

Brazilian images of the United States, 1861-1898:

A working version of modernity?

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PhD thesis

I, Natalia Bas, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

For most of the nineteenth-century, the Brazilian liberal elites found in the ‘modernity’ of the European Enlightenment all that they considered best at the time. Britain and France, in particular, provided them with the paradigms of a modern civilisation. This thesis, however, challenges and complements this view by demonstrating that as early as the 1860s the United States began to emerge as a new model of civilisation in the Brazilian debate about modernisation. The general picture portrayed by the historiography of nineteenth-century Brazil is still today inclined to overlook the meaningful place that U.S. society had from as early as the 1860s in the Brazilian imagination regarding the concept of a modern society. This thesis shows how the images of the United States were a pivotal source of political and cultural inspiration for the political and intellectual elites of the second half of the nineteenth century concerned with the modernisation of Brazil.

Drawing primarily on parliamentary debates, newspaper articles, diplomatic correspondence, books, student journals and textual and pictorial advertisements in newspapers, this dissertation analyses four different dimensions of the Brazilian representations of the United States. They are: the abolition of slavery, political and civil freedoms, democratic access to scientific and applied education, and democratic access to goods of consumption. These four themes together reveal the centrality of the relationship between the idea of modern civilisation and the United States in the imagination of the Brazilian liberal elites. The chronological framework of this research covers the period between the U.S. Civil War (1861-1865) and the Spanish-American War (1898). These were crucial decades in the development of U.S. power and a period when images of the United States began to circulate far more widely than

hitherto in Brazil. Even though this study shows that positive and negative representations of the U.S. society coexisted, clashed and changed in the *courte durée*, the general tendency, however, was an overall shift from negative to positive images of the United States. 'Americanisation' is one of the theoretical concepts around which this study is framed. However, this thesis adds complexity to this term by showing that Brazilians themselves were active agents in the process of disseminating the (North-) 'American' model of society in Brazil.

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Introduction

The concept of ‘modern’ is often assumed to be value-free when it actually is profoundly laden with values and associations derived from the specific historical experiences of certain nations.¹ Therefore, as a historical phenomenon with a time and place, ‘modernity’ has multiple, historical meanings.² For most of the nineteenth-century, the Brazilian elites found in the European Enlightenment ‘modernity’ all that they considered best at the time. From political theories, educational policies, literature, fashion in furniture, decoration, clothes and manners, the influences of the British and French civilisations, in particular, provided them with the paradigms of a modern civilisation. Scholarship on Brazil has studied the impact that the economic, political and cultural examples of France and Britain had in nineteenth-century Brazil. Yet, towards the last three decades of the century a new pole of civilisation located in the New World began to emerge. In its course towards economic development and political dominance, the United States began to appear for some members of the Brazilian liberal elites as a new paradigm of modern civilisation and an attractive alternative to its European counterparts. Accordingly, rather than continue looking across the Atlantic towards Britain and France, Brazil’s liberal thinkers of the 1870s began to look increasingly North towards the United States in their search for new social and political models.

In 1970 Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre suggested for the first time that the Brazilian elites began to be interested in U.S. society during the critical era of the 1870s when winds of social and political change began to blow in Brazil, thereby

¹ Jeffrey D. Needell, ‘History, race and the state in the thought of Oliveira Vianna’, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* (henceforth, *HAHR*), 75:1 (Feb., 1995), 1-30, 2, N. 2.

² Alan Knight, ‘When was Latin America modern? A historian’s response’, in Nicola Miller and Stephen Hart (eds.), *When Was Latin America Modern?* (New York & Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 91-117.

opening up a new perspective on the field of Brazil's nineteenth-century history.³ This trend, as Thomas E. Skidmore argued in 1986, would have most probably been furthered when the Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II travelled for the first time to the United States for the inauguration of the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia on 10 May 1876.⁴ Apart from these and a few further passing references to the emerging space that the United States was beginning to occupy in the imagination of the Brazilian liberal thinkers from the early 1870s onwards, no other study to date, to the best of our knowledge, has comprehensively assessed Brazilian representations of the United States prior to its being seen as a world power at the turn of the nineteenth century.

This thesis intends to help to fill this void in the history of ideas in Brazil. What sets this study apart is that it documents the salience of the United States as a source of inspiration for the Brazilian liberals concerned with the modernisation of Brazil's political and social fabric at a time when the United States was not yet perceived as an imperial power. The thesis thereby challenges the received wisdom that Brazil looked only to Britain and France during the late nineteenth century. Further, it will be shown that the decade of the 1870s marked a turning point in which the images of the United States moved from negative to positive valuations in the eyes of the Brazilian elites. During the first half of the century, Brazilian statesmen and intellectual elites alike tended to express negative appraisals of the United States. The negative image was grounded principally on the fact that prior to the middle of the century U.S. foreign policy was closely associated with an unfriendly diplomacy of territorial annexation. Negative images of the United States on the part of Brazilians, however, began to

³ Gilberto Freyre, *Order and Progress: Brazil from Monarchy to Republic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

⁴ Thomas E. Skidmore, 'Brazil's American Illusion: From Dom Pedro II to the Coup of 1964', *Luso-Brazilian Review* (henceforth, *LBR*), 23:2 (Winter, 1986), 71-84, 73.

change in the second half of the century, especially in the aftermath of the U.S. Civil War. The general picture portrayed by the historiography of nineteenth-century Brazil is still today inclined to overlook the meaningful place that U.S. society had in the Brazilian imagination about a modern society from as early as the 1860s.

It is important to highlight that the explorations of the relational positioning of the new independent nations of the Western Hemisphere with respect to both Europe and the United States and the consequent redefinitions of national identity was a regional phenomenon in Latin America. The decade of the 1860s represented a turning point in the political and cultural reorientation of the elites in this broader context as well. By mid-nineteenth century, the political and intellectual elites from Hispanic American independent states like Argentina, Venezuela and Chile were likewise challenging the predominance of European intellectual ascendancy and economic hegemony. As in the case of Brazil, the U.S. example of individual freedom, self-government, popular and technical education, free trade and entrepreneurship impregnated debates and influenced the process of building the nation. Examples from the Hispanic American nations are multiple and include the works of the most important thinkers of the time. Chilean intellectuals like the Venezuelan-born Andrés Bello (1781-1865) and José Victorino Lastarria (1817-1888), together with a small group of Argentine residents in Chile exiled from the regime of Juan Manuel de Rosas, most notably Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888) and Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884), were the driving force behind a new intellectual horizon opening in Latin America by mid-nineteenth century for which the experience of the United States constituted a pivotal influence.

This new generation of Latin American liberal thinkers, lawmakers and, in some cases, politicians coincided, albeit in different degrees, on endorsing the new

ideas on social and political organisation coming from the United States. Again, as in the case of Brazil, differences among them tended to relate to how literally the ingredients of the new model of society emerging in that country should be adopted. For example, Alberdi, arguably the most important Argentine philosopher of law and widely seen as the father of Argentina's constitution, highlighted that given the fact that the grandeur of the United States resided in the ability to accommodate the political organisation to the specificities of the nation, Argentina was obliged to depart from purely imitating its model. Sarmiento, on the other hand, dazzled with what he saw during his visits to the United States (1847 and 1865-1868), advocated a pattern of nation building similar to the United States and, moreover, went even further by manifesting his wish to see the whole region under the U.S. tutelage in order for it to benefit from its cultural influence.⁵

The leading group of Argentine and Chilean thinkers also differed on the extent to which their countries should culturally, commercially and diplomatically distance from Europe and align with the United States.⁶ Notwithstanding differences between them, towards the 1860s intellectuals and politicians from the Hispanic American republics and Brazil alike were producing and circulating images of the United States as a means of intervention in the realities of their countries. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the production of images of the United States was a regional phenomenon at the time, some historical developments set Brazil aside from this broader context and made the Brazilian elites to follow an idiosyncratic pattern. The uniqueness of Brazil in this regard lay, first and foremost, in the longevity of

⁵ Beatriz Dolores Urraca, 'The Literary Construction of National Identities in the Western Hemisphere: Argentina and the United States, 1845-1898', ch. 2: 'Americans abroad: The construction of American national identity in Sarmiento's and Emerson's travel narratives', PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2007, 39-213.

⁶ See, for example, controversies between Bello and Lastarria as regards Chile in, Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Nation Building and the Latin American Intellectual Tradition. A Reader* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co., 2007), 51-101.

slavery and the monarchical form of government: not only did both institutions distinguish the Empire from the rest of the Americas but also complexified the production and reception of representations. Second, Brazilian elites projected an image of their nation as being situated in the interstices of the Old and the New World. Nevertheless, and this constitutes a third aspect of the uniqueness of Brazil compared to the other Latin American nations concerned with the United States, Brazil was the only nation in the region which could emerge as a new version of the U.S. phenomenon in the Southern cone on the ground of size, population, geopolitical and economic potential, so Brazilians claimed. This thesis examines four different ways in which Brazilian liberal thinkers, weary of what they increasingly saw as an outworn monarchical system tailored in the European fashion, began turning to the United States towards the mid-1860s in their continuing search for templates for the modernisation of Brazilian society. These four ways are the immediate abolition of slavery (chapter 1), the granting of political and civil rights of citizenship to all nationals (chapter 2), the access to scientific and applied education to all sectors of society (chapter 3) and the democratic access to goods of consumption (chapter 4).

As there are different ways to approach the topic of the production of images of the United States in nineteenth-century Brazil, a clarification about the actors of this thesis is needed. First, as elsewhere in Latin America, they were thinkers and intellectuals who found in European liberalism their main source of inspiration. Second, they were part of a generation who lived at a time of great social change and growing feelings of dissatisfaction by several groups of the Brazilian society. Third, these liberals grew increasingly uncertain about the capabilities of the imperial regime of Emperor Dom Pedro II to bring about the changes required for Brazil to join in the concert of modern nations; accordingly, they endorsed projects of modernisations

which differed greatly depending less on party affiliation (political differences between the Conservative and Liberal parties did not go very deep) and more on different backgrounds and/or regional contexts. By bringing up the voices of intellectual figures whose political motivations and agendas of reform could differ to the extreme to each other, such as, for example, Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, André Rebouças, Joaquim Nabuco, Rui Barbosa or José Maria da Silva Paranhos, Baron of Rio Branco, this thesis has intended to let them speak for themselves. A unifying criterion was, nevertheless, that their renown as thinkers and politicians confronted and engaged with the most crucial issues of the time (most notably slavery, citizenship, centralisation/decentralisation and education) spread across the Empire.

Last but not least, it is important to mention that an exercise of selective appropriation as regards certain key aspects of the U.S. modernity is detected in the political debates and writings analysed throughout this thesis. For example, Brazil's liberal thinkers did not address uniformly certain topics such as constitutional rights for freedmen and women or the U.S. brand of public education, which were embedded in the broader U.S. themes of equality and democracy. Not only might this fact be read as an indicator of how selectively the U.S. example was adopted in Brazil, even by such key liberal personalities as, for example, Rui Barbosa, but also of how entrenched was the belief that the common Brazilian was still unprepared for dealing fully with the responsibilities of a modern society, namely full social, political and civil citizenship rights. Scholars have already shown that nineteenth-century elites from Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America made a selective adoption of the liberal tenets showing that, in fact, they were economically liberal and politically and

socially conservative.⁷ It is tempting to suggest that despite public laudatory representations of the United States, the fact of the *imperfect* representations or, perhaps better, the omissions and silences in the representations of the U.S. society by Brazilian liberal thinkers meant, indirectly, an endorsement of the *status quo* and in turn the reinforcement of the traditions which they themselves held accountable for the limitations of modernisation in Brazil, most notably the unpreparedness of the ordinary people to deal with modern rights and responsibilities. In fact, the transition from slavery to free labour and from monarchy to republic marked the onset of a period in which the Brazilian elites supported the continuation of the vertical hierarchy of a strong state under the guise of Positivism.

Let us now give a general historical background to the topic of this research. After that, the historiography and the methodological framework will be introduced.

Historical background

In part because the government of Brazil was still in the hands of a member of the royal family, Brazilian independence was a smooth process, very much in contrast to the earlier U.S. revolution against Britain and the ongoing wars of independence in the Spanish American colonies. Rather than a revolutionary break with the metropolis, the independence of Brazil was a process which led to little divergence from and much continuity with the colonial past. The most conspicuous lines of

⁷ Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), ch. 3: 'Liberalism. Theory and practice', 53-77; Paul Elliot Gootenberg, 'Beleaguered liberals: The failed first generation of free traders in Peru', in Joseph Love and Neil Jacobsen (eds.), *Guiding the Invisible Hand: Economic Liberalism and the State in Latin American History* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 63-97. The author, who is a student of Peruvian economic thought during the guano era (1840s-1880s), proposed the notion of 'bastardized liberalism' for the ideological arrangements made by the Peruvian agro-export elites who combined economic liberalism with centralised, even authoritarian political regimes.

continuity which cut across the pre- and post-independence periods were the maintenance of the monarchical form of government and the overwhelming presence of large rural landowners dependent on slave labour. Notwithstanding many continuities, post-independence Brazil was a turbulent political time in which different nation-building projects came to clash. Different sectors disputed the form of the basic structures on which the new sovereign state was to be organised. As Brazilian historian José Murilo de Carvalho has explained, in the early 1820s monarchy was as much an option as a republic, and as a monarchy it could equally have been federal or centralised.⁸

The disputes over which powers to bestow on Brazil's first Emperor, Dom Pedro I (1822-1831), and which to bestow on the other branches of government were resolved by the former with the imposition of Brazil's first Constitution in March 1824. Based on the British and French institutional models for the organisation of the nation-state, the Brazilian Constitution established a monarchical, hereditary and representative parliamentary system of government. Yet, the model was selectively appropriated. The originality of the founders of Brazil lay in their creation of a constitutional monarchy which had as its main base two central tenets for the strengthening of the Executive branch, namely the Moderating Power and the Council of State. The government of Dom Pedro I inaugurated a decade of political and administrative centralising rule which incensed the liberal opposition. In April 1831, facing widespread unpopularity, the Emperor was forced to abdicate.⁹

⁸ José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Political elites and state building: The case of nineteenth-century Brazil', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (henceforth, *CSSH*), 24:3 (July, 1982), 378-399, 382-383. See also, 'D. João e as histórias dos Brasis', *Revista Brasileira de História* (henceforth, *RBH*) (São Paulo), 28:56 (2008), 551-572, 556.

⁹ Neil Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1986); Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798-1852* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), and *Citizen Emperor. Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825-1891* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999); Boris Fausto, *A Concise History of Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), ch. 2: 'Imperial Brazil', 76-147, 76-86;

Because the successor to the throne was a minor, what followed was a period of Regency (1831-1840). During this period, when regents governed on behalf of the imperial heir, decentralising measures were approved by Parliament. It was a period in which a sector of the liberals radicalised and began to demand the establishment of a democratic federation based on the U.S. model. They were the so-called ‘Exalted’ (*Exaltados*) who also raised the banner of individual freedom encoded in the 1824 constitutional letter and, in some cases, favoured the establishment of a republican government following the example of the United States.¹⁰ So intense was the federalist plight that in 1834 parliamentarians revised the provisions of the Constitution. In August that year, further legislation decentralising the government was promulgated. This reform, which is known as Ato Adicional (Additional Act)—additional, that is, to the Constitution—, granted the provinces increased powers. It abolished the Council of State and created provincial legislative assemblies which inherited considerable political and administrative powers to act without the interference of the national government.¹¹

The period between the 1830s and 1840s was a time characterised by a crisis in legitimacy and great political unrest in which a wave of localised rebellions swept through the Empire.¹² Even though the goals and the class underpinnings of the revolts differed greatly, the contour of a common pattern of demands emerged from the rebellions. Regional elites regarded regional autonomy as the defining factor of the geography of Brazil and thus as the necessary foundation for Brazil’s political

Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821* (New York & London: Routledge, 2001).

¹⁰ Viotti da Costa, ‘Liberalism’, 64-65.

¹¹ Barman, *Brazil*, 177-178 and *Citizen Emperor*, 60-61.

¹² The most representative rebellions of the Regency period were the Cabanagem War in Pará (1835-1840), the War of the Farrapos in Rio Grande do Sul (1836-1845), the Sabinada revolt in Bahia (1837-1838) and the Balaiada revolt in Maranhão (1838-1840). For greater detail on the rebellions, see Fausto, *A Concise History*, 88-95.

organisation. Accordingly, decentralisation was posited as the point of departure to redress the breach between the central authority exercised from Rio over the country and the power structures which had developed ever since the colonial times at the local level.¹³ The unrest following the 1834 reforms placed the Empire on the brink of territorial disintegration and convinced the Conservatives (in power since 1837) to pass a new centralising reform to redress the distribution of political power. On 12 May 1840, the government approved the so-called Lei de Interpretação do Ato Adicional (Law of Interpretation of the Additional Act). This legislation was at the core of the Conservatives' programme of reforms to undo the decentralising reforms of the early 1830s.¹⁴ The reforms of 1840 with which the Second Empire was inaugurated (1840-1889) sought to turn the tide of federalism and establish the rules of the political game. Thereafter, a national project based on a centralising monarchical government was finally secured until a palace coup overthrew it in November 1889 and paved the way for the founding of a republic with a constitution that, this time, drew heavily upon the U.S. model .

A slow process of modernisation began in the second half of the century in Brazil. For all the sluggishness of its pace, forces of change began to gain ground after 1850. Towards the 1860s the monarchy as a form of government and slavery as the system of production began to be increasingly felt by some liberal thinkers as undermining these modern developments. In fact, the decade of the 1860s witnessed the beginnings of a renewal of ideas in Brazil. Besides all the symbols of modernity

¹³ Barman, *Brazil*, ch. 6: 'The liberal experiment, 1831-1837', 160-188; *Citizen Emperor*, ch. 2: 'No safety here' 1831-40', 30-73; Fausto, *A Concise History*, 90.

¹⁴ The Conservative programme of reforms was known as the *Regresso*; it provided the genesis of the Conservative Party. José Murilo de Carvalho, *A Construção da Ordem: A Elite Política Imperial* (R. Janeiro: Ed. Campus, 1980), ch. 8: 'Os partidos políticos imperiais: Composição e ideologia', 199-228. See also, Thomas W. Palmer, Jr., 'A momentous decade in Brazilian administrative history, 1831-1840', *HAHR*, 30:2 (May, 1950), 209-217 and Jeffrey D. Needell, *The Party of Order. The Conservatives, The State and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831-1871* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 'The threat of revolution and the reactionary mobilization: 1831-1837', 30-72.

encapsulated in the process of economic modernisation initiated with British investments in Brazil, towards the mid-1860s the new pole of social and political dynamism in the post-bellum United States became visible on the intellectual horizon of the liberal elites interested in change. Furthermore, as the century progressed the liberal thinkers showed increasing concern over the singular place that Brazil occupied among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Not only was it overwhelmingly composed of republican governments but Brazil, following the U.S. Civil War, remained as the sole independent nation of the hemisphere still committed to slavery.

The following decade was a watershed in Brazil's economic, social and political history. In economic terms, it was the beginning of the coffee boom now concentrated in Central-South Brazil. Planters there were most favoured by the economic shift, which from the 1870s marked the transition from the sugar-cane cycle in the North-East to the coffee cycle in the provinces of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais. Foreign investment in railways, shipping, urban services and trade also accelerated as of the 1870s. Also, between 1870 and 1900 Brazil's class structure became more complex. The emergence of urban centres, the beginnings of industrialisation, the end of slavery (in 1888) and the flow of immigrants provoked the appearance of new social sectors and the concomitant transformation of the old ones. Towards the 1870s as well, the traditional political elite of the *bacharéis em direito*—the Law graduates from the Schools of Olinda and São Paulo—found that their traditional encroachment on the structures of state bureaucracy began to be

challenged practically and ideologically by students of Medicine, Engineering and the applied sciences in general.¹⁵

Politically, in 1870 Brazil had just emerged from the devastating War of the Triple Alliance, also known as the Paraguayan War (1865-1870). This war was the first international conflict in South America between Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay on the one hand, and Paraguay under the regime of Marshall Francisco Solano López (1841-1870) on the other. By causing disruption to the economy and society, this conflict acted as a catalyst for internal conflicts in Brazil which, exacerbated by the war context, opened a window onto alternative visions of national organisation and social reform. The alliance with Brazil's republican neighbours did much to make liberals aware of the ideological isolation of the Brazilian Empire in the Americas.¹⁶ The political implications of this turning point were multiple. Two of the most resounding events in the internal affairs of Brazil after this war was the end of the Conservative ascendancy on politics and the emergence of the third formal political party of the Empire, the Republican Party.¹⁷ It is beyond question that British influence was one of the channels through which the liberal ideology reached Brazil. Likewise, the restoration of the Republic of Mexico (1867) and the fall of Napoleon III (1873) who promoted monarchy in the Western Hemisphere had a clear effect on

¹⁵ Roderick J. Barman and Jean Barman, 'The role of the law graduate in the political elite of imperial Brazil', *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* (henceforth, *JISWA*), 18:4 (Nov., 1976), 423-450; Eul-Soo Pang and Ron L. Seckinger, 'The Mandarins of Imperial Brazil', *CSSH*, 14:2 (Mar., 1972), 215-244; Murilo de Carvalho, *A Construção da Ordem*, ch. 3: 'Unificação da elite: Uma ilha de letrados', 63-92 and 'Political elites'.

¹⁶ Charles A. Hale, 'Political and social ideas in Latin America, 1870-1930', in Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (henceforth, *CHOLA*), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 5 Vols., Vol. IV, c. 1870 to 1930, 367-441, 372.

¹⁷ The Conservative and Liberal parties made up the party system during the Second Empire. Note that under the Empire there never was a Monarchical Party; such a party was only founded by disgruntled monarchists under the First Republic. Maria Lourdes Mônaco Janotti, 'The monarchist response to the beginning of the Brazilian Republic', *The Americas*, 48:2 (Oct., 1991), 223-243. For a recent study on the impact of the Paraguayan War on Brazil's national identity, see Luís Cláudio Villafañe G. Santos, 'As conseqüências da Guerra da Tríplice Aliança na definição da identidade brasileira', *Militares e Política*, 3 (jul.-dez., 2008), 42-58. Available from: http://www.lemp.ifcs.ufrj.br/revista/As_Consequencias_da_Guerra_da_Triplice_Alianca.pdf (16 April 2009).

Brazilian liberals.¹⁸ Yet, republicans from Southern Brazil were the first to identify the United States as the new political paradigm which could supply model solutions for Brazil to rectify perceived imbalances such as the extensive powers granted to the Emperor in the form of the Moderating Power or the suffocation of the regional potential for development under centralised rule.

Murilo de Carvalho has asserted that although there is almost a historiographical consensus over certain degree of modernisation in Brazil after 1870 in the form of urbanisation, technological innovations or the rallying cry for individual freedoms, tradition was sufficiently strong to maintain the values of rural, patriarchal and hierarchical society.¹⁹ This thesis argues that in the context of change and experimentation in 1870, the United States began to play a meaningful role in the imagination of the Brazilian liberal elites, thus adding a great deal of complexity to their views and perceptions of the significance of tradition and modernity. Brazilians were aware that the traditional influence of the Portuguese metropolis over the politics and economics of its American colony was negligible by this time. Basically, by the end of the eighteenth century, Portugal already was a small, economically backward, culturally isolated country at the edge of Western Europe which had limited natural resources and modest military and naval capacity.²⁰ Yet, the pound sterling dominated Brazil's markets and finances, whereas the French cultural, educational and administrative model captivated the minds of the political and intellectual elites at least until the Brazilian *Belle Époque* (1898-1914). For all these powerful influences, towards the 1870s the British and French economic and cultural strongholds in Brazil began to be challenged both from abroad and from within. From

¹⁸ Hale, 'Political and social ideas', *idem*.

¹⁹ José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Brazil 1870-1914. The force of tradition', *Journal of Latin American Studies* (henceforth, *JLAS*), 24 (1992), 145-162, 145.

²⁰ Leslie Bethell, 'The independence of Brazil', in Leslie Bethell (ed.), *Brazil. Empire and Republic, 1822-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 3-42, 3 and *passim*.

abroad, because a new source of inspiration in political and social arrangements, in educational technique and content, in technological innovations, as well as in the patterns of consumption, increasingly began to filter out from the United States, the emergent power in the Western Hemisphere now eager to challenge commercially Brazil's traditional gravitation towards Europe. Yet, traditional leaning towards European trends also began to be challenged from within. The new generation of intellectuals and politicians which flourished during the 1870s did not easily identify themselves with the monarchical regime and its commitments. The turbulent political times of the former generation were over and the nation-state was consolidated under the powerful symbol of unity embodied in the person of Dom Pedro II.²¹ In the context of ideological change initiated in the 1860s and, perhaps more importantly, as the post-Civil War United States began to gain a prominent position in the hemisphere, liberal thinkers grew increasingly disaffected with the growing distance which separated their country from the United States where the organisation of society seemed to be adopting unprecedented forms.

