated the banking sector, being a representative of European capital, credit establishments and insurance companies; it invested in the system of urban transport underwriting Ferro Carril Parahybana's stocks.

⁷ This last one came to patent the participation of the German capital in Parahyba's economy. The initial performance of this company was processed through shipping lines, insurances and banks; it acted later in equipments and industries area; in the export of fibers and cotton seeds, dry and salted leathers; it made interventions in cotton section seeking the industrialization of the seed and the packing up modernization destined to the export; it implanted the first hydraulical press of the state with a related industry of production of oil of the cotton seed. However, when the First World War began the company closed its doors and its partners migrated to Europe. And only in 1920 they had the firm reactivated and they were reintegrated to cotton business (Galliza, 1993).

permanent contact with the creative centers of those new habits and concepts. Those external patterns influenced the population's routine through clothing, vocabulary, instruction, appreciation to the arts in general, besides architecture, treatment of the collective urban space, etc.

The White Gold commands the Urban Transformations

Inspired in Paris' remodeling during the Second Empire period, the first measures routing to the modernization of Parahyba City are from Beaurepaire Rohan's administration period (1857-1859) who in his report to the Imperial Government and the Legislative Assembly in 1858, affirmed:

"The streets in this city neither have been nor are subject of some kind of plan in relation to the alignments or to the levelling. Each one builds to his/her mode so that it results in this labyrinth in which the city is been significantly converted (Report (...) 1858).

The main concern of that administration was the sanitation of the public space, in the context of the discussions about sanitation and life quality in Brazilian cities. The result of that concern was the elaboration of a topographical rising of the city and an opening proposal, enlargement and continuity of streets, rectification of the plan and a connection between neighbourhoods and similar measures which would eliminate unhealthy spaces.

In 1889 a Monograph was written by Vicente Gomes Jardim whose report allowed the elaboration of a new plan of the city published in 2003⁸; and a comparison to the plan of 1858 demonstrates that in this interval there were small and specific interventions. What is justified for the resources limitation of the State Treasury, as Rohan has said:

"The resources of the Province do not admit that plenty of works can be made at the same time, thus I limited to finish those ones that my honest predecessors had started". (Exhibition (...) 1857).

During the decade of 1870, a modernization politics with the incentive of the English capital rebounded around the country and began to implant, in the Northeast area, infrastructure works such as: public illumination, railroads and new equipments for the harbours, besides the first cotton factories. Consequently the labour necessary for these task works and for the cultivation and improvement of the fibers and the seed of the cotton was enlarged. The main North eastern cities contemplated those innovations and they grew as commercial and cultural centers⁹, accompanying the great Brazilian cities that modified and created public spaces as it has been creating in great European centers.

In the first decades of the twentieth century the cotton culture entered in its larger prosperity and economical phase, even though it has passed through moments of crisis as the ones in the beginning of the Great First World War in 1914, the drought in 1915 and in 1919 and the attacks of a specific plague. Observing Table 02 it is possible to highlight the following intervals: 1905-1910, 1915-1920, 1920-1925 and 1925-1929 as the periods of larger participation of the cotton in the state collection. Finally, comparing the economical data that express that participation and the moments that the works of more significant urban

⁸ This plan was elaborated between 2002 and 2003; published by CARVALHO, MARTINS & TINEM in the article "Revisitando velhas fontes: um exercício de historiografia", in the volume 2 of the Annals of the 6th Portuguese-Brazilian Colloquy of History of the Art (Rio de Janeiro, CLBHA/PUCRJ/UERJ/UFRJ, 2003).