Historiography

In order to contrast the sparse analysis of the central place that the United States had in the imagination of nineteenth-century Brazilian liberal thinkers with the much greater scholarly attention paid to Britain, the historiographic section begins with a discussion of the British influence on Brazil. The nineteenth-century 'British pre-eminence in Brazil', as labelled in the early 1930s by one of the first historians to study Britain's involvement in Brazil's trade and diplomacy, began in a transitional

²¹ Barman, *Citizen Emperor*; Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *The Emperor's Beard. Dom Pedro II and the Tropical Monarchy of Brazil* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2004).

era in the history of the Portuguese colony in the Americas.²² With British naval protection of the transfer of the Portuguese court, which arrived in Rio de Janeiro in March 1808, and the recognition of the independence of the new Empire of Brazil in 1822, Brazil's debt towards Britain was just beginning. With the opening of the ports to world trade in 1808, British merchants began to flock to Brazil; by the 1820s they had already formed sizeable communities in the major Brazilian coastal towns. In 1827 Dom Pedro I renewed a commercial treaty signed by Dom João IV on February 1810 whereby Britain had secured preferential treatment as the most favoured nation. Not only did the treaty concede reduced duties on manufactured goods imported from Britain at an even lower rate than enjoyed by Portugal; the 1827 Anglo-Brazilian commercial treaty also restricted Brazilian sovereignty by granting the British nationals residing in Brazil extra-territorial and inheritance rights.

Leslie Bethell has recalled that in the early nineteenth century, British merchant houses were the predominant institutional expression of British business in Latin America.²³ These houses distributed British textiles and a varied range of manufactured consumer goods. The British in Brazil likewise imported certain capital goods and raw materials. More importantly, they invested heavily in shipping, railways, banking, mining, port facilities and public utilities, all symbols of modernisation associated with their investors. Moreover, the British merchant houses also handled the export of Brazil's primary products. The onerous concessions made by the 1827 treaty virtually made Brazil a British protectorate until 1844 when the Brazilian government refused to renew it.

²² Alan K. Manchester, *British Preëminence in Brazil: Its Rise and Decline. A Study in European Expansion* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1933).

²³ Leslie Bethell, 'Britain and Latin America in historical perspective', in Victor Bulmer-Thomas (ed.), *Britain and Latin America: A Changing Relationship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1-24, 5.

Alan K. Manchester and Richard Graham were among the first scholars to study the British economic and financial pre-eminence in Brazil. Whereas Manchester had focused on Britain's supremacy in Brazil's economic and diplomatic affairs from before independence up until the mid-century, Graham pursued a similar, yet more complete line of enquiry into the second half of the century.²⁴ Besides the specifically economic involvement of the British in Brazilian life, the latter study also demonstrated certain crucial aspects of the history of ideas, in particular, the ascendancy of nineteenth-century British liberalism and its moral values among the Brazilian elites, as well as some interesting aspects of the cultural transmission of British middle-class lifestyle into Brazilian cities. After Graham's groundbreaking research, there followed a number of studies of the British hold on Brazil's economy. The British element among nineteenth-century Brazilian business elites, for example, has most notably been studied by Eugene W. Ridings.²⁵ Marshall C. Eakin contributed further to the field of foreign investment in Brazil with his case study of a British gold-mining company operating from the 1830s until the twentieth century in the province of Minas Gerais.²⁶

Narratives of the British connections across Latin America forged by finance and trade during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include the classic works by James Fred Rippy and the more recent studies by Martin Lynn, Alan Knight and Rory Miller, among others.²⁷ In the 1950s a new thesis regarding the dynamics of

²⁴ Manchester, *British Preëminence*; Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

²⁵ Eugene W. Ridings, 'Business, nationality and dependency in late nineteenth century Brazil', *JLAS*, 14:1 (May, 1982), 55-96; 'Foreign predominance among overseas traders in nineteenth-century Latin America', *Latin American Research Review* (henceforth, *LARR*), 20:2 (1985), 3-27.

²⁶ Marshall C. Eakin, *British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830-1960* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1989).

²⁷ James Fred Rippy, *Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America (1808-1830)* (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins Press - Oxford University Press, 1929) and *British Investment in Latin America, 1822-1949* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1959); Martin Lynn 'British policy, trade and informal empire in the mid-nineteenth century', in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The*

Britain's expansionism came to revolutionise the writings on the history of Britain's overseas expansion. In an article entitled 'The imperialism of free trade', John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson argued that Britain successfully promoted its own economic benefits by means of political pressure without the troublesome need for direct political control. As regards Brazil (and Argentina), Gallagher and Robinson contended that the local elites whose prosperity was dependent on foreign trade with Britain endorsed the ideology of free trade and, more importantly, 'worked themselves in local politics to preserve the local political conditions needed for it'.²⁸ This now classic thesis came to constitute a watershed in the writings of British imperial history which has been both celebrated and contested ever since its publication.²⁹ As has been pointed out in a recent review article, the fact that the editors of *The Oxford History of the British Empire* had commissioned chapters on the informal empire in Latin America (Vol. III) is clear evidence of the value still placed on the concept as a heuristic device.³⁰ Nevertheless, in a more recent article, Knight has called into question the collaborative aspect of the informal transnational liaison by emphasising that Brazil and the other Latin American countries in general were lands of opportunities for Britain and, as such, territories where capital, technology and practical expertise were projected in an altogether asymmetrical relationship of power and influence.³¹

Oxford History of the British Empire (henceforth, *OHBE*) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 5 Vols., Vol. III, *The Nineteenth Century*, 101-121; Alan Knight, 'Britain and Latin America', in Porter, *idem*, 122-145; Rory Miller, 'Informal empire in Latin America', in Robin W. Winks (ed.), *OHBE*, *idem*, Vol. V, *Historiography*, 437-449.

²⁸ John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, 'The imperialism of free trade', *The Economic History Review*, 6:1 (1953), 1-15, 10.

²⁹ William Roger Louis (ed.), *Imperialism: The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy* (New York & London: New Viewpoints, 1976).

³⁰ Dane Kennedy, Review: 'The boundaries of Oxford's Empire', *The International History Review*, 23:3 (Sep. 2001), 604-622, 611.

³¹ Lynn, 'British policy'; Knight, 'Britain and Latin America' and 'Rethinking British informal empire in Latin America (especially Argentina)', in Matthew Brown (ed.), *Informal Empire in Latin America. Culture, Commerce and Capital* (London: Blackwell, 2008), 23-48.

The main features of the narratives of nineteenth-century Brazil *vis-à-vis* Britain also involved the diplomatic controversies surrounding the end of the transatlantic slave trade and, only more recently, the informal joint efforts of the abolitionists from both countries to end slavery in Brazil. In 1970, Leslie Bethell presented a pioneering study on the suppression of the trafficking of African slaves to Brazil (1851) in which he argued that the importation of African slaves to Brazil would have continued further into the nineteenth century, had it not been for the British standard and gunboat diplomacy against the Brazilian illegal practices since 1831.³² Although subsequent studies on the abolition of the slave trade and slavery from the angle of Brazil's domestic emancipationist policies have not denied Bethell's hypothesis, the idea of the centrality of the British role in the Brazilian decision of 1850 has only recently been re-emphasised.³³ In the process of questioning the historical accuracy of a new historiographical trend which tends to emphasise the action of the slaves against the slavery system and slaveholders' fears of slave-transmitted diseases as the main causes for the ending the transatlantic trafficking of slaves, Jeffrey Needell has reinvigorated Bethell's 1970 hypothesis.³⁴

Bethell's groundbreaking analysis bridged a gap in the historiography of the slave trade and simultaneously suggested a new avenue for understanding Brazil's process of the abolition of slavery, namely, in relation to British diplomacy. On the occasion of the 1990 Presidential Address to the Royal Historical Society, the author recalled that 'the greatest potential threat to slavery in Brazil in the middle of the 19th century was external in the form of unrelenting pressure from Britain to end the

³² Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

³³ Robert E. Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972); Robert Brent Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil* (New York: Atheneum, 1972).

³⁴ Jeffrey D. Needell, 'The abolition of the Brazilian slave trade in 1850: Historiography, slave agency and statesmanship', *JLAS*, 33:4 (Nov., 2001), 681-711.

transatlantic slave trade'.³⁵ Almost two decades later Bethell, along with Murilo de Carvalho, enriched further our understanding of the important role played by Britain in Brazil's path to abolition. The authors brought in from the cold a documentary corpus of 110 letters exchanged between the Sociedade Brasileira contra a Escravidão (Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society) and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society which demonstrates that the assistance of the British was actively sought from Brazil.³⁶

Last, Britain, as much as France, also represented a main source of political thought and guidance for the organisation of power for the Brazilian imperial elite, as mentioned above. Graham has called attention to the importance of the personal relationships between the British and the Brazilians in fostering British liberal ideology in Brazil.³⁷ Other scholars have duly studied the ways in which the builders of the imperial institutions in both the founding moment of independent Brazil and in the Second Empire drew on the British and French models of political organisation. The works by Emília Viotti da Costa, Roderick J. Barman, José Murilo de Carvalho and, more recently, Ivo Coser and Jeffrey Needell, to name but a few, have shown how Brazil's imperial elite relied on the European political models and theories for the construction of a modern nation state. The imperial conservatism was principally adopted from the British model of Parliamentary monarchy through the works of Walter Bagehot, whereas the doctrine of the Moderating Power was drafted after the French institution as described by the French writer Benjamin Constant.³⁸ France also

³⁵ Leslie Bethell, 'The decline and fall of slavery in nineteenth-century Brazil', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Ser., Vol. 1 (1991), 71-88, 76.

³⁶ Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (eds.), *Joaquim Nabuco e os Abolicionistas Britânicos. Correspondência, 1880-1905* (R. Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008). The Institute for the Study of the Americas (London) released the English version of this book in 2009.

³⁷ Graham, *Britain*, 'Middle class Britain and the Brazilian liberals', 252-276.

³⁸ Fausto, *A Concise History*, 81; Needell, *The Party of Order*, 74-80 and 'Formação dos partidos políticos no Brasil da regência à Conciliação, 1831-1857', *Almanack Brazilienze* (São Paulo), N. 10 (Nov., 2009), 5-22, *passim*.

provided the imperial elite with a powerful example of constitutional balance between absolutism and republicanism as exemplified by the July Monarchy and articulated in the thought of François Guizot.³⁹

Still in the field of political history, scholars have acknowledged the relevance that the Tocquevillian themes of local power and associationism as developed in the United States had in the nineteenth-century Brazilian controversies surrounding the centralisation or decentralisation of the structures of government. Today, students of Brazil still debate this fundamental axis of conflict which unfolded in imperial Brazil, succinctly summarised by Murilo de Carvalho as *the dilemmas between Guizot and Tocqueville* and the potential solutions for Brazil encapsulated in the European and U.S. experiences.⁴⁰ What remains unchallenged in this historiography is the belief that all that the liberal thinkers of the second half of the century seemed to draw from the United States was its model of federalism. What is interesting regarding the United States as a third component of the Brazilian canvas of political models, is that until at least the first Brazilians to begin visiting the United States with some regularity in the 1870s and hence producing their own texts and representations of the U.S. civilisation, the images of various aspects of U.S. society circulating in Brazil were mediated by European texts. The works of Alexis de Tocqueville, Michel Chevalier

³⁹ José Honório Rodrigues, *A Assembléia Constituinte de 1823* (Petrópolis: Ed. Vozes, 1974); Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire*, ch. 2: 'José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva. A Brazilian founding father', 24-52 and 'Liberalism'; Barman, *Brazil and Citizen Emperor*; José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Entre a autoridade e a liberdade', in José Murilo de Carvalho (ed.), *Paulino José Soares de Sousa, Visconde do Uruguai* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2002), 11-47 and 'Federalismo e centralização no Império Brasileiro: História e argumento', in *Pontos e Bordados. Escritos de História e Política* (Belo Horizonte: Editora Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2005), 155-188; Ivo Coser, *Visconde de Uruguai: Centralização e Federalismo no Brasil, 1823-1866* (Belo Horizonte, M.G. & R. Janeiro: Ed. da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais & Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, 2008); Jeffrey D. Needell, *The Party of Order*, esp. 'Political theory, partisan practice and the Emperor's emergence: 1837-1848', 73-116 and 'Formação dos partidos políticos'.

⁴⁰ José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Paulino José Soares de Sousa, Visconde de Uruguai—between Guizot and Tocqueville: The dilemmas of a 19th century Brazilian conservative', *Centre for Brazilian Studies* (University of Oxford), 2001. Working paper N. CBS-19-0. This work was later published as the Introductory chapter to *Paulino José Soares de Sousa* under the title 'Entre a autoridade e a liberdade' mentioned above; Gabriela Nunes Ferreira, *Centralização e Descentralização no Império. O Debate entre Tavares Bastos e o Visconde de Uruguai* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 1999).

and Édouard Laboulaye, all ‘admirers of the political system of the Anglo-Saxon race’, were crucial in this regard.⁴¹

Apart from the centrality of British and French models of liberal progress in the scholarship of nineteenth-century politics and the historiography’s recognition of the liberals’ preference for U.S. federalism throughout the century, the cultural hegemony of Britain and France in Brazilian elite culture has also been the subject of some fine historical analysis. The arrival of the Portuguese court in Rio and the opening of the Brazilian ports to international trade in 1808 marked the arrival in Brazil of the British and French propensity to culturally influence and inspire. In the late 1940s Gilberto Freyre published a pioneering study on the cultural impact of the British travellers and residents in Brazil.⁴² Two decades later, Richard Graham redirected scholarly interest towards the transmission of cultural values, ideas and ways of life of the Brazil-based British communities into the local urban elites.⁴³ Surprisingly, only recently have historians paid attention once again to the cultural implications of the British presence in Brazil. The last part of Eakin’s business-oriented study, *British Enterprise in Brazil*, includes a section which deals with the life and interaction of the small British community in the mountains of Minas Gerais with the local peoples.⁴⁴ The complex relationship between the British and the Brazilian nationals and how this interaction underpinned processes of identity construction in each community has also been recently studied for the province of Bahia, where both nationalities actively interacted during the first half of the century.⁴⁵ In the field of the British communities abroad, another recent study has shed still further light on the lives of the British, Irish

⁴¹ Murilo de Carvalho, ‘Entre a autoridade e a liberdade’, 32.

⁴² Gilberto Freyre, *Os Ingleses no Brasil. Aspectos da Influência Britânica sobre a Vida, a Paisagem e a Cultura do Brasil* (R. Janeiro: José Olympio, 1948).

⁴³ Graham, *Britain*, ‘The urban style’, 112-124.

⁴⁴ Eakin, *British Enterprise*, ‘British society in the tropics’, 231-261.

⁴⁵ Louise H. Guenther, *British Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: Business, Culture and Identity in Bahia, 1808-50* (Oxford: Centre for Brazilian Studies, University of Oxford, 2004).

and U.S. Irish colonists in the Southern provinces of Brazil for the 1860s and 1870s.⁴⁶ Yet, perhaps precisely because these colonies failed to thrive and, consequently, virtually nothing was left of the nineteenth-century British presence in Southern Brazil, this latter work focuses more on the Brazilian government's colonisation schemes and the eventual failure of this policy than on the potential introduction of the values of Victorian England in Brazil as a cultural outcome of the British diaspora.

Whereas the transmission of British middle-class values and attitudes into the Brazilian elites has been tackled by the studies mentioned above, it is Jeffrey Needell's *A Tropical Belle Époque* which comes to the fore in specific reference to the place of European culture in Brazil.⁴⁷ This study traces the elites' identification with the French and British paradigms of civilisation for the city of Rio de Janeiro back to its origins in the early nineteenth century. By reconstructing how the Brazilian elites traditionally identified with and adopted these European aesthetic models, educational patterns and architectural design, Needell contributes a scholarly synthesis to the treatment of the cultural dimension of Brazil's ties with the economic and political centres of the North Atlantic. Also, the two opening chapters of the latest volume of Bethell's anthology of the history of artistic expressions in Latin America likewise address the region's selection of France as a cultural beacon. Yet, as far as Brazil is concerned, the adoption of the French architectural and artistic conventions mainly in poetry and painting is highlighted as one of a series of examples used to

⁴⁶ Oliver Marshall, *English, Irish and Irish-American Pioneer Settlers in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Oxford: Centre for Brazilian Studies, University of Oxford, 2005).

⁴⁷ Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque. Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); see also, 'The domestic civilizing mission: The cultural role of the state in Brazil, 1808-1930', *LBR*, 36:1 (Summer, 1999), 1-18; Schultz, *Tropical Versailles*, ch. 4: 'The new city of Rio de Janeiro: Reconstructing the Portuguese royal court', 101-149.

compose a general outline of the cultural manifestations of Latin America rather than as a topic in its own right.⁴⁸

As historians have long observed, Paris provided the ideal and Britain the wherewithal, to adopt Graham's epigram.⁴⁹ Surprisingly, apart from the above-mentioned work by Needell and despite the substantial influence that France enjoyed in nineteenth-century Brazil not only as a source of political models but also in the more palpable form of investments or, for example, in the introduction of the specifically French approach to banking, namely the *crédit mobilier*, no major work of synthesis equivalent to those on the British influence has been written on the French case.⁵⁰ Whilst this could be explained by the ultimate asymmetry of actual power that both countries enjoyed in nineteenth-century Brazil, it nevertheless remains a void in the historiography.

All in all, despite the lack of a master narrative on the role of France in nineteenth-century Brazil, France and Britain formed the central elements of the conventional picture of nineteenth-century Brazilians as drawing upon the European models and examples for the organisation of society. This general portrait leads the reader to pose at least two questions. First, what place did Portugal occupy in this historiographical composition of nineteenth-century Brazil and, second, what role was assigned to the United States? The first question has, to some extent, a straightforward answer. Portugal was at the time an underdeveloped dependant metropolis with ties of economic and political dependency with England going back to the end of the

⁴⁸ Gerald Martin, 'Literature, music and the visual arts, c. 1820-1870' and 'Literature, music and the visual arts, 1870-1930', in Leslie Bethell (ed.), *A Cultural History of Latin America. Literature, Music and the Visual Arts in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3-45 and 47-130, respectively.

⁴⁹ Graham, *Britain*, 112.

⁵⁰ William Glade, 'Latin America and the international economy, 1870-1914', in Bethell (ed.), *CHOLA*, Vol. IV, c. 1870 to 1930, 1-56, 45.

fourteenth century.⁵¹ Culturally, the Portuguese had traditionally found delight and instruction in the French Enlightenment, whereas in questions of art, furniture and décor they had initiated an outright imitation of the French since the turn of the eighteenth century, with Louis XIV, Empire, Restoration and Louis Philippe the most favoured styles up to 1850.⁵² In general terms, the references to Portugal and its contributions to Brazil in the historiography of the nineteenth century tend to relate to the legacy of the inherited Portuguese political thinking, to the waves of Portuguese immigration and, less directly, to the so-called Lusophobia sentiment developed by the poor masses of Brazil throughout the Empire and by the urban radicals of the republican period.⁵³ The conspicuous case of a work which granted Portugal a central role in the configuration of the Brazilian self dates back to half a century ago: it is the classic study, *Bandeirantes and Pioneers*, by Clodomir Vianna Moog. By comparing the cultural baggage of the Portuguese Catholic conquerors, who since the end of the sixteenth century began to arrive in Brazil commissioned by the crown to search for precious metals, and the British religious dissidents who emigrated to the United States in the early 1600s, Vianna Moog's narrative offered a first (and much criticised) depiction of the arrival of the Portuguese character with the *bandeirantes*.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Bethell, 'The independence of Brazil', 3.

⁵² Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque*, 141-149, 180-182.

⁵³ For an example of how the references to the place of Portugal in the historical narratives tend to come up as regards the immigration waves see the contributions to Bethell's anthology, *Brazil. Empire and Republic*. Bibliography on the Portuguese influence in Brazil's nineteenth-century political thinking is vast. A classic work is Raymundo Faoro, *Os Donos do Poder. Formação do Patronato Político Brasileiro* (Porto Alegre: Globo, 1958). For a recent study, see Francisco Correa Weffort, *Formação do Pensamento Político Brasileiro: Idéias e Personagens* (São Paulo: Ática, 2006). References to Lusophobia are extensive; much of them relate to the last of a cycle of liberal revolts against the Second Empire, the Praiera Revolt (Pernambuco, 1848), in which nationalistic appeals helped to mobilise heterogeneous groups in terms of class and race. For a recent example, see Jeffrey C. Mosher, *Political Struggle, Ideology and State Building: Pernambuco and the Construction of Brazil, 1817-1850* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008). For a study on Lusophobia at the end of the century, see June E. Hahner, 'Jacobinos versus Galegos: Urban radicals versus Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro in the 1890s', *JISWA*, 18:2 (May, 1976), 125-154.

⁵⁴ Clodomir Vianna Moog, *Bandeirantes e Pioneiros: Paralelo entre Duas Culturas* (R. Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1954).

The question of the role of the United States in the historiography of nineteenth-century Brazil requires a more complex answer. Trying to answer this question will lead us to introduce the contribution of this thesis within this body of research. A review of the scholarly production in the field of Brazil's foreign relations shows that academic attention has predominantly been directed towards the period when the United States had already consolidated its place as the new hegemonic power which Brazil had to confront, that is, the period following the collapse of the European powers in the aftermath of World War I. When scholars in the field of international political economics consider the case of Brazil within the broader category of Latin American-U.S. relations, the decades of the 1920s and 1930s are conventionally regarded as the definitive onset of U.S. consumer and capital goods penetrating the Brazilian market to the final detriment of the British and, as such, as the landmark for the study of the mutual trade flows.⁵⁵ In general, when students of economic and diplomatic history retrace this trend, its roots reach back only as far as the period after the establishment of the Republic in 1889.⁵⁶ To our knowledge, only a single article to date, published in the 1970s, has specifically addressed the decade of the 1870s as a turning point in the commercial intercourse between Brazil and the United States.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Frank D. McCann, *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973); Joseph Smith, *Illusions of Conflict: Anglo-American Diplomacy Toward Latin America, 1865-1896* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979); Eugenio Vargas Garcia, 'Anglo-American rivalry in Brazil: The case of the 1920s', Working Paper, CBS-14-00 (P), *Centre for Brazilian Studies*, University of Oxford, (2000). Available from: <http://www.brazil.ox.ac.uk/workingpapers/Eugenio14A.pdf> (16 May 2007); Marcelo de Paiva Abreu, 'As relações econômicas anglo-brasileiras e a consolidação da preeminência norte-americana no Brasil, 1930-1945', *Estudos Econômicos* (São Paulo), 16:3 (1986), 413-426. See also, 'British business in Brazil: Maturity and demise, 1850-1950', *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, Fundação Getulio Vargas, (henceforth, FGV) (R. Janeiro), 54:4 (out.-dez., 2000). Available from: <http://www.econ.puc-rio.br/mpabreu/pdf/rbe.pdf> (16 May 2007).

⁵⁶ Victor V. Valla, *A Penetração Norte-Americana na Economia Brasileira, 1898-1928: Sempre de Acordo ou Nobre Emulação?* (R. Janeiro: Ao Livro Técnico, 1978); Steven C. Topik, *Trade and Gunboats: The United States and Brazil in the Age of Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996).

⁵⁷ Norman T. Strauss, 'Rise of American growth in Brazil: Decade of the 1870's', *The Americas*, 32:3 (Jan., 1976), 437-444. The survey works by David M. Pletcher which include some material on Brazil, can also be included here: 'Inter-American trade in the early 1870s. A state department survey', *The*

Literature on the Brazilian government's diplomatic relations with Washington during the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century is relatively extensive. The first attempt to cover this topic from the strictly diplomatic perspective came to fruition in 1932 with the publication of the work by U.S. historian Lawrence Hill.⁵⁸ The book by Brazilian historian Luíz Alberto de Vianna Moniz Bandeira, *Presença dos Estados Unidos no Brasil (Dois Séculos de História)*, which has not been translated into English, today stands as a classic synthesis of the ambivalent, conflicting and changing diplomatic relationships between the two nations throughout the century.⁵⁹ The other main studies on Brazil's diplomatic history in relation to the United States conducted to date tend to focus on the republican period when a new policy of amicability towards Washington was introduced under the First Republic.⁶⁰ Pan-Americanism is another main tradition of historical enquiry into Brazil's diplomatic and economic relations with the American republics and predominantly with the United States.⁶¹ Last, the two other topics also addressed by the

Americas, 33:4 (Apr., 1977), 593-612 and *The Diplomacy of Trade and Investment: American Economic Expansion in the Hemisphere, 1865-1900* (Columbia, Miss. & London: University of Missouri Press, 1998).

⁵⁸ Lawrence F. Hill, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1932).

⁵⁹ Luíz Alberto de Vianna Moniz Bandeira, *Presença dos Estados Unidos no Brasil (Dois Séculos de História)* (R. Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1967).

⁶⁰ Dunshee de Abranches, *Rio Branco e a Política Exterior do Brasil* (R. Janeiro: Oficinas Gráficas do Jornal do Brasil, 1945), 2 Vols.; Napoleão Aluizio, *Rio-Branco e as Relações entre o Brasil e os Estados Unidos* (R. Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1947); Edward Bradford Burns, *The Unwritten Alliance: Rio-Branco and Brazilian-American Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966) and 'As relações internacionais do Brasil durante a Primeira República', in Boris Fausto (ed.), *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira* (R. Janeiro: Ed. Bertrand Brasil, 1997), t. III, O Brasil Republicano, Vol. 9, Sociedade e Instituições (1889-1930), 405-431; Joseph Smith, *Unequal Giants: Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil, 1889-1930* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991); Clodoaldo Bueno, *A República e Sua Política Exterior (1889-1902)* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade Estadual Paulista (henceforth, UNESP)/Instituto de Pesquisas em Relações Internacionais, 1995) and *Política Externa da Primeira República (1902 à 1918)* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2003); Paulo Roberto Almeida, 'As relações do Brasil com os Estados Unidos em perspectiva histórica', in Paulo Roberto Almeida and Rubens Antônio Barbosa (eds.), *Relações Brasil-Estados Unidos. Assimetrias e Convergências* (São Paulo: Editora Saraiva, 2006), 13-40.

⁶¹ Hélio Lobo, 'O Pan-Americanismo e o Brasil', *Separata do Terceiro Congresso de História Nacional*, Vol. IV (R. Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1942); Olímpio de Souza Andrade, *Joaquim Nabuco e o Brasil na América* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1978); Luís Cláudio Villafañe G. Santos, *O Brasil entre A América e A Europa. O Império e O Interamericanismo (Do Congresso do*

historiography of Brazilian diplomacy towards the United States are the political implications of the first commercial agreement signed by both countries in 1891, and the U.S. military assistance for the defeat of the monarchist naval revolt against the Brazilian government in 1893-1894.⁶²

The United States also has its share in the historical literature of Brazil's history of ideas. Conventional wisdom suggests that the U.S. model of federalism and its example of adequate protection of state interests from central government was virtually all that liberal Brazilians had drawn from the United States ever since the imperial Constitution initiated the centralisation of Empire back in 1822. Scholars have referred to this underlying topic when studying different historical episodes in the history of nineteenth-century Brazil, beginning with the classic study by U.S. historian Percy Alvin Martin, 'Federalism in Brazil'.⁶³ Important contributions from more recent times to the history of how the U.S. federal ideal was received and interpreted by Brazilians during the Second Empire include works by Brazilian historians Murilo de Carvalho, Gabriela Nunes Ferreira and Antônio Marcelo Jackson Ferreira da Silva, to mention merely a few.⁶⁴ In general terms, however, the place that the United States came to occupy in the second half of the nineteenth century as a

Panamá à Conferência de Washington) (São Paulo: Ed. UNESP, 2004); Stephanie Dennison, *Joaquim Nabuco. Monarchism, Pan-Americanism and Nation-Building in the Brazilian Belle Époque* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006).

⁶² On the 1891 U.S.-Brazil commercial treaty, David M. Pletcher, 'Reciprocity and Latin America in the early 1890s: A foretaste of dollar diplomacy', *The Pacific Historical Review*, 47:1 (Feb., 1978), 53-89; Topik, *Trade and Gunboats*, ch. 4: 'Brazil debates the treaty', 75-92. On the U.S. and the 1893 naval revolt, Luíz Philippe Saldanha da Gama et al., 'The United States and the Brazilian Naval Revolt, 1893-1894', *The Americas*, 2:3 (Jan., 1946), 296-321; Walter Lafeber, 'United States depression diplomacy and the Brazilian revolution, 1893-1894', *HAHR*, 40:1 (Feb., 1960), 107-118; Topik, *Trade and Gunboats*, ch. 7: 'Of revolts and gunboats' and ch. 8: 'Flint's fleet', 121-154 and 155-177 respectively.

⁶³ Percy Alvin Martin, 'Federalism in Brazil', *HAHR*, 18:2 (May, 1938), 143-163.

⁶⁴ Murilo de Carvalho, 'Federalismo e centralização'; Nunes Ferreira, *Centralização e Descentralização no Império*; Antônio Marcelo Jackson Ferreira da Silva, 'Tavares Bastos: Biografia do Liberalismo Brasileiro', PhD thesis, Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, 2005. Available from: <http://www.iuperj.br/biblioteca/teses/Antoniomarcelo.pdf> (13 June 2007) and 'Os dilemas do liberalismo no pensamento de Tavares Bastos', *Achegas.net*, 33 (jan.-fev., 2007), 5-13, 5-6. Available from: http://www.achegas.net/numero/33/antonio_silva_33.pdf (4 February 2009).

broader source of ideological, political and civic inspiration for an increasing number of liberal-minded Brazilian politicians and intellectuals has not been addressed as such by practitioners of history. Although there are some exceptions to this rule, their contributions to the historiography are relatively limited by their specific topics.⁶⁵

When students of the history of ideas in nineteenth-century Brazil approach the United States as a third component of Brazil's ideological baggage along with Britain and France, the favourite themes tend to relate to the paramount importance that the example of the U.S. Constitution exerted on Brazilian constitutionalists. The fact that the end of the monarchy led to the United States supplying Brazilian republicans with a crucial blueprint for the distribution of power as conveyed in its constitutional charter, is a historical fact which has been well researched by historians of both political and legal history.⁶⁶ The political controversies, and the intellectual production, surrounding the establishment of a republican regime and its decentralised or centralised character in light of the conspicuous U.S. example are some of the other topics also to have been addressed by Brazilian historiography. Students of Brazil have shown how republicans, particularly those from the economically dynamic province of São Paulo, modelled their hopes on seeing political authority vested in the

⁶⁵ Gildo Marçal Brandão, 'Human nature and the form of government in American and Brazilian political thought'. Paper delivered at the Latin American Studies Association, 7-9 April 1997, Guadalajara, México; José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Cidadania: Tipos e percursos', *Revista de Estudos Históricos* (R. Janeiro), 9:18 (1996), 337-359 and *Cidadania no Brasil. O Longo Caminho* (R. Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2002).

⁶⁶ Américo Jacobina Lacombe, *A Sombra de Rui Barbosa* (São Paulo: Câmara Brasileira do Livro, 1978), esp. ch. 3: 'Rui Barbosa e a primeira constituição da república', 105-118; n/a, 'Rui Barbosa e a federação', *Revista de Ciência Política* (R. Janeiro), 23:2 (mai.-ago., 1980), 83-114; Jacob Dolinger, 'The influence of American constitutional law on the Brazilian legal system', *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, 38:4 (Autumn, 1990), 803-837; Gabriel Bittencourt, 'O direito constitucional no Brasil: 1820-1934', *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (R. Janeiro) (henceforth *RIHGB*), 159:398 (jan.-mar., 1998), 19-48; Maria Cristina Gomes Machado, *Rui Barbosa. Pensamento e Ação* (R. Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa—henceforth, FCRB—, 2002), esp. 'Da modernização das questões políticas: Em discussão a reforma eleitoral e a constituição republicana', 59-81; Paul Wolf, 'Brasil en busca de una constitución moderna: La constitución de la República de los Estados Unidos de Brasil como carta magna a la moda americana', *Anuario Iberoamericano de Justicia Constitucional*, N. 8 (2004), 377-390.

provinces following the collapse of the monarchy, following the example of the U.S. federal republic.⁶⁷

Still, as regards the historical literature on social relations, the last section of the historiography to be mentioned here concerns immigration to Brazil as this field indirectly relates to the broader theme of the place of the United States in the historiography of nineteenth-century Brazil. Since the decade of 1970s, when Brazilian historiography was only slowly beginning to be receptive to the new historiographical trends arriving from Europe, notably the French *histoire des mentalités*, Brazilian scholars started to devote increasing attention to studying the impact in economic and cultural terms of the arrival (and in some specific cases successful settlement) of the ex-Confederate émigrés to Brazil following their defeat in the U.S. Civil War. From the outset, U.S. scholars joined their Brazilian counterparts in this academic endeavour, raising the status of this topic to a burgeoning field of study.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Thomas W. Palmer, Jr., 'São Paulo and the republican movement', *The Americas*, 8:1 (Jul., 1951), 41-51; Luís Washington Vita, *Alberto Sales. Ideólogo da República* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1965); Richard Graham, 'Landowners and the overthrow of the Empire', *LBR*, 7:2 (Dec., 1970), 44-56; Moniz Bandeira, *Presença dos Estados Unidos no Brasil*; Rosa Maria Godoy Silveira, *Republicanism e Federalismo, 1889-1902: Um Estudo da Implantação da República no Brasil* (Brasília: Coleção Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos, 1978); José Ênio Casalecchi, *O Partido Republicano Paulista. Política e Poder (1889-1926)* (São Paulo: Ed. Brasiliense, 1987); Fernando Luiz Abrucio, *Os Barões da Federação. Os Governadores e a Redemocratização Brasileira* (São Paulo: Ed. Hucitec, 1998), ch. 1: 'A formação do federalismo brasileiro', 31-41; Renato Lessa, 'A invenção da República do Brasil: Da aventura à rotina', in Maria Alice Rezende de Carvalho (ed.), *A República no Catete* (R. Janeiro: Museu da República, 2001), 11-58; Américo Freire and Celso Castro, 'As bases republicanas dos Estados Unidos do Brasil', in Ângela de Castro Gomes et al. (ed.), *A República no Brasil* (R. Janeiro: Ed. FGV/Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, 2002), 31-53.

⁶⁸ Barbara Hadley Stein, 'O Brasil visto de Selma, Alabama, 1867. Um levantamento bibliográfico', *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* (São Paulo), N. 3 (1968), 47-63; Abílio Serra Bryan, 'Americana de ontem', *Americana* (São Paulo) 1977, 7-13; Judith Mac Knight Jones, 'Soldado descansa! Uma epopéia norte-americana sob os céus do Brasil', *Americana* (São Paulo) 1977, 14-21; Betty Antunes de Oliveira, *Movimento de Passageiros Norte-Americanos no Porto do Rio de Janeiro, 1865-1890: Uma Contribuição para a História da Imigração Norte-Americana no Brasil* (R. Janeiro: B.A. de Oliveira, 1981); Eugene C. Harter, *A Colônia Perdida da Confederação. A Imigração Norte-Americana para o Brasil após a Guerra de Secessão* (R. Janeiro: Nórdica, 1985); William C. Griggs, *The Elusive Eden: Frank McMullan's Confederate Colony in Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Riccardo Orizio, *Lost White Tribes: The End of Privilege and the Last Colonials in Sri*

All in all, there are excellent historical studies which, from various angles, approach different elements of the relationships between Brazil and the United States over the nineteenth century. Yet, further dimensions of this interaction remain uninvestigated. This thesis is concerned with some aspects related to the way in which the Brazilian political and intellectual elites imagined U.S. society and how the representations they themselves produced provided an opportunity to reflect on their own identity. It will be shown that assessments depended on ideological persuasions and on developments at home and in the United States, and that negative and positive images coexisted throughout our period of study.

In 1979 historian Joseph Smith focused his study *Illusions of Conflict: Anglo-American Diplomacy Toward Latin America, 1865-1896* between the end of the U.S. Civil War and the end of the British political grip on Latin America following a diplomatic conflict in Venezuela. This thesis defines a similar timeframe but justifies it differently. Smith validated the timeframe of his book on the grounds that during the second half of the nineteenth century there was a contest but as yet no real conflict between both powers as regards opportunities for trade and investment in Latin America. Certainly, between 1865 and 1896 the United States did not yet have the overwhelming ascendancy in the region that it would consolidate in the inter-war period. Smith's book is representative of a tendency in the historiography of modern Latin America to focus on the twentieth-century era of U.S. supremacy when U.S. investors and expansionists were finally able to effectively undermine the British stronghold in the region. Yet, unlike most scholars, the author takes us back into the nineteenth century for further clues about the subsequent U.S. supremacy in Latin America. Even so, the aim of this work is to contribute to the historiographical trend

Lanka, Jamaica, Brazil, Haiti, Namibia, and Guadeloupe (London: Secker & Warburg, 2000); Marshall, *English, Irish and Irish-American*.

which directs attention to the era when the United States had already consolidated itself as the hemisphere's indisputable power following the war with Spain for the possession of Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898.

The timeframe of this thesis also covers the period between the U.S. Civil War (1861-1865) and the above-mentioned Spanish-American War, both landmarks in the history of the United States rather than of Brazil. The reason for this lies in the fact that representations of the United States as a rising power and a modern social organisation began to circulate far more widely during this period than hitherto. Latin America as a whole has traditionally looked to Europe for models and examples. In the process of conducting this research we discovered different paths through which the United States came to appear as Brazil's alternative 'other' against which its own identity as a nation began to be rethought in the early 1870s. As part of this process, which was long and not uncontested, particular images of the United States emerged in Brazil. We found that between 1861-1865 and 1898 the United States was imagined by Brazilians as a historical entity characterised by elements traditionally associated with the European civilisation but which in their new home in the New World were acquiring new meanings.

Methodology

The main analytical tool which has guided my research comes from the concept of 'Americanisation' as developed by students of the relationship between Latin America and Europe with the United States. According to common wisdom, 'Americanisation' tends to be associated with the promotion of the U.S. overseas, and/or the selective adoption by local societies of elements distinctive of the

'American' way of life, the most salient being the specific U.S. patterns of production with their emphasis on productivism and rationalism, popular consumption and the characteristically North-American brand of political democracy and republican organisation of power. This general idea is in part underpinned by a recent historiographical trend which is currently researching the ambivalent perceptions of, and actual appeal that the U.S. modernisation enjoyed in different European nations.⁶⁹ As regards Latin America, Argentine scholar Ricardo D. Salvatore has argued that 'Americanising' domestic cultures can be seen as part of a larger process of establishing a U.S. informal empire.⁷⁰ Much of the existing literature on the expansion of the U.S. commercial and cultural power over Latin America tends to focus on the period beginning in the late 1880s when two new developments took place on the international scene; they were, the new U.S. foreign policy towards Latin America which was implemented under the auspices of Secretary of States James G. Blaine (1889-1892) and the end of the war between the United States and Spain when the project of forming a U.S. imperial empire without formal colonies gained momentum.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Richard F. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley & London: University of California Press, 1993); Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005).

⁷⁰ Ricardo D. Salvatore, 'Panamericanismo práctico. Acerca de la mecánica de penetración comercial norteamericana', in Ricardo D. Salvatore (ed.), *Culturas Imperiales. Experiencia y Representación en América, Asia y África* (Rosario: Beatriz Viterbo, 2005), 269-300; 'Yankee advertising in Buenos Aires. Reflections on Americanization', *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 7:2 (July, 2005), 216-235; *Imágenes de un Imperio. Estados Unidos y las Formas de Representación de América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2006).

⁷¹ Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream. American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); William Leach, *Land of Desire. Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993); Mark T. Berger, *Under Northern Eyes: Latin American Studies and U.S. Hegemony in the Americas, 1898-1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995); Thomas O'Brien, *The Century of U.S. Capitalism in Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); Salvatore, 'Panamericanismo práctico'.

Salvatore has indicated that, perhaps as an outgrowth of the classic theories of imperialism, there is a usual tendency to correlate ‘Americanisation’ with U.S. economic, diplomatic, military or other U.S. kinds of interventions abroad.⁷² This author has enriched the use of the concept of ‘Americanisation’ by showing that by exporting U.S. values abroad the actors of the U.S. expansionism sought to justify the domination through a variety of representations, among which the cultural, educational and scientific fields were the main vectors.⁷³ Furthermore, Salvatore has argued that the agents of the U.S. ‘informal empire’ in the Latin American region had, for example, to adapt their products to the characteristics of local markets in order to mask their ‘Americanness’.⁷⁴ The main *agents* of this collective enterprise of the United States in Latin America which took place mainly in the early and mid twentieth century, were various, merchants, bankers, missionaries and schoolteachers being among the most representative examples.⁷⁵

For all the insights drawn from the paradigm of ‘Americanisation’ whilst carrying out this research, I discovered some conceptual limitations encapsulated within this term. Basically, what I found is that this conceptual tool tends to imply that the drive to ‘Americanise’ a domestic culture is one-directional, running from the United States towards the outside world. Contrary to that sense, however, what I discovered while studying the Brazilian representations of the United States is that Brazilians themselves were actively involved in the process of disseminating certain aspect of the U.S. pattern of civilisation in their own society in a bid to modernise the traditional structures of Brazil. Because the content of the Brazilian images of the

⁷² Salvatore, *Imágenes de un Imperio*, 35.

⁷³ Salvatore, *Imágenes de un Imperio*, esp. ch. 4, ‘Comerciantes, exploraciones, conocimiento’, 77-100; ‘The enterprise of knowledge. Representational machine of Informal Empire’, in Gilbert M. Joseph et al. (eds.), *Close Encounters of Empire. Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1998).

⁷⁴ Salvatore, ‘Yankee advertising’, *passim*.

⁷⁵ Salvatore, ‘The enterprise of knowledge’, 69-104; *Imágenes de un Imperio*; ‘Yankee advertising’.

United States was not the product of plain Brazilian imagination changing and evolving capriciously without any reference to actual historical processes taking place in the United States, I retained rather than dispose this concept. By relying on it to take account of the dissemination of specific U.S. values and forms of social and political organisation in Brazil by Brazilians, this thesis offers a complementary view of this controversial term. The four chapters of this thesis will show that the actions undertaken by a sector of the Brazilian elites to make the U.S. civilisation known in Brazil was not part or consequence of any U.S. project of diplomatic, commercial or cultural domination. On the contrary, being on the lookout for models of modern organisation of power and society, the Brazilian liberal thinkers encountered the United States, either directly or mediated by European representations. If the intention of the group of elite members who produced and circulated positive images of the United States in the Brazil of the second half of the nineteenth century was to 'Americanise' Brazil, this might be seen as part of a long-term wish to see the country becoming the South American version of modern society as being exemplified by ongoing developments in the United States. If the concept of 'Americanisation' as has been elaborated thus far is seen as not being sufficiently robust to explain the complexity of a process in which the drive *to be like* the United States neither implied mere imitation nor mere subjugation, like this thesis demonstrates, it can be argued that a reformulation is needed. Responding to that potential request has led me to elaborate the notion of 'Americanisation from the South' or 'Americanisation from within'. More importantly, it is the fact that images of the United States began to circulate far more widely during the second half of the nineteenth century than hitherto in Brazil, the phenomenon which makes the function 'images' becoming all the more important as key to understanding the way in which Brazilians reflected

upon their sense of own identity and modernity as showcased in the United States. In this regard, one might be tempted to push the argument further and go on to argue that the U.S. informal empire and its policy of ‘Americanising’ domestic cultures was favoured locally by those elite members committed to the modernisation of Brazil.

It has recently been indicated that cultural history is not only about the history of material goods and cultural expressions, but is also concerned with the study of intellectual constructions such as representations and ideas. Considering them as an inseparable part of the individual and collective expressions specific to certain groups, places and time which together made up the social, economic and political totality, the aim of a cultural approach to history is to integrate collective representations into our understanding of the past.⁷⁶ By doing so, cultural history enriches the traditional domains of the social, political or diplomatic history, an endeavour to which this thesis tries to contribute. In fact, this dissertation goes beyond a traditional history of the social, the political or international relations. It does not study the United States, nor does it seek to tackle the relationships of Brazil with the United States. Instead, this thesis explores what the United States represented in the collective imagination of Brazilians and in this sense is an exercise in the cultural history of ideas. My research questions are when, why and how the United States emerged as a topic, as a discourse, as an object of enquiry for a certain group of Brazilians; as an integral part of these questions, this research also addresses the process by which these people produced representations and narratives about that society.

In addition to the theory of ‘Americanisation’, the theory of reception borrowed from literary studies and the theories on ‘representations’ and ‘cultural appropriation’ elaborated by French historian Roger Chartier who drew upon the

⁷⁶ Axel Körner, ‘Culture et structure’, *Le Mouvement Social*, 200, (Jul.-Sept., 2002), 55-63, 55.

reception theory, also help me to understand how Brazilians engaged with the United States and why they *read* it in the way they did. The literary theory of reception proved useful in the emphasis it places on the participatory role played by the reader/spectator/listener of a text, ideas, or works of art. As it highlights the active position of the receiver of a text who rather than discovering, transforms and constructs an encoded message into a usable form, this approach has been applied for all case studies which make up this thesis. Nevertheless, this cognitive praxis does not occur in an informational vacuum; it takes place in accordance with a shared cultural and ideological set of understandings which is brought to the text/representations in the process of reading/receiving.⁷⁷ Different groups thus show different critical understandings thereby experiencing different impacts in the reception of a single work. According to Hans Robert Jauss, one of the pioneers of this theory, the literary work is received and judged ‘against the background of everyday experience of life’.⁷⁸ In this light, the meaning of a work is not timelessly immanent to it. On the contrary, each reader constructs it in accordance to his/her particular aesthetic expectations and, consequently, there is little room for hegemonic productions of meaning. If, as Jauss’s theory suggests the communicative competence of a text depends on whether it is able to maintain the audience’s interest, the creativity of the group of Brazilians interested in the diffusion of a particular representation of the United States may be taken as equivalent to the reception of a work of art. The reader’s creativity in this case corresponds to the adaptation of the foreign model to the local needs. It is in this sense that the subject acts on the object thus making any concretisation of meaning unlikely.

⁷⁷ Hans Robert Jauss and Elizabeth Benzinger, ‘Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory’, *New Literary History*, 2:1, A Symposium on Literary History (Autumn, 1970), 7-37, 12-13.

⁷⁸ Jauss and Benzinger, *idem.*, 34.

The insights from the reception theory takes us to the other methodological approach employed to conduct this study on the Brazilian production of representations of the United States, that is, Roger Chartier's theory of 'representation'. The heuristic value of this notion resides in their being posited as mediations between the real world and the subjective perceptions of reality but which, at the same time, express and produce meaning.⁷⁹ Representations are thus both reflections and results of specific motivations, circumstances, necessities and conditionings and as such have a history. The other contribution from the field of cultural history articulated by Chartier which has also proved insightful for studying the Brazilian production and circulation of images of the United States, is the concept of 'cultural appropriation'. This is because the notion of appropriation taps into our methodological premise that the production and consumption of texts—textual images in the case of this research—are two different moments in a single process and as such must be studied together. What interests us from Chartier's notion of appropriation in particular is the emphasis placed on the room for the recreation of meaning left to the reader/consumer of a text in the process of reading, to creatively adapt it to his/her own needs as determined by the social, institutional and cultural conditions.⁸⁰ The Brazilians thinkers concerned with the United States had defined political stances and worldviews which conditioned their actions as both agents of transmission and receivers of the same representation of that society that they circulated. For all that, it might be assumed that the circulation of images of the U.S.

⁷⁹ '[...] dans la fidélité critique à la tradition des *Annales*, elles [réflexions et propositions] voudraient aider à reformuler la manière d'arrimer la compréhension des œuvres, des représentations et des pratiques aux divisions du monde social que, tout ensemble, elles signifient et construisent'. Roger Chartier, 'Le monde comme représentation', *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 44:6 (Nov.-Dec., 1989), 1505-1520, 1518.

⁸⁰ Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988); *Sociedad y Escritura en la Edad Moderna. La Cultura como Apropiación* (México: Instituto Mora, 1995). Chartier's contributions regarding the notion of 'cultural appropriation' relied on Michel de Certeau's work, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

society and the act of reading/demanding/consuming these images by domestic actors entailed an aspect of the complex and multifaceted process of ‘Americanisation’.

Before moving onto an explanation of the sources of this thesis, it is worth mentioning that even though part of the theoretical framework employed to study the Brazilian representations of the United States derives from the insights arising from literary studies, the spirit which animates this thesis echoes Michel de Certeau when, by calling attention to the distinction between a cultural contribution to social history and any post-structuralist attack on the epistemological soundness of the historiographical discourse, the thinker vindicated the cognitive statute of history. In De Certeau’s words:

Historiographical discourse is only one more bill in a currency that is being devalued. After all, it is only paper. But it would be erroneous to [cast] it from an excess of favor into an excess of indignity. The text of history [...] is not a substitute for social praxis, but its fragile witness and necessary critique.⁸¹

A last clarification is in order. Brazilian historian Luís Cláudio Villafañe G. Santos has recently drew attention to a ‘little cultural war’ sparked on the Internet-based forum for scholarly discussion of Latin American history, H-LatAm, when U.S. historian of Brazil and Director of the Hemispheric Institute on the Americas at the University of California at Davis, Thomas Holloway, called for an alternative to the adjective ‘American’ when referring to the people from the United States.⁸² Even though Brazilians, given the peculiar way in which their national identity was

⁸¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (1st ed. 1979—New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 48.