⁹ Citing some of the actions promoted during the period, there are: in 1896, the temporary opening of the system of urban transport for passengers moved by animal traction built by Ferro Carril Company from Parahyba; from 1879 to 1881, and in 1889, the construction and remodeling of the Public Garden, considered a "necessary" beauty process transformation (Moura Filha, 1997); in 1889, the opening of Santa Rosa Theatre.

interventions were processed, it is noticed the close relationship between the export of the product and the urban reforms:

“In some moments, it [the urbanization process] presented a certain dynamism, particularly when the trade of the cotton generated a larger surplus that was applied in this area (...) the implantation of the urban improvements was activated when the cotton became the financial support of such enterprises” (Galliza, 1993).



Plan 01: North Parahyba’s plan (1855), edited by Kaline Guedes (2006) from a copy of the plan elaborated by Alfredo Barros e Vasconcelos in 1855. In red, the streets created or winded between the 1855 and 1889.

Synthesis Table of the interventions proposed by Henrique Beaurepaire Rohan in 1858.

01	João Magro alley	12	Macaco alley
02	Visconde de Itaparica alley	13	Jaguaribe alley
03	Cajueiro alley	14	Jaguaribe street
04	Tanque alley	15	Alagoa alley
05	Estrada Nova street	16	Jaguaribe alley
06	Melão street	17	Mangueira alley
07	São Bento street	18	Chão Duro alley
08	Santo Elias street	19	Quintais street
09	Barro Alto alley	20	Bom Jesus alley
10	Emboca street	21	Laranjeira street
11	Mãe dos Homens street	22	Palmeira street (former Boi Chou street)

This way Rohan’s intervention was devoted much more to lessen problems detected in the city’s urban plan, such as the opening of Formosa, Quintais and Império streets and the

leveling of Rosário slope optimizing the connection between downtown and uptown areas. The space of those interventions was characterized seemingly by a spontaneous and disordered occupation delimited by the streets mentioned above and Quartel street (Plan 01), marked by small straw houses and precarious conditions of sanitation.

This way, the outstanding participation of the cotton in the state revenue placed it as a modernity creator pursued by the society of that time that ordered the public administrators the necessary urban interventions for the elimination of the former provincial atmosphere.

In that period there was still an important population increment in Parahyba City, registering a growth of 134,1% between 1989 and 1910. The increase of the urban population helped to accelerate the process of modernization of the city's environment in two different ways: while the part of the society that was composed by intellectuals and influential public men ordered for better life conditions in the city, great part of the population contingent which was coming from the countryside played the motor force role in the promoted works of urban improvements in the capital.

In that period, the urban atmosphere at least needed to seem modern, its streets needed to be clean; the air of the houses, renewed and public walkways and gardens had to be created. The precarious water supply system that was originated from waterspouts and fogs, still presented at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the illumination system that at that time depended on the work of the lighters were much criticized.

Before starting the description and the analysis of the urban transformations accomplished in the first three decades of the twentieth century, a synthesis table is presented to systematize such information to facilitate the apprehension of the exposed content. Organized for political mandates (governor and mayor positions), the table brings some considerations on the period from 1906 to 1932, it mentions the main public works accomplished and it describes the situation of the cotton, so that the perception of the narrow connection of the cotton economy to the actions of beauty process becomes easy.

In 1906, important alterations in the urban landscape of Parahyba City were announced as symbols of progress:

"Here it is our capital almost transformed in relation to its aesthetics, with its main streets and squares paved, filled with earth and some of them woody ; with its most important buildings fixed, with Bento da Gama, Mercez and Thesouro squares landscaped; finally endowed with other improvements that make those who come and visit it impressed ". (Report (...), 1906)

The actions of urban improvement continued in the following years and the period of João Machado's administration is marked by important initiatives. For instance, the water supply¹⁰ system "the most urgent work that the capital needs"(Report (...), 1906). In spite of being pursued since the end of the twentieth century, it was only inaugurated in the following century. Álvaro Machado was one of the first ones who tried to begin such an urban improvement, firstly in 1882-1889 and later in 1904-1905. Walfredo Leal (1905-1908) returned to the theme and clearly expresses his yearning of seeing the city endowed with an appropriate supplying system, as the great Brazilian urban centers at that time had it so. But it was only in João Machado's administration (1908-1912) that the works for the supplying of the capital were made under the guidelines of Miguel Raposo's project; and after three years, on April 21st, 1912 the system was inaugurated.