⁸² <http://www.h-net.org/~latam/>.

historically construed, are less concerned with the skirmishes surrounding the implications for the collective identity of the people of the Americas of U.S. appropriation of the adjective ‘American’, the position we adopt in this thesis is to refer to the citizens and products of the United States by the adjectival form U.S.⁸³

Sources

The primary sources and secondary literature upon which this thesis has been built are held in Brazil, Portugal and Britain. During the first year of my doctoral research I conducted archival work in Brazil. Some of the Brazilian public repositories where I consulted primary sources include the Arquivo Histórico do Palácio Itamaraty (former Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the Fundação Biblioteca Nacional and the Arquivo do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro. The repository at Itamaraty contains the consular dispatches and personal correspondence between the members of the Brazilian legation to the United States and the Foreign Office in Brazil during the imperial period. It also held relevant documentation for the republican period such as official documentation related to the Washington Conference of 1889-1890 which constituted a turning point in Brazilian-U.S. relations. This corpus proved insightful for acquiring a sense of the relationships between these two nation-states from an official perspective.

The time spent in the Fundação Biblioteca Nacional was critical for my research as it is there that most of the national and provincial newspapers are located. The printing press was introduced in Brazil when the Portuguese royal court settled in Rio in 1808. Kirsten Schultz has recalled that lacking comprehensive universities

⁸³ Luís Cláudio Villafañe G. Santos, ‘American, United Statian, USAmerican or Gringos?’, *AmeriQuests* (University of Vanderbilt, Nashville, TN), 2:1 (2005). Available from: <http://ejournals.library.vanderbilt.edu/ameriquests/viewarticle.php?id=21> (14 November 2008).

throughout the nineteenth century, the elites' intellectual life found expression in journalism.⁸⁴ Accordingly, this material constituted one of the pillars of my understanding of how the Brazilian political and intellectual elites imagined the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. Other rich material stored in the Biblioteca Nacional includes the Tavares Bastos and the Presbyterian Rev. James Cooley Fletcher Collections stored in the Manuscript Section. The former was a renowned liberal reformer who early in the 1860s openly championed a rapprochement with the United States. The latter was the Secretary of the U.S. legation to Rio during the 1850s and one of the main and earliest promoters, along with Tavares Bastos, of the establishment of a steamship line between Rio de Janeiro and New York. Both collections were crucial sources for understanding how Brazilian images of U.S. society changed over time because they yielded vivid examples of the transition of the Brazilian appraisals of the United States from negative to positive and the beginning of the idea that a politics of rapprochement with that society could lead Brazil along new paths towards modernisation. The Arquivo do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro holds, among other relevant documents, two other collections of sources which also proved indispensable for this research: the unpublished and little studied journals *O Novo Mundo* and *A Revista Industrial* both published by Brazilians in the United States. It also houses the personal archive of José Carlos Rodrigues, U.S. resident and editor of both publications.

Further primary sources were gathered from the Arquivo Nacional do Brasil, the Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação Fundação Getulio Vargas and the Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, among other institutions located in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Another important source I had the chance to consult elsewhere is Dom Pedro II's

⁸⁴ Schultz, *Tropical Versailles*, 117-119.

personal diary. This source, held in the Museu Imperial of Petrópolis, consists of 43 volumes written between 1840 and 1891. I worked with volumes IX (1861-1863) and XVII (1876); the latter volume proved particularly insightful as it consists of the Emperor's narratives of his first trip to the United States.⁸⁵ The digital access provided by the Fundação Joaquim Nabuco (Recife, Pernambuco) to its archive also proved helpful for conducting my research. This service enabled me to have virtual access to books and pamphlets by this crucial figure in the historical processes analysed in this thesis, which are stored in the Biblioteca Central Blanche Knopf of the Fundação.

During the third year of my dissertation I spent three months conducting archival work in Portuguese repositories which are mainly concentrated in Lisbon. Nevertheless, given that the great bulk of the collections for the study of Brazilian history held in the main archives, the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* and the *Arquivo Nacional Torre de Tombo*, relates to the period of the overseas Empire, I spent most of my time working with primary sources held in the *Biblioteca Nacional*. As most of the collections held in Portugal's National Library are particularly relevant for the study of the period prior to the eighteenth century, I focused on the only proper Portuguese collections which are directly relevant for my research on the nineteenth century, namely newspapers and journals which contained reports, articles and editorials on Brazil. Additionally, I had the chance to consult further specifically Brazilian sources which I did not come across while working in Brazil. All in all, whereas my premise was pursuing research in the Portuguese archives for material on a triangular transnational relationship between the former metropolis, the former colony and the United States and its impact on underpinning Brazil's national

⁸⁵ This source has been published by Begonha Bediaga (ed.), *Diário do Imperador D. Pedro II (1840-1891)* (Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, 1999), 43 Vols.

identity, I only occasionally discovered references to my main topic on the Brazilian dealings with the United States. This fact might be read as further evidence of Portugal's non-prominent position in political and diplomatic terms in nineteenth century Brazil.

Structure

The thesis is divided into four chapters. Each chapter treats a specific dimension of the broader process of production and circulation of representations of the United States in Brazil throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, which constitutes the central and articulating theme of the thesis. Each of the four themes selected were conceived as case studies and provide different examples of the relationship between the images of the United States and different components of the debate about modernisation. By doing so, they together uncover the multi-faceted image of the United States and the meaningful role that this society played in the minds of the elites concerned with the modernisation of Brazil.

Chapter 1 revisits Brazil's long process of abolishing slavery through the prism of the experience of abolition in the United States, an angle unstudied as such by the historiography of abolition in Brazil. It reveals that the U.S. path to free labour sparked changing attitudes among Brazilians over time. At the very beginning of the abolitionist process, the characteristically violent tone of the U.S. experience represented a negative case which compelled Brazilians to endorse only gradual, slow reforms. This example shows that the United States by no means was uncritically associated with positive models of social organisation throughout the period of study, not even by liberal modernisers. On the contrary, Brazilian liberal thinkers strongly

condemned the way in which the United States achieved freedom. Accordingly, not only was the U.S. example of abolition represented in negative terms, but was also projected as an anti-model for Brazil. Nevertheless, towards the latter phase of the Brazilian abolitionist process, the U.S. example acquired a new, positive connotation. Abolition in the United States was by then associated with or represented as an offshoot of a modernising ideology which posited free labour as one of the basic elements of the modernisation of society, regardless of the cost.

The following three chapters study three different cases in which the United States was almost unambiguously seen as a repository of positive examples for the reform of the Brazilian society. Chapter 2 introduces how Brazilians, in their debates about centralisation and decentralisation, had since the 1860s been projecting an image of the United States as a successful example of the distribution of power between the component parts of the national union. However, it will be shown that the liberal thinkers also turned to the United States for a model example of how civil rights and freedoms were expanding in innovative ways. Chapter 3 studies how a group of Brazilian intellectuals concerned with the modernisation of Brazil's education system found in the U.S. educational techniques and three-tiered syllabuses a paradigm for this aspect of social reform at home. Key for their agenda of change was the adoption in Brazil of a similarly applied approach to the study of the sciences and the introduction of the teaching of industrial design for the development of industry. This chapter shows that the specific circulation of images of the U.S. education system was a process triggered by a group of Brazilians resident in the United States in the 1870s who actively committed themselves to that end. This chapter thus demonstrated that by actively seeking to shape domestic institutions of education along the lines of their U.S. counterparts, domestic actors themselves were

the active agents of a process which could be described as (North-) Americanisation. Finally, chapter 4 is devoted to the study of the early commercial relations between Brazil and the United States as the penetration of both U.S. capital goods and consumer products in the Brazilian market is also significant for the representations that consumers elaborated about U.S. society. This chapter introduces another case in which the Brazilian images of the United States changed over time, moving from negative to positive around the decade of the 1870s.

Taken together, these four representations of the United States by Brazilians during the second part of the nineteenth century project a complex image of U.S. society which changed over time. Surprisingly little, if anything, has been written about them for nineteenth-century Brazil. Overall, by the beginning of our period of study the image of the United States as mainly propagated by conservative groups was that of a threatening power eager to capitalise on potential commercial opportunities, for example, with an eventual liberalisation of the Amazon waters or the penetration of U.S. products into Brazilian markets. Yet, towards the end of the 1860s, the liberal elites of Brazil increasingly began to point to the United States as a progressive nation which was gradually positioning itself on the road towards critical social, political and economic innovations. In the following decade clear positive images of the United States underpinned the modernising appeal of the liberal thinkers discontent with the monarchy and its commitments; it was by then that republicanism, for example, began to be identified in Brazil as the defining characteristic organisation of political and social power in the New World. Towards the end of our period, the identification of the United States as the new measure of political, social and material achievements was already firmly established in the mind of the liberal thinkers and the United States was by then seen as having successfully

gained its place as the vanguard of modern power. The unifying Brazilian image of the United States which emerges from the discussions of each chapter of this thesis encapsulates the wish of the liberal elites as expressed in our sources throughout the second half of the nineteenth century: namely, that of a nation which could offer Brazil novel examples and potential solutions for intervention in the historical process to reverse the inherited, underlying political, social and cultural trends increasingly seen in Brazil as a challenge to modern times.

Chapter 1: The Brazilian debates on the abolition of slavery in light of the U.S. experience, 1861-1888

Introduction

I know the [Brazilian] public mood well:
set up a society to bring more slaves from Africa
and you will see the great success of the enterprise,
[but] if you want to emancipate the enslaved
you are wasting your time, my friend.⁸⁶

The triumph of the abolitionists' cause in the United States was 'a great topic of conversation'.⁸⁷ Because the United States was the other great slave system of the hemisphere, nineteenth-century Brazilians were particularly concerned with the Civil War and the legal innovations passed throughout its course. The Ratification of the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution abolishing slavery in the United States left Brazil alone as the last independent country of the Western Hemisphere still committed to slavery. Not only was slavery still deeply engrained in Brazilian life, it was also perceived as vital to economic stability and growth.⁸⁸ Historians of Brazil have traditionally been concerned with the role played by Britain in persuading Brazilians of the need to bring the institution of slavery to an end. Focussing mainly on diplomatic and legislative documents, they demonstrated how this country

⁸⁶ João Driesel Frick, *Abolição da Escravatura. Breve Notícia sobre a Primeira Sociedade de Emancipação no Brasil (Fundada na Cidade do Rio Grande do Sul em março de 1869)* (Lisboa: Lallemand Frères, 1885), 18. All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated. João D. Frick was one of the senior members of the Rio Grande Society for the Emancipation of Slaves established in March 1869. Carmem G. Burgert Schiavon, 'A primeira sociedade de emancipação de escravos do Brasil', Paper delivered at the 4^o Encontro Escravidão e Liberdade no Brasil Meridional, Curitiba (Paraná), 13-15 May 2009. Available from: <http://www.labhstc.ufsc.br/ivencontro/pdfs/comunicacoes/CarmenSchiavon.pdf> (12 June 2009).

⁸⁷ Frick, *Abolição da Escravatura*, 11.

⁸⁸ By 1870s every one of the 643 cities of the Brazilian empire had slaves. Conrad, *The Destruction*, 5.

launched and pressed for this crusade to be carried out in Brazil through a number of laws and other less formal diplomatic tactics, enacted since the early nineteenth century.⁸⁹ The aim of this chapter is rather to revisit the long process of the abolition of slavery in Brazil through the prism of the experience of abolition in the United States, an angle unstudied as such by students of Brazil. It does not seek to shed any new light on the causes which led to the demise of slavery in imperial Brazil, a domain well covered by the historiography, as the Introduction of this thesis has indicated.⁹⁰ We contend that the way in which the U.S. Civil War re-shaped Brazilian perceptions of the United States might deserve further attention. Yet, what appears to have been altogether overlooked by previous investigations is how Brazilian images of the United States evolved both synchronically and diachronically depending on the aspects being assessed and how their meaning changed according to the social background of the contemporary observer. Excellent examples detailing the contested nature of the idea of the United States appear when studying the unfolding of the abolitionist campaign in Brazil in light of the U.S. experience, which is the central topic of this chapter.

This chapter studies how the process of the abolition of slavery in the United States with its distinctively violent characteristics, set the tone, tactics and scope of the abolitionist campaigns in Brazil by persuading politicians to endorse only a

⁸⁹ The main representative of this approach is Leslie Bethell, as mentioned in the Introduction. See for example, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade* and 'The decline and fall of slavery'. Bethell's hypothesis has been either anticipated or followed by other scholars. For example, Graham, *Britain*; Conrad, *The Destruction*; Barman, *Brazil*, 230-244. See also, Needell, 'The abolition of the Brazilian slave trade in 1850'; Bethell and Murilo de Carvalho, *Joaquim Nabuco*.

⁹⁰ The main studies on the abolition of slavery in Brazil are, Richard Graham, 'Causes for the abolition of Negro slavery in Brazil', *HAHR*, 46:2 (May, 1966), 123-137; Robert Brent Toplin, 'Upheaval, violence and the abolition of slavery in Brazil: The case of São Paulo', *HAHR*, 49:4 (Nov., 1969), 639-655 and *The Abolition of Slavery*; Conrad, *The Destruction*; Peter L. Eisenberg, 'Abolishing slavery: The process on Pernambuco's sugar plantations', *HAHR*, 52:4 (Nov., 1972), 580-597; Cleveland Donald Jr., 'Slave resistance and abolition in Brazil: The *campista* case, 1879-1888', *LBR*, 13:2 (Winter, 1976), 182-193; Seymour Drescher, 'Brazilian abolition in comparative perspective', *HAHR*, 68:3 (Aug., 1988), 429-460; Rebecca J. Scott et al. (eds.), *The Abolition of Slavery and the Aftermath of Emancipation in Brazil* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1988).

gradual reform for the peaceful termination of slavery from the very beginning of the abolitionist process. In order to do so, we will proceed as follows. First, some historical context will be given. The second section studies Brazil's first phase of abolitionism, which occurred between the mid-1860s and the passing of the Law of the Free Womb (also known as Lei Rio Branco) freeing the newborn children of slave mothers in 1871. It focuses first on some of the reasons advanced in favour of gradualism; then moves onto consider the dilemma of whether to enlist slaves while fighting the Paraguayan War. Some of the most important factors discussed in this section are: the Brazilian assessments of Lincoln's wartime actions against slaveholders; the fears of sectional divide resulting from allegiances to different modes of production; the paradoxical combination of the images of modernity and slavery as sparked by the presence of ex-Confederates in Brazil; and the example of Lincoln's conscription policies during the Civil War. The third and final part of this chapter tackles the second phase of Brazilian abolitionism, which coincides with the decade of the 1880s. It was at this time when abolitionist parliamentarians and a growing number of abolition activists outside Parliament came together for the first time to form a single movement which openly demanded an immediate end to the slave system. It was only during this phase that the Brazilian abolitionist movement actively sought to develop transatlantic links and modelled its association practices and propaganda strategies on the successful example of the United States.

Abolitionism as it unfolded in Brazil. Some historical facts and landmarks

Brazil's abolitionist campaign began as a legislative initiative in the mid-1860s, receded in the 1870s and resumed powerfully in the 1880s when moderate

abolitionists from Parliament radicalised and coalesced for the first time with a grassroots abolitionist movement. There were thus two clear-cut moments of debate surrounding the abolition of slavery in Brazil. The first one began when a series of external and internal factors combined in the 1860s to compel some members of the elite to accept that the time was ripe for abolition. Among most-discussed of the external factors was the diplomatic and material pressure exerted by Britain for Brazil to outlaw slavery once and for all.⁹¹ Moreover, the end of slavery in the United States gave new impetus to international campaigns for abolition. There was also the Spanish movement to abolish slavery in the Spanish Antilles and the Cuban and Puerto Rican Laws of Free Birth (1870). And, as a general backdrop, there was the external influence of the new intellectual climate and moral frame of reference which condemned slavery as an un-economical, anachronistic and despicable relic of the past. More specifically related to Brazilian affairs, there was a letter from the French Abolitionist Society addressed personally to the Emperor of Brazil, dated 1867, urging him to take affirmative action on behalf of the Brazilian slaves. Among the main internal factors which moved the government to temper its views on slavery was first the Eusébio de Queirós Law of 4 September 1850, which after two decades of relentless British pressure finally abolished the transatlantic supply of slaves. Second, there was the War of the Triple Alliance against Paraguay. The many pressures imposed by both internal developments convinced liberal politicians since the 1860s of the need for abolition.⁹² Yet, it was in the context of the Paraguayan War, when the army's many deficiencies required the passing of extreme measures to assist it with a sustained supply of potential soldiers, that the idea of emancipation first found its way into official spheres.

⁹¹ Bethell, 'The decline and fall of slavery'.

⁹² The programme of reform of the Radical Club founded in 1868 included for the first time the abolition of the slave system.

The most outstanding characteristic of the first phase of the abolitionist process was its moderate tone. Yet, this trait did not exclusively derive from the traditional slavocratic ethos of Brazilian society. The abolition of slavery in the United States was systematically called upon by reformist politicians to persuade slavocrats that a reform was imperative, yet must be carried out smoothly to avoid, as far as possible, confrontations of the kind showcased in this close historical precedent. The first phase of Brazilian abolitionism was also characterised by its confinement to Parliamentary circles, devoid of any popular undertone. This phase would culminate with the passing of the Law of the Free Womb on 28 September 1871. The argument of the purported compassionate treatment of slaves in Brazil was another way to underpin, from comparative perspective with the U.S. case, the main gradualist stance on abolition: there was no special rush to liberate slaves at home and even less to end the institution abruptly as in the United States on account of the benevolent character of the Brazilian institution. Yet, it was with regard to Lincoln's emancipationist measures while fighting against the Confederacy, in particular, that Brazil's drive for self-determination regarding the termination of slavery was reflected upon. In this case as well, the United States represented for Brazilians a counter-example and a negative yardstick, in short, a model to avoid following. As one advocate of republicanism explained it in the late 1860s:

[T]he United States can only be remembered with regard to the question [of abolition] which concerns us, as a providential warning to show Brazil the need to bide our time, and not as a reason to emancipate.⁹³

⁹³ Antônio da Silva Netto, *A Corôa e a Emancipação do Elemento Servil* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1869), 'O trabalho servil perante o calculo', 19-23, 21. The author, an engineer, was one of the new generation of professionals who signed the Republican Manifesto in 1870.

As a result of a political crisis, the liberals were out of power between 1868 and 1878 and with them went the new fashionable mentality which had led elsewhere to the rise and triumph of the abolitionist cause.⁹⁴ The question of abolition disappeared from the political agenda for a decade and the abolitionist cause suffered a period of reversal.⁹⁵ At the same time, the decade of the 1870s was characterised by two meaningful political transitions which together would lead to the fight for a decentralised republican political regime, as will be studied in chapter 2. The radical liberals of 1868 regrouped themselves in the newly-established Republican Party (first founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1870) whence political and social goals began to diverge. For the few radical abolitionists of the late 1860s such as the prominent mulatto abolitionist Luíz Gonzaga Pinto da Gama, the question of abolition was more pressing than the question of the form of government.⁹⁶ For radical republicans, especially from the Partido Republicano of São Paulo (founded in 1873), however, only the transition of the political regime (from monarchy to republic) could bring about the transition of the social system (from slavery to freedom).⁹⁷ In fact, the question of abolition was altogether omitted from the Convenção de Itu where

⁹⁴ In July 1868, by virtue of the Moderating Power, Dom Pedro II carried out a *coup d'état* when he summoned a Conservative cabinet in spite of the Liberal Party's legitimate majority in the Chamber of Deputies. This coup breached the unwritten rules which organised the political system of the Second Empire marking the beginning of the decline of the monarchical power. Interestingly, the reason behind this move was that the Liberal cabinet failed to grant the Emperor the absolute support he required to declare unconditional war against the Paraguayan leader, Francisco Solano López. Thomas E. Skidmore, 'The Paraguayan War: A constitutional, political and economic turning point for Brazil', in Jessé Souza and Valter Sinder (eds.), *Imagining Brazil* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005), 91-99, 94-95. See also, Alfredo Bosi, 'A escravidão entre dois liberalismos', *Revista de Estudos Avançados* (Universidade de São Paulo), 2:3 (set.-dez., 1988), 4-39, esp. 25-29.

⁹⁵ Terminology changed over time. The use of 'anti-slavery' predominated in the 1860s. Two decades later, when the abolitionist cause became a fully-fledged movement, partisans identified themselves as 'abolitionists'. Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery*, 58.

⁹⁶ James H. Kennedy, 'Luíz Gama: Pioneer of abolition in Brazil', *The Journal of Negro History*, 59:3 (Jul., 1974), 255-267.

⁹⁷ Maria Fernanda Lombardi Fernandes, 'Os republicanos e a abolição', *Revista de Sociologia Política* (Curitiba, Paraná), N. 27 (Nov. 2006), 181-195; José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Liberalismo, radicalismo e republicanismo nos anos sessenta do século dezenove', *Centre for Brazilian Studies* (University of Oxford), 2007. Working paper N. CBS-87-07, 1-22.

Paulista republicans (from the province of São Paulo) signed the Manifesto of their provincial party on 18 April 1873.⁹⁸ This is why the transition throughout the 1860s from moderate liberalism to radical liberalism and then to republicanism actually meant a conservative retrogression for the abolitionist cause, as José Murilo de Carvalho has convincingly argued.⁹⁹ Tellingly, the question of abolition was altogether omitted from the Manifesto of the Paulista Republican Party. As a renowned *Paulista* republican partisan explained it in 1882:

The so-called precipistas [sic] [people of principles] say that it is not possible to have a republic with slaves, nor is it conceivable to have republican slavocrats. [...] But it is not true that there cannot be a republic with slaves; an implacable fact condemns your assertion: that of the United States.¹⁰⁰

In other words, if according to the republican doctrine it was not conceivable to combine a republican regime with slavery, the United States was there to contradict the canon. Even though the prospect for abolishing slavery in Brazil seemed auspicious following the Free Womb Law, almost two decades were still to elapse before it materialised: even radical republicans were reluctant to consider the question of slavery itself.

In 1878 the liberals returned to power and with them the question of abolition. Debates on emancipation were reignited, in fact, when the deputy from Bahia, Jerônimo Sodré Pereira, gave a famous speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 5

⁹⁸ Lombardi Fernandes, 187-188.

⁹⁹ Murilo de Carvalho, 'Liberalismo', *passim*.

¹⁰⁰ Joaquim Francisco de Assis Brasil, *A Luta* (São Paulo), 13 Oct. 1882. Cited in Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala à Colônia* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1966), 440.

March 1879. In this address the Bahian deputy made a clear allusion to the future of slavery in the United States and warned parliamentarians against the timid programme of reforms approved in September 1871. The institution of slavery, Sodré Pereira argued:

is a statue of bronze with muddy feet! The rock has already begun to roll down the mountain, and before long [...] will touch the foot of the colossus and knock it to earth.¹⁰¹

This address supporting the immediate abolition of slavery in Brazil inaugurated the second phase of the abolitionist campaign and for some the beginning of the real campaign for abolition in the Empire.¹⁰²

The trigger happened when in August 1880 the Chamber of Deputies (with a consistent majority of pro-slavery sectors from the Central-South coffee-producing provinces) refused overwhelmingly to even discuss a project for the complete emancipation of slaves by 1 January 1890 as drawn up by Brazil's abolitionist hero, Joaquim Nabuco. After six days of suspension of normal procedures the Chamber finally debated Nabuco's bill, overwhelmingly rejecting it by 77 votes against 18. It was actually at that moment when the battle for abolition escaped the confines of Parliament for the first time. From then on, abolitionist societies, newspapers and a

¹⁰¹ Jerônimo Sodré Pereira. Câmara dos Deputados. Plenário. In Casimiro Neto, *A Construção da Democracia. Síntese Histórica dos Grandes Momentos da Câmara dos Deputados, das Assembleias Nacionais Constituintes e do Congresso Nacional* (Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados, 2004), 243-244.

¹⁰² Joaquim Nabuco, *Minha Formação* (R. Janeiro: Edições de Ouro/Tecnoprint, 1900), ch. XXI: 'A abolição'. Available from: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/2660216/Minha-Formacao> (31 January 2008). See also, Carolina Nabuco, *The Life of Joaquim Nabuco* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1950), ch. V: 'Parliamentary debut', 39-51. Historian of Brazil Célia Marinho de Azevedo, reminds us that contemporary historiography on Brazilian abolitionism uncritically accepts Nabuco's disregard for other contributions to the abolitionist case. This is why, Azevedo adds, abolitionism before the year of 1880 is rarely studied even today. Célia Maria Marinho de Azevedo, 'Quem Precisa de São Nabuco?', *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* (R. Janeiro), 23:1 (Jan.-Jun., 2001), 85-97, 96, note 6.

diverse range of public activities exploded throughout the cities of the Empire. It was at this point that the example of the United States came to the fore for the second time, but in an altogether different way. This time, it was the example of the U.S. abolitionists, their organisation skills and propaganda techniques which captured attention in Brazil. In the fields, the runaway movement developed since the mid-1880s also drew on the experience of the 'Underground Railroad' carried out by their U.S. precursors as mainly transmitted in Brazil through the reception of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; this former experience proved insightful for Brazilian abolitionists to bring about the disorganisation of the plantation system and the consequent final collapse of the slavery system.

In between these two pivotal moments of the abolitionist movement in Brazil was the historical turning point of the Paraguayan War. Also, new urban groups were being born in the interstices of the export-oriented Brazilian society governed by a master-slave world. Increasingly disaffected with slavery as a system, the city dwellers lent momentum to an urban-based anti-slavery movement which, perceiving the paradox of ex-slaves fighting for a slave nation, viewed abolition as a necessary step towards modernisation, not only of the army but also of the nation as a whole.

As a general rule, Brazilian politicians—as well as intellectual elites inside and outside the halls of Parliament—discussed the social experiences of foreign societies. We learn from our primary sources that it was, in particular, the specific way in which slavery ended in the United States which preoccupied Brazilian politicians and thinkers perhaps more than any other international event. The U.S. model of abolition had multiple meanings for Brazilians playing a very different role in each of the phases in which the Brazilian abolitionism unfolded, the Paraguayan War being the internal element which propelled the shift in the Brazilian representation of the United

States from one stage to the other. In the first phase, we found that the U.S. path to abolition was seen as a dramatic event which brought the case of the United States to the fore as a negative example and thus as a model to be avoided. The war whereby slavery was brought to an end had been too appalling in its costs and too unpredictable in its consequences which were likely, moreover, to cause further social hatred and unrest. By the early 1880s, when the second phase of abolitionism had begun, the abolition of slavery in the United States then came to be seen as a process deriving from a modernising ethos and ideology which posited free labour as an inescapable condition for modernisation, and as such, as a positive example with characteristic elements worth following or imitating. It is only in the wake of this that it might be possible to analyse the Brazilian images of the United States through the prism of the process of ‘Americanisation’ described in the Introduction.

All in all, the abolition of slavery in Brazil was a complex, slow process which involved the action of various internal and external factors working together and feeding off one another. By the mid-1860s they had combined to make Brazilian politicians of liberal persuasion feel impelled to take action to set slavery on the road towards abolition. Ever since final abolition, scholars have been reassessing the role played by these various factors in the demise of the institution of slavery. We contend that of the many factors at play in convincing Brazilians of the need to abolish slavery, none had more symbolic force than the recent U.S. Civil War and its socio-political outcome, a topic only treated *en passant* by Brazilian historiography. The only exception to this rule is a pioneering, though brief article by Harry Bernstein, ‘South America looks at North American Reconstruction’, published in 1966.¹⁰³ This article, which was written within the spirit of ‘centennialisation’, as Drescher has

¹⁰³ Harry Bernstein, ‘South America looks at North American Reconstruction’, in Harold Melvin Hyman (ed.), *New Frontiers of the American Reconstruction* (Urbana, CH & London: University of Illinois Press, 1966), 87-104.

dubbed the sudden fecundity of scholarship on abolition sparked by its first centennial anniversary, has, nevertheless, rather focussed on the post-Civil War era and, furthermore, only tackled the repercussion of the U.S. Civil War and abolition in Brazil as yet another case among many from South America.¹⁰⁴

Historically, the symbolic power of slavery in the United States had served Brazil as an example and justification for her own slave practices. Yet, the Emancipation Proclamation issued on 1 January 1861 brought this case to a close. This event was not only important in convincing the highest circle of imperial statesmen that the clock was ticking fast against the continuation of slavery. It also set clear limits on the Brazilian abolitionist programme: abolition must be debated in close chambers and must be a legislative measure granted slowly by the state. Based on our primary sources, which comprise diplomatic documents and newspapers but also personal letters, students newspapers and travel books, we argue that the event which most caught the attention of Brazilian politicians and thinkers was precisely the distinctive way in which slavery came to an end in the United States. Let us now turn our attention to the first phase of abolitionism in Brazil to see how different interests drew upon this example for different aims and reasons.

First phase of abolitionism: The call for gradualism

The impact of the news about the U.S. emancipation in Brazil was threefold. First, it brought pressure to bear on the politicians against the preservation of the institution of slavery which was the cornerstone of Brazil's wealth. Thereby, the U.S. Civil War came to challenge the very foundations of Brazil's political regime.

¹⁰⁴ Seymour Drescher, 'British way, French way: Opinion building and revolution in the Second French Slave Emancipation', *AHR*, 96:3 (Jun., 1991), 709-734, 709.

Second, the acceptance that fundamental changes in the system of production were needed was accompanied by the fear that any degree of change would alter the distribution of wealth and political power in a fashion similar to that endured by U.S. Southern planters after defeat. The third impact of the U.S Civil War in Brazil took a more concrete form: the official welcoming (and active programme for attracting) defeated U.S. Confederates to Brazil. By colonising Brazil's fertile lands these offshoots of U.S. modernity, as the former Confederates were perceived in Brazil, would acquaint the Brazilian planter with the latest agricultural techniques. In general, Brazilians agreed that the United States had been able to emerge successfully from the struggle of 'colossal proportions' between 'formidable titans' who were crossing 'fratricidal swords', mainly thanks to the country's great wealth.¹⁰⁵ The general sense was that had it not been for the dynamic economic performance of the United States, the nation would have collapsed in this civil crisis and 'the splendour of the great job done by the liberals of 1776 would have been destroyed'.¹⁰⁶

The inverted lesson the United States had to offer Brazilians about the abolition of slavery gained in complexity in the context of the war against Paraguay. Brazil's early defeats against the Paraguayans triggered a constant need for would-be soldiers. This demand led the government to deliver an initial blow to the institution of slavery: slaves were incorporated into the army and as such they became a conflict-laden point of intersection between the state and the planter class—or between freedom and slavery—because drafting translated into immediate emancipation. Incidentally, the decision to enlist slaves in exchange for freedom directly challenged the status of the slave and raised the question of his eventual promotion to citizenship. In this process, the image of black soldiers fighting for the U.S. Union and for their own liberation

¹⁰⁵ *Jornal do Comércio* (R. Janeiro), 3 Jan. 1863; *Semana Illustrada*, May 1865, 5:232.

¹⁰⁶ Frick, *Abolição da Escravatura*, 12.

formed part of the Brazilian debates on slave conscription influencing resolutions *vis-à-vis* Brazilian bondsmen fighting for a nation that tended to perpetuate the alienation of their human rights.

The decade of the 1860s saw the emergence of a new generation of politicians in Brazil. They were the elite members of the Second Empire who rather than serving the state at all its bureaucratic levels as their fathers did, were liberal professionals less committed to a seigniorial lifestyle and more inclined towards a less oligarchical liberalism. This generational difference had an important political relevance which tapped into the controversies surrounding abolition. According to Nabuco, the ‘servile question’ was the main issue that separated the two liberalisms, the moderate or old, on the one hand, and the reformist or new on the other.¹⁰⁷ As elsewhere in Latin America, the imported liberal ideology was adapted to suit local needs; that is, it was coloured with conservatism in order to neutralise the social implications of its tenets and to better suit the needs of the non-liberal political structures of patronage and clientelism which structured Brazilian social life.¹⁰⁸ And if there was one dimension in which the political conservatism of Brazil’s new liberalism of the 1860s left its mark, it was the question of how the inevitable abolition of slavery should be carried out, especially in light of what had just happened in the United States.

Another by no means negligible reason to adopt a gradualist alternative for the termination of slavery in Brazil was rooted in the widespread myth of the benign character of slavery in Brazil compared to slavery in the antebellum U.S. South. It has recently been argued that Joaquim Nabuco initiated this myth when he attended the

¹⁰⁷ Joaquim Nabuco, *O Paíz* (R. Janeiro), 9 Dec. 1886. Murilo de Carvalho, ‘Liberalismo’, 8 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ On patronage, see Judy Bieber, *Power, Patronage and Political Violence: State Building on A Brazilian Frontier* (Lincoln & Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). For a general reference on liberalism in Latin America see the collection edited by Vicent C. Peloso and Barbara A. Tenenbaum (eds.), *Liberals, Politics and Power: State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Athens, G.: University of Georgia Press, 1996).

International Anti-Slavery Conference in Paris in August 1867. By depicting Brazilian slavery as mild in character, Nabuco sought to join forces along with foreign moderate abolitionists in counteracting the French anarchists' radical stance for immediate abolition without compensation which denounced the violence of the Brazilian masters.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, we learn from the primary documents that Brazilians themselves adopted a comparative approach when tackling the questions of slavery, abolition and post-emancipation relations. This tradition was most probably initiated, at least for our period, by the famous liberal thinker, Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos who as early as 1862 began to wonder about the consequences for the wellbeing of the slaves themselves of the high concentration of slaves in one section of Brazil stemming from the inter-provincial slave trade which flourished for three decades following the end of the transatlantic trade of African manpower in 1850.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, whilst the U.S. Civil War dragged on, Tavares Bastos studied the treatment received by slaves in both societies from a comparative perspective. He argued that whereas the slave breeders from Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky or Missouri, among other people from the Southern states, committed 'extravagant savageries' with 'cynical cruelties':

Our slave-masters deserve, for the most part, some praise. No such occurrences as slave hunting, the Lynch law, the legal prohibition of

¹⁰⁹ Marinho de Azevedo, 'Quem Precisa de São Nabuco?', 94. This myth would later give way to the other twentieth-century tale of Brazil as a 'racial democracy'.

¹¹⁰ Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário. Estudos sobre Reforma Administrativa, Ensino Religioso, Africanos Livres, Tráfico de Escravos, Liberdade de Cabotagem, Abertura do Amazonas, Comunicações com os Estados Unidos, Etc.* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1862). Cited in, Evaristo de Moraes Filho (ed.), *As Idéias Fundamentais de Tavares Bastos* (R. Janeiro: Topbooks, 2001), 147. Brazilian planters also took a comparative approach when looking at the events regarding abolition in the United States. They feared, for example, that post-emancipation Brazil could endure a phenomenon similar to that in the United States which managed to alter the terms of the racial and political hierarchy under a radical reconstruction policy in the aftermath of the Civil War. Images of U.S. post-emancipation society thus also informed planters' imaginations of a possible slave-free scenery. This topic, however, is beyond the scope of this chapter.

instruction and religious education for slaves that were depicted in the sorrowful scenes by B. Stowe happen among us.¹¹¹

Equally important, politicians also dreaded the possibility of any similar social turmoil as experienced in the United States during the process of abolishing slavery. In general, Brazilians believed that the dreadful experience of ending the U.S. slave regime and the decadence of the Southern planter class were as intimately related to the radicalisation of the Union government as to the obstinacy of the planters in rejecting any degree of reform suggested by the government in Washington. Let us now focus on some specific aspects of the reception of the U.S. events during the first phase of Brazilian abolitionism.

Disliking Lincoln but confronting the inevitable

Early in February 1861 the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Miguel Maria Lisboa, received a ‘highly confidential’ despatch from the Minister for Commerce, João Lins Vieira Cansansão de Sinimbú. The question at stake was the future of slavery in Brazil. Sinimbú told Lisboa of his worries over ‘the impact that the future of the abolitionist ideas in the [U.S.] Southern States, where slavery is still maintained, could have in Brazil’.¹¹² In fact, the actions of President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War were a source of particular concern in slavocrat Brazil. Yet, Brazilians did not make a uniform judgement of Lincoln’s initiatives; instead, negative and positive depictions are interwoven throughout the sources, whilst each of them stems from

¹¹¹ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*. Cited in Moraes Filho, *As Idéias Fundamentais de Tavares Bastos*, 148.

¹¹² João Lins Vieira Cansansão de Sinimbú to Miguel Maria Lisboa, *Missões Diplomáticas Brasileiras* (henceforth, MDB), Arquivo Histórico de Itamaraty (henceforth, AHI), Washington, Despachos, 21 Feb. 1861, Reservadissimo, N. 1

different interests. In general, we found that negative representations of the figure of Lincoln and his actions appearing in Brazilian diplomatic correspondence and the leading press, date predominantly from before the signing of the Final Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. This might not be by chance for up until the final emancipation of 1865 Brazilians continued to point to the United States as their main source of legitimacy regarding the use of slave labour. By and large, if a nation built on democratic principles flagrantly contravened them by tolerating chattel slavery as the ‘peculiar institution’ of a section of the country, then Brazil found greater room to justify her own practices before the international community. Nonetheless, when contemporaries looked back at the events of the U.S. Civil War, Lincoln’s political manoeuvrings seem to have been re-signified positively as symbolising the revival of the allegedly idealistic character of U.S. civilisation, which had been briefly interrupted and then restated. For:

Not so long ago [...] John Brown, rebelling on behalf of four million slaves, was hanged. Nevertheless, Christianity continued operating its revolution [...] and the freedom of the captives in the United States was decreed by the immortal Lincoln shortly after the sacrifice of Brown!¹¹³

In July 1862 the U.S. Union General David Hunter ‘declared as free all the slaves, all the Blacks from South Carolina, or a quarter of the slavery of all states’, reported Francisco Gê Acaiaba de Montezuma, Viscount of Jequitinhonha, one of the first abolitionists among the political elites of the Second Empire. Nonetheless, ‘President Lincoln retreated in the face of the great necessity of the time to the point

¹¹³ Silva Netto, *A Corôa e a Emancipação*, vi.

of suppressing [Hunter's decision] as unconstitutional'.¹¹⁴ It was therefore pertinent to ask the following question, the author went on: '[if] President Lincoln wanted the emancipation of the slaves with all his heart, [...] how can such half heartedness be explained?' 'Was not Lincoln responsible', he demanded, 'for the atrocities' committed in the South, given that 'if abolition had been adopted at the start of the war' perhaps so many would not have been committed'.¹¹⁵

Also, some emphasis was placed before the year of 1865 on Lincoln's intransigency in face of the Southern planters. In the context of the unpredictability of the war, we see many members of the Brazilian elites (including the government) judging Lincoln and the Confederates on equal terms. Furthermore, depending on the background of the observer more than was the case with any other question, Lincoln's war policies (and/or the federal system of government in itself) were identified both as the main cause of the bloody extremes the Civil War was reaching and as the rescuer of the U.S. Union. Negative images emphasising Lincoln's hesitation suggested cowardice in the face of slaveholders' intransigency; post-war images tended to celebrate his actions in positive terms. Two examples will suffice, both of which appeared in Rio's leading newspapers in 1863. The following passage is an excellent example of the contested representations of Lincoln in Brazil at the time that the U.S. North and South were fighting. Here, the U.S. president is not only held accountable for the conflict's unpredictable outcome, but his liability also seems to stem from the very rationale of the war over which he was presiding:

¹¹⁴ Francisco Gê Acaiaba de Montezuma, Visconde de Jequitinhonha, *Carta do Exmo. e Revmo. Bispo de Orleans ao Clero de Sua Diocese sobre a Escravidão. Traduzida e Offerecida ao Clero Brasileiro pelo Visconde de Jequitinhonha* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1865), 26.

¹¹⁵ Gê Acaiaba de Montezuma, Visconde de Jequitinhonha, *Carta*, 29.

As long as the destinies of the Confederation of North America [sic] are in the hands of so cruel a republican as the current president Abraham Lincoln, there cannot be any hope of the human butchery coming to an end [...] Inflicting as much harm as possible on the enemy until their ruin is complete and irremediable seems to be the only military course of action adopted by the Washington government.¹¹⁶

It is not unusual to find it stated in our sources that ‘Mr. Lincoln’s coercive policy’ was part of the problem rather than a possible solution.¹¹⁷ Conversely, in the second example Lincoln is represented positively as the saviour of the characteristic identity of the American continent in a fashion similar to that illustrated in the quotation source above. But now, rather than skirting around the ineluctable force of any religious principle, the writer stuck to a more palpable explanation of actions and political principles: he praised ‘Lincoln’s perseverance’ for sparing us ‘the profound pain of seeing a nation friendly towards slavery being formed under the protection of France in the nineteenth century. Despite the disasters and ruins the U.S. war was wreaking, the Federal Government is not willing to give up the principle of the Monroe Doctrine’.¹¹⁸ Yet, if Lincoln was sometimes depicted in Brazil as an obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in the United States, his image was to be elevated and praised in the aftermath of the war. The final defeat of the Confederates would make him responsible for ‘having fixed forever the liberal character of American [U.S.]

¹¹⁶ *Jornal do Comércio*, 19 Jan. 1863, 1. For similar statements, see also, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro. Folha Política, Literária e Comercial* (R. Janeiro), 18 and 21 Sept.; 9 and 25 Oct. 1863; 3 and 7 Sept.; 10 and 23 Oct.; 1 Nov.; 4, 8, 9, 20 and 24 Dec. 1864.

¹¹⁷ For example, Lisboa to Sinimbu, 26 Apr. 1861, MDB, AHI, Washington, Ofícios, 1ª Seção, N. 14.

¹¹⁸ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 9 Oct. 1863.

civilisation'.¹¹⁹ Later, during the second and final phase of abolitionism in Brazil, the sector of the railway workers, one of the main enclaves of abolitionism, founded its own abolitionist organisation in the name of the great U.S. emancipator: the Clube Abrahão Lincoln.¹²⁰

Brazilians, like any other captivated observer of the United States, naturally celebrated when 'the *gigantomachia* [battle between the giants] of the North-American states seem[ed] to reach its last phase' [our emphasis].¹²¹ 'With the Civil War over, what follows [in the U.S.] is the abolition of slavery, a fact which will have a long and great impact on the Empire', Brazilians predicted.¹²² But this war, which in 1865 was depicted as a struggle between 'barbarism and ambition' in the widely read *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, served multiple ends in Brazil.¹²³ Years later, the counter-factual question would be posed:

What would have happened with the abolitionist effort in Brazil had the second half of the 19th century seen the emergence of a new and powerful nation in America with the maintenance and expansion of slavery as its banner?¹²⁴

The U.S. mirror of national division and war

¹¹⁹ Joaquim Nabuco, 'A influencia de Lincoln no mundo', *Discursos e Conferencias nos Estados Unidos* (R. Janeiro: Ed. Bemjamim Aguila, 1911), 107-110, 109.

¹²⁰ *O Paíz*, 15 May 1888.

¹²¹ *Semana Illustrada*, May 1865, 5:232.

¹²² João Batista Calógeras [member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], 30 May 1865, AHI, Instruções, Minutas, Folder N. 2 (C/I).

¹²³ 'Estados Unidos da América do Norte', *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 4 Jun. 1865, 1.

¹²⁴ Nabuco, 'A influencia de Lincoln', 107.

In 1867 the Councillors of State began debating whether an immediate or gradual path towards abolition was most convenient for Brazil. At this point, the example of the United States was in the limelight perhaps more than ever before. Debates about emancipation began in the Council's session of 2 April.¹²⁵ Councillor and upholder of the *status quo* on slavery Manoel Vieira Tosta, Baron of Muritiba, acknowledged that 'the Governments of Europe and America do not inspire confidence for us to continue indefinitely, or for much longer, the institution of slavery'. Yet, at the same time, the Councillor emphasised that the planter classes of Brazil 'do not want to perpetuate it [slavery] as the Southern States of North America attempted to do'.¹²⁶ The need to strike a balance between foreign pressures and internal needs was not an unusual assertion. Councillor Francisco de Sales Torres Homem, Viscount of Inhomirim, for example, on the one hand stressed that 'the absolute continuation of the status quo is dangerous', yet, on the other, he emphasised that:

The radical and complete measure, that some spirits might desire [...] could not be carried out without risking public order and bringing ruin

¹²⁵ The three issues debated on the Council of State on 2 April 1867 were, 'Convém abolir diretamente a escravidão?'; 'No caso de afirmativa: Quando deve ter lugar a abolição?' and 'Como, com que cautelas e providências cumpre realizar essa medida?'. José Honório Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado. Obra Comemorativa do Sesquicentenário da Instituição Parlamentar* (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1978), 13 Vols., Ata de 2 de abril de 1867, Vol. 6 (1865-1867). Available from: <http://www.senado.gov.br/sf/publicacoes/anais/pdf/ACE/ATAS6-Terceiro Conselho de Estado 1865-1867.pdf> (26 January 2009). The Council of State was an imperial cabinet formed of ten lifetime appointees named by the Emperor to assist him in wielding the Moderating Power granted by the 1824 Constitution. See, José Murilo de Carvalho, *Teatro de Sombras. A Política Imperial* (R. Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2006), ch. 4: 'O Conselho de Estado: A Cabeça do governo', 247-436, 355-390.

¹²⁶ Manoel Vieira Tosta, Barão de Muritiba, Conselho de Estado, Ata de 2 de abril de 1867, *idem*.

upon all us. The examples of England, France and the United States are there to tell us what the consequences would be of such an event.¹²⁷

Hence, a gradual abolitionist reform controlled by the state was the solution the representative of the planter class began to consider as a *quid pro quo* with mounting formal and informal foreign pressures.

The triple axis of comparison with Brazil formed by the examples of England, France and the United States, as described by Viscount of Inhomirim, was questioned by the conservative Prime Minister between 1865 and 1871, José Maria da Silva Paranhos, better known as the Viscount of Rio Branco. During the same Council's session of 2 April 1867 the Viscount sharpened the debate by indicating that neither the French nor the British cases regarding emancipationist measures were the benchmarks against which Brazil should be compared. The reasons were that in those two countries 'slaves were not as numerous [as in Brazil], nor did private fortunes and the country's productive work depend so profoundly on it', let alone the fact that the slavery issue was limited to the colonial possessions of those two countries whereas Brazil was a sovereign state, so the Viscount argued.¹²⁸ Conversely, 'the only country for which the question [of abolition] had a comparable importance with that of Brazil, was the United States of America'. As in Brazil, when the conflicts around the slave mode of production emerged in the United States a significant section of the country was experiencing the heyday of slavery.¹²⁹

At the same time as invoking the United States as the most appropriate case of abolition with which to imagine the possible effects of emancipationist measures in

¹²⁷ Francisco de Sales Torres Homem, Visconde de Inhomirim, Conselho de Estado, Ata de 2 de abril de 1867, *idem*.

¹²⁸ José Maria da Silva Paranhos, Visconde de Rio Branco, Conselho de Estado, Ata de 2 de abril de 1867, *idem*.

¹²⁹ Visconde de Rio Branco, *idem*.

Brazil, the Viscount of Rio Branco skilfully turned to this recent case for an example to counter the arguments put forwards by the political elite in the Council of State, the locus of imperial high politics, in favour of bowing to pressures from abroad. To the Councillors who considered conceding emancipation as a way to placate abolitionist demands from abroad, the Viscount called to mind the ‘horrible ordeal’ of the United States and suggested that external pressures were less significant than Brazil’s economic circumstances. The Viscount wondered whether there was any burning reason at the time other than pressure from the foreign lobby to ‘precipitate’ a deliberation in such a serious matter as slavery. ‘Where is that pressure? Is it in the example of the European nations?’, he asked letting his audience know his lack of conviction about granting the European pressures so prominent role.¹³⁰ The Viscount would return some few years later to the case of the U.S. experience of abolition, this time in order to justify a rather different argument, as we shall see below.

In the year 1867 the United States was a rich source of images for the Viscount of Rio Branco. First, he turned to the U.S. example to demonstrate that the time was not ripe for abolition in Brazil because slavery, as in the United States when the Civil War began, was still at its peak in commercial profitability. Second, and equally important, the U.S. example persuaded him that innovations in abolition should not be tried, at least for the foreseeable future. If the United States was the only possible pattern of comparison for Brazil, as the Viscount believed, this was mainly due to the fact that that country promptly reminded Brazilians of the most dangerous aspects of abolitionist measures in societies where enclaves of slavery were thriving economically:

¹³⁰ Visconde de Rio Branco, *idem*.

We know that there [the United States], [abolition] cost rivers of blood, a tremendous civil war, the consequences of which still cannot be predicted. [Moreover,] [r]egarding the condition of the freedmen, that experience is not yet consummated.¹³¹

Because of the still unpredictable consequences of abolition in the United States, this example did not incite ‘a precipitate step’; on the contrary, the Viscount asserted, ‘it causes one to retreat with terror before it’.¹³² Third, the Viscount brought up the question of the sectional divide; he recalled that abolition in the United States was ‘a solution imposed by the force of one half of the Nation against the other, a solution which saw political antagonism prevail over the humanitarian question’.¹³³ The Viscount observed that in Brazil, too, the drive for abolition stemmed from a political imperative.¹³⁴

The question of a country’s sectional divide—or the ‘imposition’ of one half of the nation over the other, as Viscount of Rio Branco referred to the outcome of the Civil War in the United States—was yet another aspect for which the United States offered examples to Brazilians. In Brazil, the concentration of slaves in the Central-Southern provinces was a gradual process which began in the 1850s when the definitive ban on the Atlantic trade of African slaves was finally passed. This landmark in the history of Brazilian slavery coincided with the end of the sugar cane cycle in the Northern provinces and the coffee boom of Central-South Brazil. Together these events led to the transition to free labour in the North-Eastern

¹³¹ Visconde de Rio Branco, *idem*.

¹³² Visconde de Rio Branco, *idem*.