¹⁰ The presidential reports between 1905 and 1912 registered a total of 110:383 \$590 spent with the implantation of the water supply system of the capital.

TABLE 05: Succession of the Governors and Mayors in the political situation of North Parahyba and respective public works, in parallel to the situation of Cotton Economy in the same period.

Years	Governors and Mayors	Public Works	Cotton Economy ¹¹
1908 to 1912	João Machado Otacílio de Albuquerque. The Beginning of the modernization process of the capital. Infrastructure Works.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creation of the first water supply service; - Inauguration of the electric light service in the city; - Substitution of the animal traction trolleys for cars; - João Machado avenue opening 	The export values went up from 9.574:138\$000 in 1905, to 17.890:471\$000 in 1910. The cotton participation in the same period increased from 64,3% to 75,6%. 44:792\$245 were spent in public works between 1909 and 1910.
1912 to 1915	Castro Pinto José Bezerra Cavalcanti. This period did not present great urban modifications.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Modernization of the Government's Palace front side; - Contract with Saturnino de Brito's services for the elaboration of projects for the city's sanitary sewer system; - Construction of Thomaz Mindelo school by the architect Fiorilo Pascoal; 	This period was marked for some crisis, such as: 1914 – First World War and 1915 (the great drought period). These expenses affected the state collection, and in this period the cotton participation went down to 58,6%. In general, between 1910-1915, the resources from the state safe were extinguished so that the public Works ere limited only to the maintenance of the current buildings.
1915 to 1916	Antônio Pessoa Demócrito de Almeida. Government of transition marked for strong political instability.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1915 the suspension of the urban improvements in Parahyba City is announced, one of the consequences of the cotton crisis. 	The local economy was affected by the consequences of 1915 drought period, which harmed the cotton production.
1916 to 1920	Camilo de Holanda Antônio Pessoa Filho Antônio Soares de Pinho Inácio Evaristo Monteiro. Responsible for a small “urban revolution” when it started to be modified the “colonial aspect” of the city.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Remodeling and amplification of Imprensa Oficial building; - Construction of Escola Normal building, Trincadeiras' railing by the architect Otávio Freire, Venâncio Neiva square by the architect Fiorilo Pascoal, Aristides Lobo, Bela Vista, Conselheiros Henriques and Pedro Américo squares; - Opening of Epitácio Pessoa and Maximiano Figueiredo avenue; - Improvements achievement at 1817 square, former Mercês square; - Concrete paving of several streets down and up towns; - Remodeling of Santa Roza theatre, Cadeira Pública building and the Superior Tribunal de Justiça; - Enlargement of Cruz das Armas avenue; 	Prosperous period for the state collections. The export values are increased in 21.216:746\$000, in the interval from 1915 to 1920. In the meanwhile the cotton participation in the state collection, in the same period, went up from 58,6% to 61,1%. Between 1917 and 1918 1.241:541\$986 were with public works.
1920 to 1924	Solon de Lucena Walfredo Guedes Pereira. Period of intense actions of urban remodeling with the opening of new streets, avenues and squares.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Urban space's reorganization with the opening of several streets, avenues, squares and parks; - Urbanization of Irerês Lagoon with the opening of nine streets ; - Opening of streets in Tambiá; - Construction of Independência square, Vidal de Negreiros square and Arruda Câmara park. 	It still suffered the 1919 drought period and the specific plague attacks consequences; and some of the Works were suspended. But the following years were prosperous and a great increment in the state collections was registered, increasing from 6.133:000\$000 (1920) to 11.679:000\$000 (1924). The exports values followed this growth. It went up from 61,1% to 79,5%. It was registered only what was spent in public works in 1923, 55:284\$890.