¹³³ Visconde de Rio Branco, *idem*.

¹³⁴ ‘Este exemplo por ora parece-me mais favorável ao status quo do que à inovação que atualmente se pretende no Brasil. Não há entre nós um partido que tomasse a peito a abolição da escravidão. Ninguém supunha essa medida tão próxima, nem os proprietários rurais, nem o comércio, nem a Imprensa, nem as Câmaras Legislativas’. Visconde de Rio Branco, *idem*.

provinces and the reallocation of slaves in the coffee-producing areas of Central-South Brazil.¹³⁵ Moreover, students of slavery in Brazil have distinguished three different kinds of slaveholder planters: the *senhores de engenho*, or sugar planters, from the Zona da Mata in the North-Eastern coastal province of Pernambuco who, by virtue of the decline in the economic cycle of sugar became, towards the mid-century, less dependent on slave labour; the traditional coffee planters from the Paraíba Valley (a region which stretched from Western Rio de Janeiro, Eastern São Paulo and Southern Minas Gerais) and the region of Recôncavo (North-Eastern province of Bahia) who cultivated a seigniorial life style; and the innovative, entrepreneurial-minded coffee planters from North-Western São Paulo who looked upon their slaves and lands as invested capital rather than as a mark of status.¹³⁶ The internal inter-provincial slave trade, which developed to suit the new needs of the export economy, channelled the transfer of manpower from North to South, thus altering the traditional map of labour force in Brazil.¹³⁷ The national imbalance created by this fact was a cause of concern especially among *Paulistas* who feared the possible imposition of abolition by the North over the South, a potential fate which they saw as mirrored in the U.S. experience of national division and war.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ The prices of slaves peaked in 1870. Because coffee dominated the exports after the 1830s, coffee planters were able to purchase manpower from the Northern sugar-producing provinces where the use of free labour was already expanded by the mid-century.

¹³⁶ Bert J. Barickman, 'Persistence and decline: Slave labour and sugar production in the Bahian Recôncavo, 1850-1888', *JLAS*, 28:3, *Brazil: History and Society* (Oct., 1996), 581-633; Warren Dean, 'The planter as entrepreneur: The case of São Paulo', *HAHR*, 46:2 (May, 1966), 138-152 and *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); Graham, 'Causes for the abolition', 125-126. See also, Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery*, 9-16. On the regional identity of the province of São Paulo, see Barbara Weinstein, 'Una mirada racial sobre las diferencias regionales: São Paulo versus Brasil, 1932', *Entrepasados* (Buenos Aires), N. 29 (2006), 63-83.

¹³⁷ According to Conrad about 300,000 slaves were transferred from Northern to Southern Brazil over the span of these three decades. Robert E. Conrad, *World of Sorrow: The African Slave Trade to Brazil* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 47.

¹³⁸ *Anais da Assembléia Legislativa Provincial de São Paulo*, 1875, 40 and 1878, 469-470. Cited in Célia Maria Marinho de Azevedo, *Onda Negra, Medo Branco: O Negro no Imaginário das Elites, Século XIX* (R. Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1987), 119.

In the 1880s, before final abolition was attained, Joaquim Nabuco called attention to the fact that U.S. slavocrats identified their ‘peculiar institution’ with a section of their country to such an extent that they ended up raising their own banner against the federal government. Furthermore, in Nabuco’s account, so much did they feel threatened that, in ‘fleeting foolishness’, they produced a ‘separatist patriotism’.¹³⁹ The controversies over the question of abolition in Brazil seemed, according to contemporaries, to threaten to divide the whole Empire in two halves in similar fashion to that experienced in the United States. This fear manifested patently in the Parliamentary discussions sparked as a consequence of the government’s decision in 1871 to propose a project for the emancipation of children born to slave mothers.

The law of the ‘reform of the servile element’, as its drafters called the bill for the emancipation of the newborn, was a liberal measure born not of the Chambers of Parliament but of the Emperor’s closest circle. In general, there is unanimity among historians that this move marked the beginning of the end of the unwritten political pact sealed between the imperial political elite and the planter class founded on the maintenance of the slave system. The agent of its execution was the Viscount of Rio Branco himself. It was, in fact, he who on 12 March 1871 initiated this first political battle with the aim of passing the ‘Law of the Free Womb’, as the active opposition renamed it.¹⁴⁰ General discussions about a gradual reform of the ‘servile element’ had begun in the mid-1860s, more precisely in the Council’s session of 23 April 1868, a

¹³⁹ Joaquim Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo* (1st ed., 1883—São Paulo: Publifolha, 2000), ch. XV: ‘Antes da Lei de 1871’. Available from Biblioteca Virtual da Universidade de São Paulo: http://www.bibvirt.futuro.usp.br/content/view/full/1854#nota8_8v (28 January 2008). This work has been translated into English and edited by Robert E. Conrad, *Abolitionism: The Brazilian Antislavery Struggle* (Chicago & London: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

¹⁴⁰ Following the passing of this law the imperial government disassociated itself from its socio-economic basis initiating the exhaustion of its political legitimacy. José Murilo de Carvalho, *Teatro de Sombras*, ch. 2: ‘A política da abolição: O rei contra os barões’, 291-328, 315 and *passim*.

year after tackling the question of whether reform should be immediate or gradual.¹⁴¹ The specific question at stake during the 1868 session of the Council of State had revolved around the proposal to decree final emancipation in those provinces where transition to free labour had been completed, namely the Northern provinces where the end of the sugar cane cycle had made slave labourers redundant.¹⁴² Nevertheless, there were fears of bringing about a regional divide. Councillor Luíz Pedreira de Couto Ferraz, Baron of Bom Retiro, was the one who had been first to address the potential risk of a regional polarisation in light of the U.S. case. The Baron declared himself against the project of officially inaugurating a free labour area within the Empire:

[...] because the country is used to having the same institutions everywhere, forming a single body in which all the members of this body have the same advantages and disadvantages, the fact of abolishing slavery in one or another province [...] could bring about the same inconveniences as seen, and with such sad results, in the United States.¹⁴³

Towards the end of the 1860s Brazil had already experienced a decade of regional reallocation of slave labour. In general, and most probably in tune with this, the voting tendencies throughout the Council's sessions between the years of 1866 and 1871 indicate a clear North-South divide as regards the distribution of free and slave labour forces.

¹⁴¹ Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. 7 (1867-1868), Ata de 23 de abril de 1868, 431-450. Also available from: http://www.senado.gov.br/sf/publicacoes/anais/pdf/ACE/ATAS7-Terceiro_Conselho_de_Estado_1867-1868.pdf (26 January 2009).

¹⁴² Eisenberg, 'Abolishing slavery'.

¹⁴³ Luíz Pedreira de Couto Ferraz, Barão de Bom Retiro, Conselho de Estado, Ata de 23 de abril de 1868, *idem*.

In the Council sessions of 1867 the U.S. example had allowed the Viscount of Rio Branco to strengthen his opposition to any legislative change regarding slavery on the grounds of commercial profitability and social order. Yet, a few years later, by the time of the debates over the emancipation of the children of slaves, the multiple possible readings of the U.S. social experiments allowed the Prime Minister to adopt an altogether different stance from his attitude of a mere few years earlier. When discussions began in Parliament in May 1871, the Viscount began by admitting:

We know the history of this question [abolition] in the United States, we know the reluctance of the Southern States, and we know what the consequences were of not procuring the timely solution which could have reconciled the interests of the [slave]owners with those of the whole society.¹⁴⁴

Now the Viscount of Rio Branco led the state's Councillors in the battle to persuade planters to join the government in providing a gradual solution for peaceful reform. In this task other statesmen were more explicit than the Viscount. Fearing the radicalisation of the planter class at home, the Minister of Justice, Francisco de Paula de Negreiros Sayão Lobato, for example, lost patience with the hardline pro-slavery spokesmen from the most important coffee producing regions, the provinces of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Minas Gerais. The Minister openly threatened them: 'If there is reluctance, the reaction will be terrible; and there is the tremendous lesson of the

¹⁴⁴ José Maria da Silva Paranhos, Visconde de Rio Branco, *Discussão da Reforma do Estado Servil na Câmara dos Deputados e no Senado, 1871. Brazil, Congresso Nacional, Câmara dos Deputados* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1871), Session of 29 May 1871, 28.

United States'.¹⁴⁵ He went on by citing Lincoln's words: 'President Lincoln said: "I neither want nor grant the emancipation of slavery in the Southern States, I only require that adequate measures be taken to modify it in a convenient way, and to bring about its end in the future."'”¹⁴⁶ And the Minister ended:

The slave owners [of the United States] rejected the fair compromise that was offered to them and they made the wrong demand, the result of which was to suffer complete ruin. The same fate would afflict our agriculture if, by chance, God forbid, the slaveowners show reluctance, rebel and handle it blindly.¹⁴⁷

The degree to which contradictory interests were being mobilised around the example of abolition in the United States is poignantly manifested in the debates surrounding the Law of the Free Womb. Now, the U.S. example of abolition was tackled from a different angle than a few years earlier when it was usually presented as the most appropriate case of foreign abolitionism from which Brazil should draw lessons. At this point, this example was instead seen as a negative model which, nevertheless, illustrated what Brazil should do or at least avoid. Now, the example of the U.S. abolitionist experience is used as a rhetorical weapon in the difficult negotiations in which the political elite had to engage the most intransigent sectors of the planter class in order to ensure Brazil's first emancipationist bill was passed. The Law of the Free Womb met with firm opposition in the parliamentary block of the Southern coffee-growing areas. The representatives of the planter class secured the

¹⁴⁵ Francisco de Paula de Negreiros Sayão Lobato, *Reforma do Estado Servil*, Session of 31 May 1871, 52.

¹⁴⁶ Sayão Lobato, *idem*, 52-53.

¹⁴⁷ Sayão Lobato, *idem*.

majority in the Lower House and this anti-abolitionist block manifested its unanimity in the sessions of 29 and 30 May, 14 June and 22 July 1871.¹⁴⁸ In one of these sessions the Viscount of Rio Branco openly blamed the slaveholders of the Southern provinces for clinging to ideas that were driving a wedge between two well demarcated regions of the Empire and turned to the example of their U.S. Southern predecessors to back up his argument. The Viscount recalled that in the United States ‘[t]he ideas of the North entered into conflict with those of the South, and the Southern States, forever unyielding, wanted to subject the legislation of the Northern States to all the requirements of [the slave] institution that [the Northerners] rejected’. Then, the Viscount wondered:

What, then, was the result? [The Southerners] threatened separation and then turned to civil war, wielding the banner of fratricide. Happily we have not reached such cruel extremes here, gentlemen; however, we can clearly see the influences of similar causes and ideas!¹⁴⁹

Recourse to the U.S. case of abolition was systematically employed during the campaign to pass the Law of the Free Womb. The violence encapsulated in this example served as a powerful rhetorical means which was now being employed by the imperial political elite to have the first emancipationist law passed in Parliament. In the hands of this reformist sector committed to legislated gradualism, the U.S. example served as a strong negative example to convince recalcitrants that should they accept the new emancipationist law, they would be better off than were their U.S. Southern counterparts following their radicalisation against Washington. Equally

¹⁴⁸ Viscount of Rio Branco, *Discussão da Reforma do Estado Servil*, 20-37, 44-80, 164-199 and 269 respectively.

¹⁴⁹ Visconde de Rio Branco, *Discussão da Reforma do Estado Servil*, Session of 14 Jun. 1871, 176.

interesting, the factor of violence conveyed in the U.S. example as wielded by gradualists also prevented them from campaigning for emancipation outside Parliament; on the contrary, the other important lesson they drew from the U.S. abolitionist experience was that they must try hard to restrict the debates to a closed chamber. In other words, turning to the argument of violence shaped the tone of the abolitionist debates in Brazil which unfolded between the Paraguayan War and the historical triumph of the political elite over the socio-economic basis of the regime on 28 September 1871 with the passing of the Law of the Free Womb.¹⁵⁰

The abolition of slavery in the United States was one of the main factors, if not the most important one, which suggested to the imperial elite a specific way to accomplish abolition in Brazil. If official inaction was highly problematic, especially in relation to the abolitionist pressure exerted by Europe, the U.S. case showed that blindness and radicalisation on the part of the planters, even in front of moderate programmes of reform such as the project of free birth, was equally dangerous or even worse for national unity. Historian of Brazil Martha Abreu has reminded us that although historiography has minimised the importance of this legislation in changing the lives of the slaves, the opponents of the law were not so sure about the shallowness of the change.¹⁵¹ In fact, only with great difficulty and at the expense of exercising constant political pressure in Parliament could the head of the ministries, the Viscount of Rio Branco, succeed in having the Free Womb bill passed. What is more important for the topic of this chapter, however, is that the Prime Minister

¹⁵⁰ Law N. 2040. Graham, 'The Abolition of Slavery', 256; Drescher, 'Brazilian abolition', 447; Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery*, ch. II: 'The search for a gradual solution', 38-57; Conrad, *The Destruction*, ch. VI: 'The emancipation of the newborn', 90-105.

¹⁵¹ Martha Abreu, 'Slave mothers and freed children: Emancipation and female space on the "Free Womb" Law, Rio de Janeiro, 1871', *JLAS*, 28:3, Brazil: History and Society (Oct., 1996), 567-580, 570.

systematically drew on the actions and fate of U.S. Southern planters to convince the opposition to approve the bill.

Following the passing of this law, however, the tasks of abolition remained largely unfinished. Moreover, the Free Womb Law was retrograde in spirit and application, as Richard Graham has described it. The newborn children to slave mothers were nominally free, yet they remained with and worked for their masters until the age of 21. Furthermore, since their ability to serve was thus temporarily limited, the law left the newborn children open to harsher exploitation more than ever before.¹⁵² Accordingly, as late as the 1880s radicalised abolitionists were still advocating the voluntary relinquishment of slavery by slaveholders. In the Manifesto of the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society, a text addressed to slaveholders, a warning was issued to slaveholders that the State ‘treats you [slavocrats] as friend and men of good faith’. If, however:

you build an insurmountable barrier against each Emancipationist idea, and recoil in terror before each measure; then, the responsibility will be entirely yours when the law, after so many frustrated attempts, has to pursue you, as Lincoln did with the planters of the South of the Union whom he wanted to save until the end, as a belligerent rival power.¹⁵³

What interests us from the debates on abolitionism as developed in its first phase in Brazil are the multiple interpretations that the U.S. example gave rise to and,

¹⁵² The law also postponed the date for emancipation until the mid-twentieth century; the scant funds it created for emancipation were hardly used; and the registration of slaves was badly carried out and even falsified—many slaveholders exaggerated the age of their African-born slaves so as to make them pass as if they were imported before the law of 7 November 1831 which made the importation of slaves illegal. Historians agree that the law of 1871 was a concession to Parliamentary abolitionist pressure. Graham, ‘The Abolition of Slavery’, 256.

¹⁵³ *Manifesto da Sociedade Brasileira contra a Escravidão* (R. Janeiro: G. Leuzinger, 1880), 15.

more importantly, the many lessons politicians drew from it. Or, to put it more dramatically, it is interesting to see that the signifier ‘United States’ did not have a fixed meaning nor did the reality signified by it *belong* to one side or the other of the political battlefield of abolition. On the contrary, the experience of the United States before and after the historical period of transition which began with the Civil War, was a malleable rhetorical device that was easily available to liberal thinkers in need of a means of persuasion to construct meaning and confer consistency on their arguments. The contended nature of the United States is also well illustrated by the potential arrival of the Confederate exiles in Brazil. It is to this aspect of the Brazilians’ imagination of U.S. society that we now turn our attention.

Ex-Confederates immigrants: Images of slavery and modernity

The Civil War strengthened the counter-discourse of anti-slavery just as much as the slave-holding political discourse in Brazil. The radicalisation of the U.S. Southern slaveholders was sometimes blamed for the longevity of slavery in Brazil. Some voices from the conservative camp, for example, contended that ‘we would not have kept that unfair institution for so long, if the biggest [sic] nation of America [sic] had not tried to legitimise it’.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, the Confederates in general were held in high esteem during the war, and perhaps even more so in the aftermath of their defeat.¹⁵⁵ Far from enshrining a monolithic model, we increasingly discover the deeply ambivalent and multi-faceted nature of the *political artefact* ‘United States’. Natalie Zemon Davis has argued that cultural ‘artefacts’ have possibilities, tensions

¹⁵⁴ Eduardo Prado, *A Ilusão Americana* (1st ed. 1893—Paris: Armand Colin et Cie. Eds., 1895), 207-208.

¹⁵⁵ For example, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 21 May 1867.

and gaps in meanings which can be filled in by observers in their own ways.¹⁵⁶ Following this insight we argue that the concept of ‘artefact’ can be applied to the Brazilian perspectives on the United States. In fact, what we see in this chapter and elsewhere in this thesis is that the United States appeared for Brazilians as a meaningful example of a social organisation upon which personal expectations and political ideologies were projected and which at different historical junctures unleashed both images and counter-images of freedom, progress and modernity. The latter, in particular, is notably exemplified by what the Brazilians saw in the ex-Confederate migrants to Brazil.

In 1865 the then Minister of Foreign Affairs José Antônio Saraiva, explained in a confidential dispatch to the head of the Brazilian legation to the United States in 1865, Joaquim Maria Nascentes d’ Azambuja, that the potential ex-Confederate exiles to Brazil ‘[could] be very advantageous for the Empire’¹⁵⁷; so much so that the Emperor himself encouraged, welcomed and visited different groups of Confederates arriving into Rio de Janeiro.¹⁵⁸ As regards the diplomatic controversies that the informal welcoming of these migrants by Brazilian authorities could spark with the government of the U.S. Union, Saraiva assured the Brazilian representative to Washington, that:

it will not be difficult to avoid the hindrances that it will create [with] the Government of Washington. Emancipation must arrive in Brazil, but it

¹⁵⁶ Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Toward mixtures and margins’, *AHR*, 97:5 (Dec., 1992), 1409-1416.

¹⁵⁷ José Antônio Saraiva to Joaquim Maria Nascentes d’Azambuja, 19 Jun. 1865. MDB, AHI, Washington, Despachos, Seção Central, n/n. Reservado.

¹⁵⁸ See for example, Griggs, *The Elusive Eden*, 85-86 and Orizio, *Lost White Tribes*.

cannot be the object of foreign propaganda [...]. It is an internal question and it must be resolved internally and opportunely.¹⁵⁹

The proposition that political changes are born exclusively out of internal social dynamics rather than any potential transnational vision that sympathisers of abolition at home might share with their North-Atlantic counterparts was a favourite theme of the pro-slavery sectors throughout the long years that the abolitionist campaign endured in Brazil. Nevertheless, as we shall see, this argument was not the monopoly of anti-abolition groups. It is in light of the complex matrix of overlapping interests and political affiliations that the contended nature of the Brazilian images of the United States comes to the fore. And it is against this backdrop that Brazilians, irrespective of political cleavages, did indeed ‘welcome [Confederates] to this land of accommodation’.¹⁶⁰

In November 1866 the Brazilian government set up an emigration office in New York and a subsidiary division in New Orleans with the specific aim of attracting disgruntled U.S. Southern farmer families to Brazil.¹⁶¹ Future republican leader, Quintino Bocaiúva was a founding member of the Imperial Immigration Society. Between 1866 and 1867 Bocaiúva resided in the United States where he headed the New York-based branch of the Immigration Society from where Brazilian agents (mostly diplomatic envoys) campaigned to attract prospective ex-Confederate colonists. Bocaiúva’s main task there was to promote the colonisation of the Brazilian

¹⁵⁹ Saraiva to Nascentes d’Azambuja, *idem*.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Emigração dos Estados Unidos’, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 5 Jul. 1865.

¹⁶¹ Joaquim Maria Nascentes d’Azambuja to Antônio Francisco de Paula Souza, MDB, AHI, Offícios, 29, 30 and 5 Jul. 1866. The news about the gradual arrival of Confederate exiles was published in the leading press. For example, the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* reported that the Reverend Ballard S. Dunn and Charles Clarke among others, departed from Rio de Janeiro to the towns of Itabapoana and Itapemirim in the South-Eastern province of Espírito Santo, to select lands for the establishment of ex-Confederate families. The imperial government commissioned Carlos Pinto de Figueiredo [unknown to us] to host and help Brazil’s ‘guests’. 12 Nov. 1865, 1.

lands by U.S. Southern farmer families. An advertising campaign was launched to accomplish this goal. Among the first resorts employed by the Brazilian establishment there was a letter by the Brazilian Minister of Agriculture, Antônio Francisco de Paula Souza, to the Confederate General William W. Wood dated October 1865 in which Paula Souza explained the advantages that Confederates would enjoy in Brazil.¹⁶² A whole set of material benefits was extended to them, the most salient of which were cheap steamship tickets and land mortgages for the most fertile lands of Brazil.¹⁶³ Furthermore, following the first successful test, new immigration offices were planned to open in the Southern cities of the United States to allow the Confederates to have the opportunity to board the steamship vessels from their local ports.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² The full letter is transcribed in the first page of *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* on 15 October 1865 under the title 'Emigração da América do Norte'. A large number of letters and other manuscripts exchanged between the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Empire and the Imperial Legation in the United States between 1866 and 1868 is held in the Palácio do Itamaraty. These documents attest to the seriousness of the endeavours to attract ex-Confederates to colonise the Empire. See also, 'Imigração Norte-Americana para o Brasil', *Revista de Imigração e Colonização* (R. Janeiro), 4:2 (jun., 1943), 264-333 and Antunes de Oliveira, *Movimento de Passageiros*.

¹⁶³ Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, 'Memória sobre a Imigração', in *Sociedade Internacional de Imigração. Relatório Annual da Directoria. Acompanhado dos Seguintes Annexos: I, Memória sobre a Imigração pelo Director A. C. Tavares Bastos; II, Idem pelo Director Herman Haupt*, N. 1 (R. Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve & Comp., 1867), 7; Quintino Bocaiúva, 'Reflexões sobre imigração', *Jornal do Comércio*, 21 de março de 1867; 'Uma questão pessoal. Carta a ilustrada redação de "A Província de São Paulo"', *A Província de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 17 abr. 1877; 'De Quintino Bocaiúva aos presidentes das províncias do Império', Arquivo Particular de Quintino Bocaiúva, FGV/CPDOC, uncatologued document, and *A Província de São Paulo*, 24 May 1889. See also, Eduardo Silva (ed.), *Idéias Políticas de Quintino Bocaiúva. Cronologia, Introdução, Notas Bibliográficas e Textos Selecionados* (R. Janeiro: FCRB, 1986), Vol. 2; Caetano Furquim de Almeida, 'Relatório do Presidente da Directoria', 16 março 1867, Rio de Janeiro, in *Sociedade Internacional de Imigração*, 3-4; Herman Haupt, 'Memória sobre a Imigração', *idem.*, 21-83.

¹⁶⁴ Joaquim Maria Nascentes d'Azambuja to Paula Souza, New York, 5 Jul. and 26 Aug. 1866, in MDB, AHI, Despachos. Also, Tavares Bastos, 'Memória', 8, N. 4. On 20 June 1866 the *United States and Brazil Steamship Company* owned by Cornelius K. Garrison concluded an agreement with the Brazilian government for the service between Brazil and the U.S. Southern ports. It has been calculated that 1,070 citizens from Alabama, Texas, Louisiana, Tennessee, South Carolina, Mississippi and Virginia disembarked between 1866 and 1867 in Brazilian ports with the province of São Paulo the home of some eight hundred of them. In 1867 Tavares Bastos calculated that 1,143 Confederate exiles had entered the country. Contemporary studies double the number to about 2,000. Griggs, *The Elusive Eden*, 30; Fernando de Lázaro de Barros Basto, *Síntese da História da Imigração no Brasil* (R. Janeiro: Editôra e Impressora de Jornais e Revistas, 1970), 69-70; Tavares Bastos, 'Movimento da imigração', 'Memória', 5-6, 5. Note that in general there is no agreement as to the names of the steamship lines ferrying people between Brazil and the United States.