¹¹ The referring data to the amount spent with public works were extracted from the Presidential Reports in the period from 1905 to 1929. In that research it was possible to count the expense with public works in some periods, knowing the accounting character that those reports had. However, some just describe the public works of the year it refers omitting the expenses with the same ones, leaving some gaps. Another consideration that must be taken is the defined periods for the financial release, that most of the time begins in the half of the previous period and continues up to the middle of the year in which the report is written. On the other hand, in spite of being intermittent, the information was important to corroborate the relationship between the cotton economy and the urban reforms.

According to Trigueiro (1982), the period of 1908-1912 (João Machado's administration), "with no possible replies, marked the beginning of the modernization of the capital and the public improvements politics, the one that the subsequent governments had to give continuity". Certainly João Machado is benefited for the good ciphers of the state safes, and he also promoted other important interventions in the urban atmosphere such as: the public illumination system, the electric trolley, the service of public hygiene and the plan of the wide and woody avenue that carries his name.

About the public expenses, the portion destined to the first service of water supply had a total of 110:383\$590 in the period of 1909-1912. In parallel, the value of the state collection was added in 8.316:333\$000 and the participation of the cotton varied from 64,3% to 75,6%, in the interval of 1905-1910. Between 1909 and 1910 the expenses in public works went up from 9:849\$880 to 34:942\$365, an increase of 28,9%.

The implantation electric illumination service of the capital also followed a similar path, whose first attempt was promoted by Álvaro Machado in 1895. However he did not have much success. Only in 1911, during João Machado's government, the works for the electric power supply of the city began. The service was inaugurated just in March, 1912, one month before the water supply system.

Presenting no great material modifications, Castro Pinto's government started (1912-1915). In 1913 he made a contract with Saturnino de Brito's office to accomplish a project of complementation of the water supply and another one of system of sanitary sewer – an improvement that had been complained for a long time, but up to that moment it had not been accomplished. A road tracing in radial project and the trees in parks and squares plan were inserted, as an important part for the good operation of the project. For this reason a special importance is given to the treatment of the flooding area of Sitio da Lagoa where part of the sewer of the city converged and that constituted an obstacle for the city's development to the east.

However some works were accomplished in the capital: in 1914, Lyceu Parahybano was reopened and "completely repaired, almost totally reconstructed, smiling in the geometric lines of its mosaics". In the same year, the Government's Palace, the House of Detention, the buildings of the Incomes Receiver, the Official Press and Police Chief Department were also reformed and endowed with a "more aesthetic feature". The Public Garden has also received a complete and radical remodeling, so it is "today one of the gentlest public areas in the north of Brazil, inaugurated on December 31st last year [1913], with a new and elegant iron pavilion several double-seat benches in its majority" (Almanach (...), 1914).

Under the effects of the drought of 1915, Antônio Pessoa (1915-1916) assumed as a governor, but his administration was marked by a strong political and economical instability. The experienced crisis in 1915 is clear in the Presidential Report of same year.

" One of our Government's largest concerns are the public works (...) several improvements started while the economical and financial conditions of the State were prosperous, from October, 1912 to June, 1915, 561:572\$267 were spent and, it is important to mention that some of them, as the Government's Palace, are about to finish, weighing badly in the short incomes of the treasure, I admit to suspend such improvements, until that the normalization of the finances permit them restart with the whole method and economy ".

As it can be seen in Table 02, the collections start growing in 1916 presenting a uniform growth up to 1918. In that period the governor Camillo de Holanda assumed the power (1916-1920), whose administration happened in a favorable economical moment, except for his government's last year that was affected by the great drought period of 1919. The increase of the cotton production caused the good financial results of that time because its participation in the total value of the exports between 1915-1920 increased 61,1%.

In that interval, it was registered an increase in the expenses with public works that went up from 80:674\$861 in 1917, to 1.160:867\$125 in 1918, when Works Management is transformed in Public Works Office.

Holanda's administration represented an important period in the transformation of the urban atmosphere of Parahyba City with the construction and improvement of new public spaces such as: Aristides Lobo square, "which stands out for its art lines" built by the firm Cunha & Di Lascio; Venâncio Neiva square, "the population's favourite public area today" which improvements consisted of the amplification and organization of the "skating area"; construction of a square in the beginning of Cruz das Armas neighbourhood; and improvements in Conselheiro Henriques square.

One of the main works of that period was the opening of Epitácio Pessoa avenue that became decisive for the new urban configuration that the city assumed the following decades, consolidating the east expansion and which the president was proud of: "I began the works of an avenue of 4862 meters of extension for 36 of width linking the capital to that point on the coast". So, the rejected colonial aspect of the city was getting more and more modified and sceneries and habits that reflected the progress and the modernity were searched. Other works of that period are in Table 05 and highlighted in Plan 02.

At the following moment, between 1920 and 1924, the state collections registered an ascending growth going down from 6.133:000\$000 to 11.679:000\$000. It is also clear the cotton's role in that growth, whose participation in the exports went up from 61,1% (1920) to 79,5% (1925). The expense with public works in 1923 was 55:284\$890. It was the governor Solon de Lucena's and the Mayor Walfredo Guedes Pereira's administration periods.

Although the referred period was a prosperous one, it was just from 1922 on that the main works began, when the cotton economy recovered from the damages caused by several droughts and specific plague attacks; and it already counted on faithful buyers in European industrial countries. In his speeches Solon de Lucena tried to justify the low operational activity of the first year of his administration, referring to the economical crisis of the beginning of his government as "the destruction of our principal export product". (Message (...) 1921).

With the high increase of the collections (Table 04) promoted by the increment of the cotton culture, the public works are enlarged and Solon of Lucena's government is marked by intense actions of urban remodeling such as the opening of new streets, avenues and squares. As examples of constructions of new public spaces there are Independência and Vidal de Negreiros squares, and Solon de Lucena Park. Another important urban improvement was the implantation of an appropriate sewer system which works began in 1922 and were definitely concluded in 1927. The works proceeded under the orientation of Saturnino de Brito with the updating of sanitation plans and the amplification of the water supply system.

That was a work also wanted by the previous governments because it was impracticable for the volume of resources that it demanded, but it became possible due to the collection perspectives brought by the cotton. Solon de Lucena, as well as Camillo de Holanda, believed in the prosperity of the cotton culture and Table 04 data confirm its economical power.

On the other hand, the modernization undertaken by Solon de Lucena (Plan 03), in partnership with the mayor Guedes Pereira, took place with a strong impact on the urban structure:

"...several constructions were demolished being substituted for new roads and for new urban equipments too, suitable with the every day lifestyle that has being assimilated by the local elite. Nor the religious constructions were saved in that remodeling process which the capital was submitted ". (Guedes, 2006).

In the same way Rosario dos Pretos Church, located on Duque de Caxias Street, was demolished for the implantation of Vidal de Negreiros square; and Mãe dos Homens Chapel in Tambiá neighborhood was demolished with some close cottages altogether, for the enlargement of Tambiá Street and the construction of Antônio Pessoa square.

At that moment, Mariz (1985) affirmed that "Parahyba with water, sewer and electric light seemed t be a city. But there were still old style buildings, a good style to improve honoring the own or well inherited creation in the original lines ".