A first paradox of this story is particularly revealing about Brazil's complex approach to the idea of the United States. Why look for emigrants in a country renowned for its immigrant basis? Was it simply because the U.S. Southerners were seen as skilled farmers, bearers of modern agricultural techniques and the agents of modernisation who would bring about the historic replacement of the Brazilian hoe with the Anglo-Saxon plough?—to put it metaphorically though not inaccurately.¹⁶⁵ In the context of the manpower crisis following the end of the Atlantic slave trade and the draining of plantation workers to fight as members of the imperial army during the Paraguayan War, as we shall see shortly, Brazil was on the lookout for skilled, modern farmers who could help increase the efficiency of the means of production. Of these, the U.S. Southern states appeared to have a formidable stock. Needless to say, the U.S. Southern colonist was not considered part of labour force for the fields but as an ideal, 'modern' landed entrepreneur for colonising the Brazilian land.¹⁶⁶ Rather than being seen as the defeated exponents of an exhausted way of life (which even if so, could still be re-enacted in slavocrat Brazil), disaffected Southerners were depicted as unfortunate, hard-working entrepreneurs, heralds of cutting-edge agricultural techniques. And the Brazilian government was anxious to attract them. In the words of Tavares Bastos, the prominent liberal statesman who at the same time was trying successfully to establish direct steamship lines with the United States, as will be studied in chapter 4, the desideratum was '[to] provide shelter to industrious

¹⁶⁵ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 7 Nov. 1863; Mac Knight Jones, 'Soldado descansal!', 16. Other agricultural improvements expected to be imported along with the stock of 'Anglo-Saxon' colonists were manure fertiliser and the prune. José Murilo de Carvalho (ed.), *Congresso Agrícola* [R, Janeiro, 1878]; *Anais* (R. Janeiro: FCRB, 1988), 161. See also, João Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses sobre Colonização do Brasil. Projeto de Solução a's Questões Sociais, que se Prendem a este Difficil Problema. Relatório apresentado ao Ministério da Agricultura, Commércio e Obras Publicas em 1875*, (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1875), 68.

¹⁶⁶ For example: 'Os farmers dos Estados do Sul virão em nosso paiz satisfazer á grande necessidade de lavradores inteligentes e ousados'. Tavares Bastos, 'Memória', 7. See also, Quintino Bocaiúva, *A Crise da Lavoura. Succinta Exposição* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1868), esp. 11-59.

men, who will communicate to our people their arts, their expertise and activity’.

These people, in fact:

already stand out for the improvement of their agricultural work, for the use of machinery, for the regularity and intelligence with which they manage their new establishments and, finally, for the great contribution that they promise to the overall production of the country.¹⁶⁷

Yet, it is with regard to these hosts that the malleability of the notion of ‘modern’ and ‘modernity’ exhibits all its force. If a way to introduce modern agricultural instruments and techniques into Brazil was channelled through these Northern colonists, it was nonetheless expected that these exiles could restore their ante-bellum way of life in their new home, an official policy which clashed with the government’s announcements about its abolitionist intentions. As underlined in 1867 by the Baron of Muritiba who, at best, was an advocate of moderate abolitionist reforms:

if we really want to attract the colonisation of Southern North America to our country, direct abolition evidently contradicts it. It seems impossible that the victims sacrificed to abolition should come to inhabit a land in which a similar measure [abolition] is likely to bring about similar disgraces [the ruin of the planter class].¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Moreover, ‘Para prova-lo, transcrevermos a noticia que de alguns sérvio-se dar-nos o Sr. Carlos Nathan, que é aqui, por assim dizer, o guia desses imigrantes. Ahi ver-se-ha que um delles, o Dr. Dansereau, medico e ex-proprietario na Luiziana, estabeleceu-se em uma fazenda sita neste município neutro justamente, que pouco rendia aos seus antigos donos, mas produzio-lhe 20,000\$ na ultima colheita, e promete-lhe 150,000\$ na futura. Taes algarismos dispensão commentarios. A tentativa é, pois, digna de ser continuada’. Tavares Bastos, ‘Memória’, 7-8, N. 4.

¹⁶⁸ Barão de Muritiba, Conselho de Estado, Ata de 2 de abril de 1867, *idem*.

The Confederates were indeed welcomed for their innovative ethos concerning techniques of agricultural production such as, for example, the plough.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, other Brazilians, however, chose to highlight different aspects of this colonist group. Along with the progressive components of their civilization:

[t]he Americans introduced new formulas of torments and new devices for torture. [They] brought improved whips and patented handcuffs to use with their new slaves and later tried to propagate lynching.¹⁷⁰

Whether the unreconstructed Confederate immigrants pursuing their slavocrat way of life in Brazilian lands contradicted contemporary notions of ‘modernity’, was not an issue tackled as such at the time.¹⁷¹ What is interesting is the controversial and multiple interpretations that the presence of these immigrant groups sparked among statesmen and thinkers. In the 1870s a great national debate began in Brazil seeking to address the crisis of the labour shortage in the context of the increasing demand for cheap labour in the expanding coffee economy.¹⁷² Yet, there was the question of the

¹⁶⁹ Eudoro Berlik, ‘Sobre a colonização norte-americana’, 25 oct. 1865, *Jornal do Comércio: Folha Commercial, Litteraria y Noticiosa* (Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul); Tavares Bastos, ‘Ação do governo’, 23 Mar. 1867, *Jornal do Comércio*. See also, Mac Knight Jones, ‘Soldado descansa!’, 19.

¹⁷⁰ Prado, *A Ilusão Americana*, 213-214.

¹⁷¹ The validity in the U.S. Southern states of the ‘Lynch law, which is in their veins’, is also explicitly criticised by Nabuco. This practice along with other social injustices, made him assert that the only indisputably and permanently free country in the Western world was England. Nabuco, *Minha Formação*, *idem.*, ch. XII: ‘A influência inglesa’. In Brazil, the cases of lynching were mostly confined to the areas where the colonies of ex-Confederates flourished, namely in the province of São Paulo. They coincided with the period in which contrasting views on slave and free labour radicalised, that is in the second phase of the abolitionist process studied in Part II. For example, James Ox Warne and John Jackson Clink, two ex-Confederates who succeeded in settling down in Brazil, were known for having led the lynching movement in the region of Rio do Peixe. In early 1888 they managed to summon 140 planters to the local policeman’s house. They broke into it and murdered the delegate and the runaway slaves sheltered there. This case is described in Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery*, 212 and referred to at the time, for example, by the prominent abolitionist José do Patrocínio in the abolitionist newspaper *Cidade do Rio* (R. Janeiro) on 21 Nov. 1887, 11 Jun. 1888 and 5 Jan. 1889. See also, José Murilo de Carvalho (ed.), *José do Patrocínio. A Campanha Abolicionista: Coletânea de Artigos* (R. Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, 1996).

¹⁷² The solution for the problem of labour in the expanding coffee areas was to be found in immigration after the inter-provincial trade was closed in 1885. For the contemporary debates around the ideal

hierarchy of the prospective immigrants both to establish agricultural colonies in Brazil and to work in the fields as a labour force. Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, one of the leading figures of the discussions about the ideal colonist type, was among the first to point out that of all potential immigrant colonists to Brazil:

The Anglo-Saxon element should be preferred as the best suited to accelerating the development of industry and commerce, as the only ones capable of inspiring enthusiasm for industry.¹⁷³

The Anglo-Saxon ‘element’ in Moreira—alternatively referred to as ‘raça’, ‘sub-raça’ or ‘povo’—embraced both the British and the U.S. variants.¹⁷⁴ The place granted to the Anglo-American version of the alleged Anglon-Saxon entrepreneurial ethos found concrete expression in Moreira’s thought in 1875 when the Minister of Agriculture commissioned him, as a member of the Brazilian Legation to the Philadelphia Exhibition to be held in 1876, to study the means through which the United States

immigrant type, see Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, *A Escravidão no Brasil. Ensaio Histórico-Jurídico-Social* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1866), t. II, Parte 3, ‘Africanos’, 77-231, Título II, ‘Melhoramento da sorte dos escravos. Abolição da escravidão (desideratum)’, ch. V: ‘Colonização. Imigração’, 169-231; Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, *A Província. Estudo sobre a Descentralização do Brasil* (R. Janeiro: L. Garnier ed., 1870), 297-298.

¹⁷³ Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, ‘Convirá ao Brasil a importação de colonos Chins?’, *O Auxiliador da Indústria Nacional*, N. 9 (1870), 16 ago. 1870. This was the monthly journal of the Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional (henceforth SAIN) created in Rio de Janeiro in 1816. Its founders were committed to the building of a modern state for Brazil through the improvement of the national industry. With this aim, the society established its own library, founded the first evening primary school, organised invention competitions, exhibitions for the display of new machineries and edited the society’s journal from January 1833 until December 1892. One of its main purposes was to instruct planters about new agricultural technologies and machinery. The society sought to persuade its readers that free labour was economically more advantageous than slave labour. See, Eugene W. Ridings, ‘Interest groups and development: The case of Brazil in the nineteenth century’, *JLAS*, 9:2 (Nov., 1977), 225-250.

¹⁷⁴ A recent study of Nicolau Joaquim Moreira’s social thought is Silvio Cezar de Souza Lima, ‘Determinismo biológico e imigração chinesa em Nicolau Moreira (1870-1890)’, Master thesis, Fundação Oswaldo Cruz (R. Janeiro) 2005. Available from: http://www.coc.fiocruz.br/pos_graduacao/completos/limascs.pdf (9 January 2009).

attracted immense waves of immigrants and made them contribute ‘to the greatness of the Union in such a short period of time’.¹⁷⁵

As for the labour force, ‘nobody thinks of reducing white men to captivity’ given that modern slavery, unlike its ancient counterpart, ‘is based on the colour black’.¹⁷⁶ Shortly before the discussions on immigration had begun, there was a project by the U.S. diplomatic representative to Brazil, James Watson Webb, to expatriate U.S. slaves to the Brazilian Amazon region.¹⁷⁷ Webb’s plans enthused Brazilian planters yet were altogether rejected by the imperial government on the basis of Law N. 9 of 11 May 1835 which sought to enforce the blatantly transgressed law of 7 November 1831 forbidding more people of African descent to enter the Empire.¹⁷⁸ Legalisms aside, the debates around the ideal immigrant shed some light on the Brazilian elites’ racialised analysis of the desirable society, one of the issues where the immigration question related to that of slavery and abolition.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, *Relatório sobre A Imigração nos Estados-Unidos da América Apresentado ao Exm. Sr. Ministro da Agricultura, Comércio e Obras Publicas* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1877), 3. This book is the result of his study on the U.S. immigration policies entrusted by the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works Thomaz José Coelho de Almeida. Of particular interest for us is the section, ‘Imigração nos Estados Unidos’, 7-89.

¹⁷⁶ Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo*, *idem*, ch. III: ‘O mandato da raça negra’.

¹⁷⁷ Webb himself launched a steamship company for the transfer of migrants, of which he would be a main beneficiary. Webb’s plan might have been taken from Matthew Fontaine Maury, the Virginia-born, self-educated scientist and Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Observatory and Hydrographical Office between 1844 and 1861 who in the 1850s already considered the Amazon region likely to become another Texas. On the deportation of Afro-Americans to Brazil’s Amazon region, see Nícia Vilela Luz, *A Amazônia para os Negros Americanos (As Origens de uma Controvérsia Internacional)* (R. Janeiro: Ed. Saga, 1968), ch. II: ‘O universo de Matthew Fontaine Maury’, 49-68. See also, Gerald Horne, *The Deepest South: The United States, Brazil and the African Slave Trade* (New York & London: New York University Press, 2007), ch. IX: ‘Deport U.S. negroes to Brazil?’, 172-197.

¹⁷⁸ Sinimbú to Lisboa, MDB, AHI, Washington, Despachos, 27 Feb. 1861, Sessão Central, N. 9. Despite the law of 1831 over half a million slaves were imported thereafter. Bethell, ‘The decline’, 75.

¹⁷⁹ The question of immigration which pervaded the debates on the abolition of slavery is a field of study in itself. Suffice it to say that whereas liberal thinkers fought for the liberation of the slaves, coffee planters, especially from the most dynamic areas of São Paulo province, sought to replace them with immigrant labourers rather than reinserting them via education into post-abolition society. Of the potential immigrants the Chinese were considered the most suitable slave-like solution for the ongoing shortage of manpower. This is why it has been said that, the last to convert to free labour endorsed ‘immigrantism’ rather than abolitionism. For a summary of the great national parliamentary debate over Chinese immigration to tackle the shortage of manpower, see Robert E. Conrad, ‘The planter class and the debate over Chinese immigration to Brazil, 1850-1893’, *International Migration Review*, 9:1 (Spring, 1975), 41-55; Jeffrey Lesser, ‘Neither slave nor free, neither black nor white: The Chinese in

If what the United States and its people represented for the Brazilian elites was so dependent on the background of the observer, another illustrative example of the cornucopia of images presented by the United States appears when Brazilians assessed Lincoln's conscription practices while fighting against the Confederate states.¹⁸⁰ Some elite members of both liberal and conservative camps considered that U.S. society offered a positive example in terms of progress and modernisation worthy of being adopted. They, however, certainly did not want to adopt an imitative stance on the transition from slavery to free labour. By lifting the prohibition of Afro-Americans joining the army, Lincoln had in fact set a precedent which was open to imitation. Nonetheless, the U.S. example was an uncomfortable option for the Brazilian elites. Discussions in the Council of State eloquently reveal how acute was the dilemma of whether to turn to the slave population for military service. It is here that the example of Lincoln's recruitment policies—as well as his eventual emancipation proclamation—came to the fore. This case soon came to constitute a symbolic battleground in which contested political interpretations, representations and aspirations came to blows.

The U.S. Civil War and the Brazilian dilemma of drafting slaves to fight against Paraguay

The principal aim of the exceptional recruitment measures adopted during the Paraguayan War was to underpin the actions of an army ill prepared for a long

early nineteenth-century Brazil', *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*, 5:2 (jul.-dec., 1994).

¹⁸⁰ I have borrowed the idea of the United States as a cornucopia of inspiring images from Adam I. P. Smith, 'Image of America as a Land of Opportunity, c1850-1900', in Nicola Miller et al., *The American Way of Life: Images of the United States in Nineteenth-Century Europe and Latin America* (forthcoming).

territorial war. The war against Paraguay was expected to be brief; yet Paraguay's stout resistance turned it into a five-year ordeal for Brazilians. This unexpected turn of events put the imperial army in a strained situation as the demand for troops steadily grew. The guerrilla-style tactics employed by the Paraguayans exhausted the Brazilian army. In this context, commanders began to urge the central government to act on the army's behalf. Accordingly, the government granted freedom to the slaves of the church and the 'slaves of the nation', that is, all the slaves belonging to the imperial government who agreed to serve in the army. This offer was eventually broadened to include any slave who agreed to fight on the frontline. Interestingly, in this context the example of the United States arose for the first time in Parliamentary debates. The image of the U.S. Southern slaves enlisted in the Union Army to fight against the Confederacy, along with Lincoln's emancipation policies, influenced the tone of the debates about conscription in Brazil.

The preservation of the monarchy and, in particular, the resilience of the institution of slavery severely impaired Brazil's military capacity. Following the Constitution of 1824, military service was the exclusive domain of those granted citizenry rights. As in any other slave nation of the Western world, the slave population was excluded from citizenship. Yet, as elsewhere, in times of war this rule succumbed to emergency laws: extreme measures regarding enlistment for the army were adopted during the Paraguayan War. The armed forces of independent Brazil preserved the military tradition of the *ancien régime*: only members of the elite could become officers and they owed allegiance not to the nation but to the figure of the Emperor. There was also the entrenched practice of enlisting for military service those

punished for petty crimes or ‘vagrancy’.¹⁸¹ Unlike the French and U.S. revolutionary experiences in which the identities of citizens and soldiers were almost identical, the fact that slavery permeated the fabric of Brazil’s society automatically excluded the vast majority of the population from the body of citizens. In a country where the idea of nation was thus limited, indeed restricted to the white, property-owning male population, the ideal archetype of the ‘soldier-citizen’ seemed ill suited for the local landscape. When the war against Paraguay broke out, not only was there no national army in the modern sense but also the military was seen as a refuge for the socially marginal. The bulk of the army’s recruits thus enlisted came from the ranks of the *desprotegidos* (unprotected), those who lacked any skilled occupation, an influential patron or the required capital which would exempt them from military imprisonment. The poor and ‘criminal’ category mainly consisted of Afro-Brazilians, indigenous peoples and those of mixed-blood.¹⁸² The exigencies of the Paraguayan War, Brazil’s turning point in modern history, completely exposed the inadequacies of the army’s recruitment practices and military training.

Imperial Brazil relied on a National Guard for military duties. Following the centralisation of the state in the 1850s, this body was formed by locally- and privately-organised army troops in charge of police duties.¹⁸³ The war effort against Paraguay would mean more than the transfer of the dispersed National Guardsmen to the epicentre of the battle, just as it would mean more than the immediate intrusion of

¹⁸¹ Peter M. Beattie, ‘The house, the street and the barracks: Reform and honorable masculine social space in Brazil, 1864-1945’, *HAHR*, 76:3 (Aug., 1996), 439-473, 440. See also, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864-1945* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2001), chs. 6, 7 and 8; Joan E. Meznar, ‘The ranks of the poor: Military service and social differentiation in Northeast Brazil, 1830-1875’, *HAHR*, 72:3 (Aug., 1992), 335-351.

¹⁸² Luís Cláudio Villafañe G. Santos, ‘O Império Brasileiro: Guerras e nacionalismo’, *Prohistoria. Historia. Políticas de la Historia* (Revista de la Universidad de la Rioja, Argentina), Número Monográfico: Pensar la Guerra. Experiencias, Políticas, Representaciones e Historiografías, (ene., 2003), 87-106. Available from: http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-32442330_ITM (19 November 2008).

¹⁸³ Murilo de Carvalho, *A Construção da Ordem*, ch. 7: ‘Juizes, padres e soldados: Os matizes da ordem’, 169-197, esp. 189-194.

the State into the private domain of the patrons. When the numbers of ‘unprotected’ were not enough to fill the government-established quota, a first blow was struck against the slave institution.

In general, Brazil’s wartime policies were in large part inspired by the recent example of extreme measures adopted by the U.S. Union while fighting against the Southern secessionists. As the conflict against Paraguay raged on, it demanded careful political manoeuvring to maintain the supply of troops flowing to the front. Nevertheless, the government’s appeals elicited little support from the free population. All these issues combined with the army’s structural deficiencies gave rise to an interesting debate among the highest-ranking officials of the imperial government regarding the degree to which it was advisable, for the sake of both public security and the wealth of the nation, to emancipate slaves and summon them to the battlefield in a similar fashion to what Lincoln had decided whilst fighting against the Confederates.¹⁸⁴ If the U.S. Civil War served as an axis for Brazilian discussion about the end of slavery, it was the unpredictable consequences of some of the U.S. Union’s wartime conscription measures and how they would hypothetically pan out in the Brazilian context if applied in a similar fashion, that were to become one of the privileged topics of debate for politicians during the first phase of the anti-slavery debates.

In September 1865, the Emperor asked one of his closest Councillors, conservative Minister José Antônio Pimenta Bueno (later Marquis of São Vicente), to draw up a project for the reform of slavery to be handed to the president of the

¹⁸⁴ The debates that took place in the Council of State in 1866 and 1867 regarding conscription of slaves in exchange for manumission were compiled by the Viscount of Rio Branco under the title of *Trabalho sobre a Extinção da Escravatura no Brasil* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1868). All citations are taken from the version compiled in 1978 by José Honório Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*.

Council Pedro de Araújo Lima, Marquis of Olinda.¹⁸⁵ The latter refused to even discuss the question, arguing that ‘slavery is a wound which must not be touched’.¹⁸⁶ It was on 22 May 1867 under the liberal cabinet of Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcelos that, against all the odds, Dom Pedro broke the silence regarding the future of slavery in the Empire in his Annual Speech from the Throne.¹⁸⁷ The decision to speak publicly about emancipation was felt, according to Nabuco’s judgement, ‘like a bolt of lightning in a cloudless sky’ because contemplating abolition by the mid-1860s was, for planters, ‘a sort of historical sacrilege, of dynastic madness, of national suicide’.¹⁸⁸ Dom Pedro’s decision to face the burning question of slavery was a clear manifestation of how the issue had become a source of primary concern for the political elite; at the same time, it was an indication that the official party had endorsed the liberal cause of abolition.¹⁸⁹ Two months later the Emperor received a letter from the Société Française pour l’Abolition de l’Esclavage (French Society for the Abolition of Slavery) demanding he take active measures on behalf of the slaves of Brazil.¹⁹⁰ By means of his reply to the French abolitionists, the Emperor exhorted politicians to set about reforming the ‘servile element’ as the prerequisite for Brazil’s

¹⁸⁵ Pimenta Bueno’s emancipation project was a moderate five-point programme which provided free birth, the establishment of provincial emancipation councils, the registration of slaves, and the emancipation of both the state-owned and convent slaves. Conrad, *The Destruction*, 75.

¹⁸⁶ Pedro de Araújo Lima, Marquês de Olinda. Rodrigues, *Atas*, Vol. 6, Ata de 5 de novembro de 1866.

¹⁸⁷ Speech from the Throne, 22 May 1867, Sessão Imperial de Abertura da Assembléia Geral Legislativa, Primeira Sessão da 13^a Legislatura. *Brazil, Congresso. Falas do Trono desde o Ano de 1823 até o Ano de 1889, Acompanhadas dos Respective Votos de Graça da Câmara Temporária e Diferentes Informações e Esclarecimentos sobre Todas as Sessões Extraordinárias, Adiamentos, Dissoluções, Sessões Secretas e Fusões com um Quadro das Épocas e Motivos que Deram Lugar à Reunião das Duas Câmaras e Competente Histórico Coligadas na Secretaria da Câmara dos Deputados* (Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados, 1977), 374.

¹⁸⁸ Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo*, ch. VII: ‘Antes da Lei de 1871’. Carvalho, ‘A política da abolição: O rei contra os barões’, in *A Construção*, 291-328, 305.

¹⁸⁹ See, ‘Manifesto do Centro Liberal’ (1869), *O Centro Liberal* (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1979), 102.

¹⁹⁰ The latter dates from July 1867 and was signed by French abolitionists Duke of Broglie, François Guizot, Augustin Cochin and Edouard Laboulaye, among others.

full engagement in the “civilised” world.¹⁹¹ Parallel to these developments there were the inadequacies of the army’s recruitment system, the scant enthusiasm that the government’s appeals to volunteering were eliciting among the free population after the first year of war and the subsequent chronic shortage of soldiers at the battlefield.

Following the setback suffered in September 1866 in the infamous Battle of Curupaytí, Brazilian statesmen began to entertain the idea of abandoning the constitutional principle which prohibited the drafting of slaves for military service. In other words, the imperial elite considered nationalising the relationship between government and citizen by offering freedom to slaves in return for military service. Yet, the problem of enlisting slaves for the war was twofold. Not only did it contravene the Constitutional provisions regarding the status of ‘citizen-soldier’ but, perhaps more delicate for the political manoeuvrings, it also breached the law which guaranteed the slaveholders the rights of property, one of the major arguments advanced by defenders of slavery until the end of the abolition process.

On 5 November 1866 the question of the compulsory drafting of slaves was tackled for the first time in the Council of State, purportedly setting a dangerous precedent for the future of the institution. To that end the Emperor appointed a special commission headed by Councillor José Thomaz Nabuco de Araújo, father of Joaquim Nabuco, to draft a new emancipation project on the basis of the debates already underway.¹⁹² Pimenta Bueno was the first in the sequence of debates to cite the case of the United States to help settle this question. Supporting the granting of freedom in exchange for military service, he indicated that if Greece and Rome offered historical examples of such a measure, ‘[t]he United States, a short time ago, gave a new

¹⁹¹ See Brazil’s official response to French abolitionists penned by Minister of Justice Martim Francisco Ribeiro de Andrada and dated 11 April 1867. Cited in Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo*, *idem*, ch. VII: ‘Antes da Lei de 1871’. The letter originally appeared in *Diário Oficial*.

¹⁹² Conselho de Estado, Ata de 5 Nov. 1866, *idem*.

example of this'.¹⁹³ Nabuco de Araújo reinforced the motion of following the recent U.S. example in questions of wartime recruitment policies. With the backdrop that 'the state of the war [against Paraguay] is deplorable', he argued that '[i]n his proclamations of 22 September 1862 and 1 January 1863, President Lincoln ordered that the slaves with the necessary aptitude be admitted to the Army and Navy'.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, Nabuco de Araújo went on, should Brazil adopt a similar policy, 'the civilised nations would applaud this act which by serving the [Paraguayan] war, also serves emancipation'.¹⁹⁵ Yet, there still was a long way to go before the controversies would be settled.

The Viscount of Inhomirim was the first in Council to reject the plan to grant freedom to slaves in exchange for military service. This measure, he argued, 'creates hope, awakens aspirations, and provokes sentiments incompatible with the security of the proprietors and with public order'.¹⁹⁶ But the Viscount of Inhomirim would offer another reason which lends logic to the argument of this section of the chapter. Shrewdly, he first pointed out how strange 'the civilised world'—this relational 'other' against which the Brazilian national self seemed to struggle to emerge once and for all—would feel if the Empire of Brazil turned to the resource of emancipation of slaves in her tribulations while fighting against 'one of the smallest states of America'.¹⁹⁷ Even more interestingly, as if the Viscount was warning against the risks of overemphasising a parallel which might eventually undermine the process of comparison (in this case between the U.S. Civil War and Brazil's Paraguayan War), he asserted that '[w]hat was practised in the United States in the last civil war could not serve as a lesson to Brazil'. And he went on:

¹⁹³ Marquês de São Vicente, Conselho de Estado, Ata 5 Nov. 1866, *idem*.

¹⁹⁴ Nabuco de Araújo, Conselho de Estado, Ata 5 Nov. 1866, *idem*.