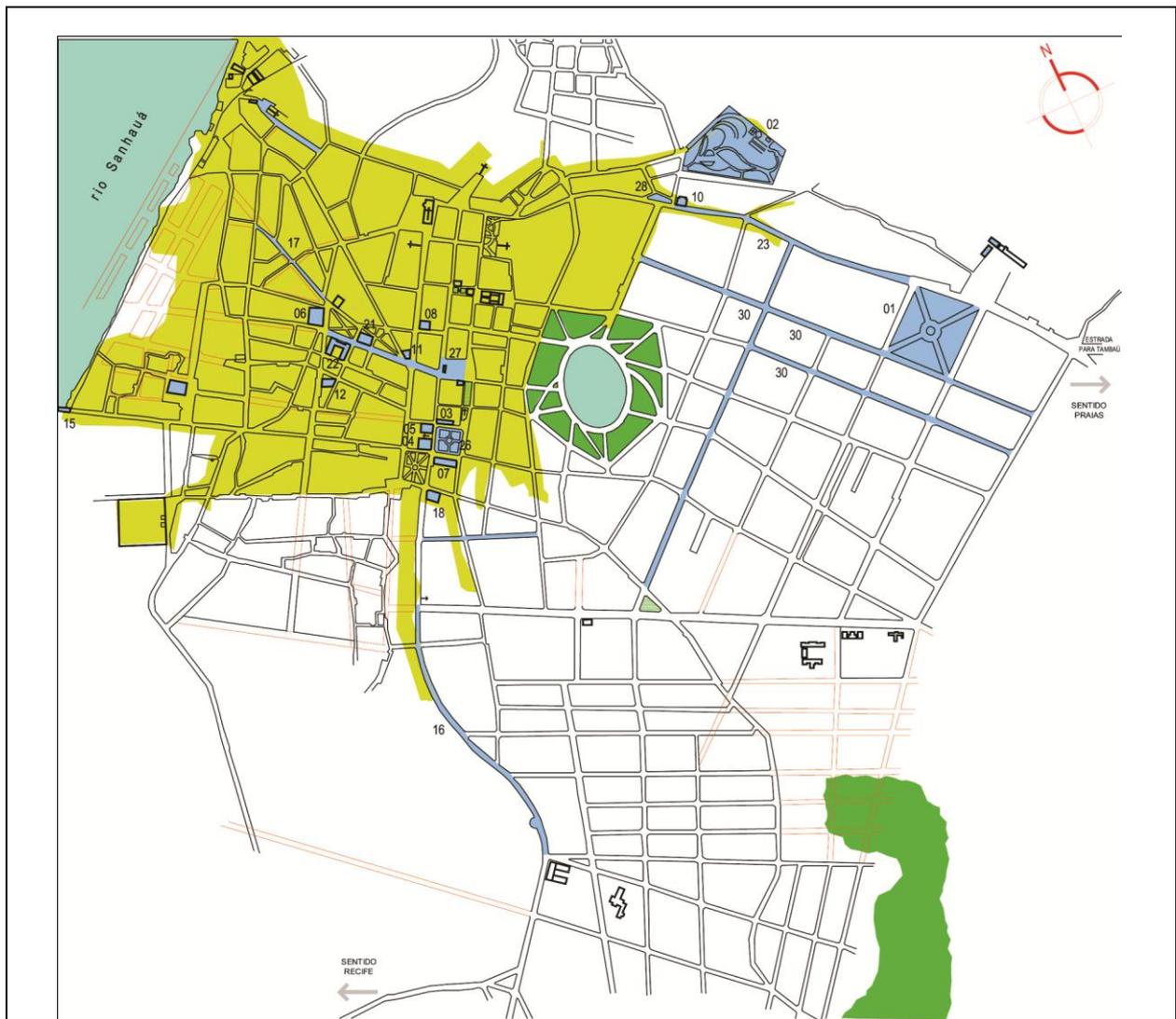


Plan 02: North Parahyba's plan (1923) elaborated during Guedes Pereira's municipal administration by engineer Otto Kuhn and edited by Guedes (2006). In purple: main interventions of Camillo de Holanda's government (1916-1920). In red line: streets projected by engineer Otto Kuhn and his staff (1923).

Synthesis Table of the Main Urban Interventions Achieved during Camillo de Holanda's Administration.

01	Construction of Pedro Américo square	16	Bela Vista square
02	Construction of Venâncio Neiva square	17	Conselheiro Henriques square
03	Santa Rosa theatre's remodeling	18	República street concrete paving
04	Public Prison building's remodeling	19	Amaro Coutinho street concrete paving
05	The Courthouse building's remodeling	20	Part of Formosa street concrete paving
06	Enlargement of Cruz das Armas avenue	21	Venâncio Neiva square concrete paving
07	Destruction of the houses on Maciel Pinheiro street to build Antenor Navarro street	22	Rosário slope concrete paving
08	Construction of the Normal School	23	Maciel Pinheiro street concrete paving
09	Construction of Epitácio Pessoa School	24	Peregrino de Carvalho street concrete paving
10	Construction of Antônio Pessoa School	25	Construction of Trincheiras avenue railing
11	Remodeling and amplification of The Official Press building	26	Part of Trincheiras avenue concrete paving
12	Construction of the road to Tambaú ***	27	Beaurepaire Rohan street concrete paving ***
13	Opening of Maximiano de Figueiredo avenue	28	Barão do Triunpho street concrete paving substitution***
14	Continuity of General Osório avenue***	29	Álvaro Machado square reconstruction ***
15	Aristides Lobo square	30	13 de Maio street concrete paving ***

*** Works stopped in 1919, due to a great drought in the region.



Plan 03: North Parahyba's plan (1923) elaborated during Guedes Pereira's municipal administration by the engineer Otto Kuhn and edited by Guedes (2006). In blue: Solon de Lucena's government main interventions (1920-1924). In red line: streets projected by the engineer Otto Kuhn and his staff (1923).

Synthesis Table of the Main Urban Interventions Achieved during Solon de Lucena's Administration.

01	Construction of Independência square	17	Padre Antônio Pereira street's remodeling
02	Arruda Câmara park's (Bica) remodeling	18	Construction of the Trade Academy building
03	Official Press buiding remodeling	19	Construction of Oswaldo Cruz Hospital
04	Government's palace remodeling	20	Construction of the Madhouse
05	Liceu's remodeling	21	Construction of the Federal Headquarter
06	Public Prison's remodeling	22	Construction of the Post Service building
07	Normal School's remodeling	23	Enlargement of Mons. Walfredo Leal street
08	Public Library's remodeling	24	Enlargement of Bandeirantes street
09	Direction of Instruction and Hygiene's remodeling	25	Construction of the road to Tambaú
10	Epitácio Pessoa School's remodeling	26	Comendador Felizardo square's remodeling
11	Civil Guard building's remodeling	27	Construction of Vidal de Negreiros square
12	Tomás Mindello's remodeling	28	Construction of Antônio Pessoa square
13	Antonio Pessoa School's remodeling	29	Opening of Saturnino de Brito street
14	Izabel M ^a das Neves School's remodeling	30	Opening, enlargement and projection of many other streets as part of Saturnino de Brito's Project for Parahyba City: General Osório, Tabajaras, Pedro I, Almirante Barroso, Guedes Pereira, Caturité streets, and other ones.
15	Sanhaú Bridge's remodeling		
16	Trincheiras street's remodeling		
17	Barão do Triumpho street's remodeling		

The studied period was a prodigal one in the transformation of the urban landscape of Parahyba City and it opened a space for architects' arrival whose professional performance provided the city with an urban architectural language and the introduction of new formal elements, although they were not modern yet, they were trying to become so. Among those architects it may be mentioned Paschal Fiorillo, Olavo Freire, Hermenegildo Di Lásccio and Giovanni Gioia, and about them Mariz commented:

"It was not them who created an era of art and beauty, but they gave a blow, they built cheerful houses, they aired, they made the first bungalows, they moved the roofs" (Mariz, 1985).

The most important works of that period are the constructions of the Normal School building (the current Courthouse), Trincheiras' avenue railing, Venâncio Neiva square and the opening of Epitácio Pessoa Avenue.

It was not by chance that such works appeared in Camillo de Hollanda's (1916-1920) and Solón de Lucena's (1920-1924) governments, the two administrators whose initiatives concentrated on the urban remodeling actions. The first one was decided 'to modernize the city' so that he undertook important works such as: planting trees on the avenues, the construction of buildings and the roads' concrete paving. The latter was determined to impel and to consolidate "the modernization process", so he made the administrative and important cultural-partners constructions more beautiful, and he concluded a great part of the infrastructure works (principally sanitation and water supply) that were longed for the previous administrations.

The urban actions financed by the cotton would transform the configuration of the colonial João Pessoa, based in the sugar-cane culture, little developed and discontinuous, where the empty urban spaces and the rare constructions predominated. Coinciding with the social, cultural and political movements of the nineteenth century which arrived with a certain delay in the provinces, the wealth generated for the cotton culture would redesign the urban center to take care of the necessities of a city that desires to be 'modern and civilized', abandoning its colonial past, which was the main objective of the economic elite and the 'progressive' governors.

In the second cycle of the cotton (decades of 1850 and 1860) during Henrique de Beaurepaire Rohan's government, with the conquest of an important space in the exporting market, the first actions to the modernization are initiated, related to sanitation and urban plan matters that prepare the city for future transformations. At this moment, João Pessoa reaffirmed its condition of exporting agridustrial economy, extending the volume of exchanges with international markets, giving certain dynamism to its production for exportation, rising in the importations and increasing the investments in the infrastructure related to the circulation of goods: roads, railroads and harbors.

However, it is in the third cycle (decades of 1910 and 1920) that effectively the landscape remodeling initiatives and the creation of urban scenes to the European mold occurred, affecting directly the image of the city. The works for the embellishment praised by the sanitation project and water supply elaborated in 1913 by Saturnino de Brito's staff concurred for these transformations, whose accomplishment one decade later would facilitate and define the east growth of the city. As a consequence of the sanitation works, the opening of Epitácio Pessoa Avenue was one of the main works in this period that define the new urban configuration assumed by the city in the following decades, consolidating the expansion to the coast.

The gradual transference of the population from the rural environment to the cities caused new social relations and defined another urban image expressed by the residential architecture. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the generous recipe of the new

ruling class involved with the production, improvement and commercialization of the cotton and its derivatives also would concur for the urban transformation process in Parahyba City with the construction of the “mansions of the cotton”.

As a result of the actions of urban remodeling undertaken throughout the three first decades of the twentieth century, Parahyba City consolidated its image of a ‘modern’ urban center with its squares, gardens, avenues, equipment for new activities and a more ‘rational’ plan in detriment of the old colonial landscape.



Image 01: Praça Pedro Américo e Praça Venâncio Neiva, 1916 - 1920.
Acervo Antônio Fernandes Bióca.

Comparing the new resultant urban plan of the described actions throughout this paper (**Plans 02 and 03**) to the occupation of the city in the 1850's (yellow stain), in the same plans, it is identified the “organized and expansive” character of such interventions whose actions had consolidated the axes East and South as zones of expansion of the city in the following decades.

Such interventions and the new urban landscape had defined - and still define - the image of what it is recognized as the Historical Center of João Pessoa nowadays, an environment whose references were born at the beginning of twentieth century, in a process where “the physical aspect becomes the product of an action and the solution to a problem” (Garcia-Lamas, 2004).

This way, the morphological elements introduced by the actions described, initially determined by the search of a “modernizing ideal” for the city, had concurred for the creation

of an urban environment of new architectural forms that predominate in the reading and formation of the image of the city until today (**Image 01**).

Thus, the city that was established to mark the royal presence in the colonial sugar economy presents nowadays a historical center whose urban image was financed by the cotton and marked by the context of the time.

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