¹⁹⁵ Nabuco de Araújo, *idem*.

¹⁹⁶ Visconde de Inhomirim, Conselho de Estado, Ata 5 Nov. 1866, *idem*.

¹⁹⁷ Visconde de Inhomirim, *idem*.

By employing battalions of Southern slaves against the [Southern] rebellion, [the Federal Government] employed its natural helpers, those who would fight for their own cause, and therefore those most interested in the triumph of the Union.¹⁹⁸

It is here that the U.S. example serves to awaken the most feared aspect of the conscription question. Despite the fact that the Union's army and the Federal Government played a central role in the practical destruction of slavery in the United States, slaves themselves took centre stage in the disintegration of the slave system. Yet, if there was no risk in adopting such a measure in the United States, it was precisely because recruitment and freedom, at a certain point during the conflict, deliberately constituted an inseparable cause of war in that country, a path that Brazil had to avoid. In Brazil, the 'natural helpers' of the regime were not the slaves of a particular section of the country but their owners. Following a similar policy of recruitment of slaves in Brazil there would be more than the risk of similar social turmoil. It would also cement the paradox of making slaves fight in the name of a slave country and, more importantly, hit the very interests of the regime's main supporters, the coffee planters of Central-South Brazil who, by virtue of the inter-provincial slave trafficking, housed most of Brazil's slave population.

On 6 November 1866, the day after discussing the general terms of the slaves' emancipation to increase the number of soldiers at the battlefield, the imperial government decreed the immediate emancipation without compensation of the above-

¹⁹⁸ Visconde de Inhomirim, *idem*. On the comparative approach, see Micol Seigel, 'Beyond compare: Comparative method after the transnational turn', *Radical History Review*, 91 (Winter, 2005), 62-90.

mentioned 'slaves of the nation'.¹⁹⁹ A few days passed before the government decreed the emancipation of the bondsmen serving in the religious institutions. As for the main national arsenal of able fighting men, the privately owned slaves, monetary compensation coupled with the issuing of nobility titles were tendered to those 'patriots' who relinquished their most precious capital to the service of the army.²⁰⁰ One year later, in the session of the Council of the State, on 2 April 1867, the Viscount of Rio Branco blamed that 'the measures that the Government have lately resorted to [...] must not only have encouraged those spirits most eager for this reform, but must also have spread this hope among the slaves'.²⁰¹ The Viscount's concerns reflected a general uneasiness among statesmen concerning the fact that not only did the extreme measures taken during the U.S. Civil War provoke an unprecedented level of violence but also the social consequences of wartime policies were yet to come. Lincoln's actions, the radicalisation of both the Union government and the Southern planters and the fate of the latter, were all invoked in the political battlefield of abolition during Brazil's first phase of abolitionism.

It was the pressure of combat in the context of the Paraguayan War which had caused the political elite to bring the question of the abolition of slavery to the forefront of the political agenda. This internal factor, along with the humanitarian views which advanced a step further on the continent following Lincoln's

¹⁹⁹ Emancipation was extended to partners if the freedmen were married. For an account of the effect of emancipation of the nations' slaves, see Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo*, *idem*, ch. VII: 'Antes da Lei de 1871'.

²⁰⁰ Scholars have uncovered the widespread practice by slaveholders and intermediaries of cheating the state in the selling of their bondsmen. For a representative case see, Vitor Izecksohn, 'Recrutamento militar no Rio de Janeiro durante a Guerra do Paraguai', in Celso Castro, Vitor Izecksohn, and Hendrik Kraay (eds.), *Nova História Militar Brasileira* (R. Janeiro: Ed. FGV, 2004), 179-208. We remember that slaves, even more so than land, counted most for measuring the bulk of wealth of the planters during the boom of the coffee production. Nabuco has tackled the question of the absent notion of patriotism in imperial Brazil, where 'to attack slavery is treason, a felonious act against the nation. [...] [When slavery] conquered Brazilian patriotism, it also caused its degeneration. The Paraguayan War is the best instance of what slavery did to the patriotism of the classes who practised it, to the patriotism of the masters'. Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo*, ch. XV: 'Influências sociais e políticas da escravidão'.

²⁰¹ Visconde de Rio Branco, Conselho de Estado, Ata 2 de abril de 1867, *idem*.

Amendment to the Constitution, made Brazilians aware of the inevitability of abolition. Therefore, even if disruptive, abolitionist measures were deemed to be a better option than potential popular engagement in the cause of abolition. What thus remained was to find agreement on the way to implement these measures without the social disorder that it involved in the United States. Drawing on the U.S. precedent forced the Brazilian government to follow a strategy of social control in order to contain the chances of disruption. Slave recruitment in the United States had precisely been a means of depriving Confederates of access to the labour force thereby having their plantation-based economy disrupted. Using the U.S. example as an inverted mirror, the Viscount of Inhomirim warned that if Brazil relied on an army predominantly consisting of slave recruits it would finally end up being transformed into an army of liberation. In this regard, to prevent slaves from getting involved themselves in the cause of freedom was *the* lesson to be learnt from the United States. This was manifested in the government's policy of granting freedom to the slaves handed down by planters, exclusively on the condition of serving conscription for a period of nine years, according to the decree of November 1866.²⁰²

Our evidence shows that the first phase of abolitionism in Brazil cannot be fully explained by reference to the events triggered by the Paraguayan War alone, as historians have previously discussed. On the contrary, we have shown that, in order to understand this phase of the abolitionist process in Brazil, the analysis of the impact that the war against Paraguay had upon the future of slavery in Brazil must be

²⁰² Decree N. 3725, 6 November 1866. Scholars do not agree on the number of slaves enlisted into the army during the Paraguayan War. Conrad suggests 20,000 slaves were manumitted for military service during the five years of conflict. Beattie argued that of the 110,000 men who fought in that war, only 4,003 were emancipated slaves. Graden and Kraay contend that those manumitted in exchange for military service numbered 7,000. Conrad, *The Destruction*, 76; Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood*, 38, 41 and 52; Dale Graden, *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 56; Hendrik Kraay, "'The shelter and the uniform': The Brazilian army and runaway slaves, 1800-1888", *Journal of Social History*, 29:3 (Spring, 1996), 637-657, 641-643.

integrated with the study of the lessons contemporary Brazilians drew from the previous experience of Lincoln's wartime recruitment measures to which they turned to in a comparative perspective. Bringing up the significance of contemporary comparisons between the Paraguayan War and the U.S. Civil War constitutes the novelty of our approach. Let us now move onto the third and last section of the chapter which is concerned with the radicalisation of abolitionism.

The second phase of abolitionism: The popular campaign begins

It was the legislative session of 1879 in which Jerônimo Sodré Pereira gave a speech advocating immediate abolition that initiated the new and decisive cycle of confrontation regarding the labour system. The following year the then deputy from Pernambuco, Joaquim Nabuco, went on to openly confront recalcitrant slavocrats in the Chamber of Deputies. He proposed a bill on emancipation which despite being notably moderate in scope and tone was rejected by the spokesmen for the Southern coffee-planter class.²⁰³ Notwithstanding the regional and interregional variations in the degree of commitment to slavery and abolition introduced in the former section, the outlines of two positions and two regions were clearly discernible by the 1880s. For the sake of brevity they can be synthesised as *Northern abolitionism*, in which Sodré and Nabuco belonged along with the representatives of the provinces of Maranhão, Amazonas, Paraíba do Norte and Sergipe, and *Southern slavocracy* composed of coffee planters from São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro. This second phase of the abolitionist crusade, in fact, coincided with the shrinking of the socio-economic base which allowed the pro-slavery ideology to thrive. As the

²⁰³ Nabuco's bill for emancipation is detailed in Conrad, *The Destruction*, 138-139.

onetime sugar-producing Northern provinces completed their conversion to free, yet dependent labour, the empirical basis of their ideology began to weaken.²⁰⁴ Yet, the institution of slavery was still fervently defended by the Southern coffee planters from both the more traditional areas of the Paraíba Valley and the expanding frontier of Western São Paulo. Hardline planters argued that slavery was at the time a ‘necessary evil’ which had to be retained for the benefit of the country’s economic wellbeing.²⁰⁵ In fact, contrary to what abolitionists at home and abroad posited in the age of emancipation, in Brazil slavery was economically profitable, a fact which challenged conceptions of progress on the part of abolitionists.

In addition to the pro-slavery arguments of economic necessity and the slaveholders’ constitutionally sanctioned property rights mentioned when discussing the drafting of slaves, slavocrats also pointed to the purported moral benefits and quality of life which the slave institution in Brazil, with its paternalistic undertones, signified for the wellbeing of the Brazilian bondsmen; this was evident, for example, when they collated what they knew about the conditions of the free labour class in Europe and the United States and their perceptions of slavery at home. One of the most outspoken slavocrats in Parliament, a hardline slaveholder from the province of Rio de Janeiro who identified himself as the John C. Calhoun of Brazil, Domingos de Andrade Figueira, took such comparisons to the point of concluding that ‘the Brazilian slave among us is a true proletarian gentleman’.²⁰⁶ Further arguments about the purported resemblance of the conditions under which the Brazilian slaves lived

²⁰⁴ On the various modes of free labour employment which perpetuated the rural proletariat dependency on the planter class in Northern Brazil following the selling of slaves southwards, see Eisenberg, ‘Abolishing slavery’.

²⁰⁵ Cited in Carl N. Degler, ‘Slavery in Brazil and the United States: An essay in comparative history’, *The American Historical Review* (henceforth, *AHR*), 75:4 (Apr., 1970), 1004-1028, 1026.

²⁰⁶ Cited in Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery*, 136. The U.S. Senator from North Carolina John C. Calhoun was a prominent defender of slavery in the United States. Also, renowned pro-slavery parliamentarian Martinho Campos from Minas Gerais, suggested, for example, that ‘slavery ought be maintained by the love of the slaves themselves!’. Conrad, *The Destruction*, 168.

and worked and those of the working class in the United States were advanced towards the last two decades of the century. In March 1888, for example, the Brazilian Minister to Washington José Augusto Ferreira da Costa, in an official communication to João Maurício Wanderlei, Baron of Cotegipe, who had been Minister of Foreign Affairs since 1885, described the altogether vulnerable position of the U.S. workers at the sugar refinery plants in that country as a consequence of the monopolistic policies of the sugar companies. In his dispatch, Ferreira da Costa claimed that ‘the position of the workers in those establishments [was] comparable to that of the slaves’.²⁰⁷

The major arguments put forward by advocates of slavery until its demise, namely economic necessity, legal rights to slave ownership and the wellbeing of slaves, did not aim either to justify the slavery system as intrinsically positive or to perpetuate it like their U.S. Southern counterparts, so slavocrats themselves were contented to draw the distinction. Instead, they rooted their main arguments in economic reasoning and the question of opportunity. On the whole, they argued that the institution was a temporary, albeit crucial factor of national life and, accordingly, sought to extend its life as long as it was possible.²⁰⁸ In short, Brazilian pro-slavery sectors never developed a positive ideology for the defence of the system.

Parallel to the parliamentary disputes of the early 1880s, there was a meaningful change in ordinary people’s perception of the institution of slavery. Social perceptions of slaves were altered as a result of two unrelated processes: first, the new cycle of economic transformation initiated in mid-century with the liberation of investment capital following the end of the Atlantic slave trade, a process which accelerated in

²⁰⁷ José Augusto Ferreira da Costa to João Maurício Wanderlei, Baron of Cotegipe, 9 Mar. 1888, MDB, AHI, Washington, Ofícios, 2^a Seção, N. 5.

²⁰⁸ On pro-slavery arguments, see Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala*, Part III, ch. I: ‘Idéias escravistas e antiescravistas’, 331-380, Toplin, *The Destruction*, ch. V: ‘The defense of slavery’, 131-144 and Conrad, *The Abolition*, ‘The pro-slavery reaction’, 163-169 in ch. X: ‘Action and reaction’, 150-169.

the aftermath of the Paraguayan War; and, second, the foreign political influences of the time. Thus condemned by internal structural changes and the impact of the foreign free labour ideology and its middle-class moral values, Brazil's slavery system was gradually losing its ideological support.²⁰⁹ It will not surprise the Brazilian reader that it was only during the decade of the 1870s that abolitionist societies were established for the first time in various urban centres of the Empire. It was also then that demands for freedom of all men first experienced greater coverage in the leading press. The idea of economic and social progress was a main source of concern for abolitionists. Like the defenders of slavery, abolitionists grounded part of their arguments in economic reasoning, assigning paramount importance to the thesis that slavery was uneconomical. Slavery slowed down capital formation, tied it up in immovable labour and, accordingly, hindered modernisation and progress, which, so the argument went, depended on social mobility and the individual pursuit of profit.²¹⁰ Besides the economic aspect, abolitionists advanced 'anti-slave' arguments against the maintenance of the slavery system. Rather than depicting slaveholders as the enemies of slaves, they generally tended to emphasise the opposite. In line with the principles of the French Enlightenment, Brazilian abolitionists defined the slaves as deprived of reason, thus reduced to the level of beasts and as such as an internal, domestic enemy harmful for the 'white' race and an obstacle to its project of a modern society.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ It is worth emphasising that no mechanical relationship between material conditions and social relations is implied in this remark. Brazilian society, furthermore, stands out for the pervasiveness of the institution of slavery and the absence of a direct correspondence between the slave mode of production and political consciousness. The presence of pro- and anti-slavery supporters dissected the social spectrum and geographical landscape of fields and cities.

²¹⁰ Graham, 'Causes for the abolition', 127-128 and *passim*.

²¹¹ This is yet another one of the reasons why, rather than summoning the slaves to the abolitionist cause, Brazilian abolitionists charged themselves with the task of bringing the institution to a halt. On the abolitionist arguments, see Marinho de Azevedo, *Onda Negra* and 'Irmão ou inimigo: O escravo no imaginário abolicionista dos Estados Unidos e do Brasil', *Revista da Universidade de São Paulo*, 28 (dez.-fev. 1995-1996), 97-109. On the depiction of the slave in Brazil's fictional literature, see David T. Haberly, 'Abolitionism in Brazil: Anti-slavery and anti-slave', *LBR*, 9:2 (Winter, 1972), 30-46. The author has advanced an explanation of the scarce abolitionist fictional literature as a field or research in

Notwithstanding these caveats, a movement of sympathy surrounded, for example, the slaves who had fought for 'national salvation' in the Paraguayan War.²¹² Yet, the idea of abolition would only acquire a popular influx of support during the following decade of the 1880s.

The most characteristic trait of this second phase was the unprecedented interaction of abolitionist organisations and actions with the new urban sectors who, stimulated by the abolitionist propaganda, in turn fortified the movement. This interplay translated rapidly into the establishment of new abolitionist clubs and societies. Accordingly, public unrest and Parliamentary struggles compounded one another until the eradication of the institution was finally achieved, and this, therefore, represented a new phase of the campaign.²¹³ However, despite the change in intensity and interest experienced from the early 1880s onwards, nothing truly new would be said regarding the illegality of the slavery system after the law of 1831, the hindrance it represented for the progress of the country and the incompatibility with the free labour ideology which ordered the discourse of social organisation in Western societies. The principal novelty of the period was the popular engagement in the cause, which brought some distress to slaveholders and 'aristocratic' abolitionists alike.

In an apparent response to Sodré's and Nabuco's pleas in the legislature in 1879 and 1880 respectively, an anti-slavery movement developed suddenly and spontaneously first in Rio and immediately afterwards in other parts of the Empire. Very much in the fashion of the campaign during the previous two decades, and

itself. He posited that besides the very strong position slavery had among the elite until very late in the century, relatively few Brazilians were able to read and were rich enough to buy periodicals and books, and the ones who could were generally those with the greatest investments in the slave system. Haberly, *idem*, 31.

²¹² Also the number of voluntary manumissions increased following the early 1870s. Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 402.

²¹³ Graham, 'Causes for the abolition', *passim*.

despite the public support the cause of abolition was beginning to receive, there still was no consensus on how slavery should be brought to an end. Whereas some defended direct, immediate abolition without compensation, as late as 1883 Nabuco still advocated that the termination of the system should be gradual and that abolitionist propaganda was not directed towards the slaves but to the owners instead, as was eloquently expressed in the Manifesto of the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society, cited in the previous section. Seemingly concerned with the slaves' safety, Nabuco preferred to delegate the tasks of granting freedom to an enlightened vanguard of which he identified himself to be a leading figure.²¹⁴ Otherwise, resorting to the slaves themselves in this struggle would be seen as 'inept cowardice' which, by virtue of the 'Lynch law' as in the United States, would promptly crush the whole abolitionist attempt now redounding negatively in the slaves' lives.²¹⁵ Perhaps even worse, making the slaves active agents of their emancipation would be 'political suicide' for the cause of abolition because 'the entire nation' would be exposed to 'a barbarous vendetta on the part of a population reduced until today to the level of animals'.²¹⁶ This, Nabuco argued:

would be the signal of death for the abolitionism of Wilberforce, Lamartine and Garrison, which is ours, and the beginning of the abolitionism of [Lucio Sergio] Catilina or Spartacus or John Brown.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Joaquim Nabuco, 'Primeira Conferencia no Theatro Santa Isabel a 12 de outubro', in Annibal Falcão (ed.), *Campanha Abolicionista no Recife (Eleições de 1884). Discursos de Joaquim Nabuco* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de O. Leuzinger e Filhos, 1885), 1-16, 9-10.

²¹⁵ Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo*, ch. IV: 'Caráter do movimento abolicionista', *idem*.

²¹⁶ Nabuco, *idem*.

²¹⁷ Nabuco, *idem*.

Nabuco most certainly did consider himself to be the Garrison of Brazil, a self-image which he did not restrict to his private persona. Far from it, Nabuco openly cultivated this impression by, for example, signing a whole series of pro-abolition articles with the pseudonym of this U.S. ‘immortal abolitionist’. Furthermore, in a public rally in 1884 Nabuco took the time to reinforce the glorious comparison: ‘In London’, he said, ‘the *Anti-Slavery Society* compared [Nabuco’s activities] to what the immortal American abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison has done before’. And Nabuco went on: ‘Yet, if I denounced the Brazilian slavery in London, Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Beecher, the meritorious author of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, also went to England to denounce the North-American slavery!’.²¹⁸

Certainly, the activities of William L. Garrison and John Brown contributed two different approaches to the historical role and tasks of abolitionists, the transition between which so concerned Nabuco. Whereas the former opponent of slavery advocated the peaceful path of a holistic moral change in U.S. society, and furthermore, had considered his work complete after Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, an end which materialised with the close of his abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*, Brown had set the basis for a militant, activist movement which campaigned for the direct, immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. Interestingly, the way in which Nabuco expressed his concerns regarding the rhythm and cadence of change and the promotion of the involvement of the slaves in the cause of abolition, suggests the phases which allow us to move onto the topic of this section.

²¹⁸ Joaquim Nabuco, ‘Terceira conferencia no Theatro Santa Isabel a 16 de novembro’, in Falcão, *Campanha Abolicionista*, 57-116, 96. Nabuco reserved the *Lincoln’s role* in Brazil for his father, Councillor of State José Thomaz Nabuco de Araújo who drew Brazil’s first emancipationist law, the Free Womb Law. Nabuco, *Minha Formação*, *idem.*, ch. XVIII: ‘Meu pai’. Nabuco’s articles signed with the nom-de plume of Garrison appeared in 1884 in the *Jornal do Comércio* and in the *Gazeta da Tarde* (R. Janeiro) which became the main press organ of the abolitionist movement after ‘black’ abolitionist José do Patrocínio bought it in 1881.

If the struggles and their methods and practical consequences are the object of our assessment, then the second phase of abolition can readily be divided into two sub-periods, 1880-1884 and 1884-1888. The beginning of the first four-year period is marked by the head-on debates over the abolition of slavery in the Chamber of Deputies with speeches by Sodré and Nabuco. The young abolitionists gathered together in the São Paulo Faculty of Law, which had been a centre of republican and abolitionist intellectual ferment since the late 1860s, saw the success of their endeavours to keep the struggle ostracised in Parliament until 1884 when the abolitionist propaganda culminated in the actual abolition of slavery in the Northern provinces of Ceará. This development radicalised the pro-slavery opposition, furthering the abolitionist struggle. From 1884 onwards, discussions over the termination of slavery not only transcended the General Assembly and the elite circles; 'white' or 'aristocratic' abolitionists also saw 'black' and 'mulatto' abolitionists, as Brazilian historiography tends to classify such names as Luíz Gama, José do Patrocínio and André Rebouças, take control of the cause. This new twist in turn forced the new urban middle sectors and, more importantly, the bondsmen themselves to engage actively in the disintegration of the system for the first time. The fully-fledged abolitionist movement had by then been inaugurated.

The second phase of the abolitionist struggle began in 1880 and ended with the liberation of about 700,000 slaves by the passing of the emancipation decree signed by the Princess Regent on 13 May 1888 (*Lei Áurea*).²¹⁹ All in all, this phase saw two diametrically opposed outlooks and actions regarding the tactics of the struggles. Without too much difficulty, they can be referred to by the very labels which, according to Nabuco, epitomised the two ways of doing politics as regards the

²¹⁹ Law N. 3353.

emancipation struggle, William L. Garrison and John Brown. Even though Brazil's abolitionist leaders of the 1880-1884 period were still reluctant to take up the banner of immediate and unconditional emancipation, they demanded the abolition of slavery be completed gradually in the near future by mainly relying upon the weapon of persuasiveness addressed to planters, continually stressing non violence as the most appropriate method of change. It is precisely for these two traits that Nabuco eulogised the work of Garrison and feared that of John Brown. It was actually during the 1884-1888 period that radical demands for abolition without any further delay, mobilisation at the grassroots level and armed confrontation generalised in a fashion which would have pleased John Brown more than Garrison or Nabuco.

Despite the differences between both sub-periods, both processes nonetheless embraced a diverse range of representations from the U.S. experience of the abolitionist struggle and actual links with the transatlantic movement. In contrast to the first phase of abolitionism, the U.S. images now came to be positive examples emerging as a guide for organisational skills and propaganda tactics providing substance to these two alternative abolitionist strategies. As the example of a consummate movement articulated through a network of abolitionist organisations, press organs and lobbying groups, the U.S. model served as a lesson in communication and organisation strategy. The possible contrast between political manoeuvring and communicative action was noticed, feared and synthesised in Brazil by Nabuco as the abolitionism of Garrison and John Brown, a depiction which proves useful in structuring what follows.

1880-1884: *The abolitionism of William Lloyd Garrison*

In September 1880 Nabuco, Patrocínio and Rebouças, among others, organised the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society. Shortly after, they launched the society's propaganda organ, the monthly journal *O Abolicionismo*, and began a cycle of conferences which took place in theatres and concert halls, sites of familiar forms of public entertainment. Taking debates outside political circles nonetheless represented a further step along the road towards the democratisation of the debate on abolition, which had thus far been restricted to the circles of high politics.²²⁰ The members of the Society were also determined to conduct regular correspondence with foreign anti-slavery organisations, an endeavour facilitated by Nabuco's personal activities and social networking.²²¹ Since the 1860s he had been correspondent of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, had been translating articles for his father from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* and had spent almost a year in the United States as a member of the Brazilian legation to that country in 1876-1877.²²² Nabuco's transatlantic connections were certainly crucial for the intellectual exchange between Brazilian abolitionists and the foreign world.²²³

If there was one fact of international history which most reverberated in the minds of Brazilian abolitionists throughout the process, it was the resounding image of the social turmoil involved in the termination of slavery in the United States. This image persisted long enough to make Brazilian abolitionists, even in the second, radicalised phase of the campaign, the champions of an anticlimactic reform via

²²⁰ José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Com o coração nos lábios', in José Murilo de Carvalho (ed.), *José do Patrocínio. A Campanha Abolicionista: Coletânea de Artigos* (R. Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, 1996), 9-18, 11.

²²¹ Bethell and Murilo de Carvalho, *Joaquim Nabuco*.

²²² Nabuco recollected his thoughts on U.S. society in his *Minha Formação*, chs. XIV, 'Nova York (1876-1877)', 79-85; XV, 'O meu diário de 1877'; 85-91, XVI, 'Traços americanos', 91-97; and XVII, 'Influência dos Estados Unidos', 98-105. Upon his return, he was elected deputy for the province of Pernambuco (1878-1880). From then on, he gained a reputation as a great supporter of abolition in Parliament.

²²³ Nabuco was an important thread in the transnational abolitionist network that Brazilian abolitionists tried to weave. For example, he enjoyed a personal relationship with William Lloyd Garrison whom he met in the International Antislavery Conference held in Paris in 1867.

legislative action. The radical aspect of Brazilian abolitionism towards the end of the period was based on the pursuit of a land reform which would democratise access to land in order to complete the work of abolition. It would also prevent the enslavement of prospective immigrants as substitutes for slaves by landowners. The main proponents of such progressive measures were Rebouças and Nabuco.²²⁴ A hysterical equation between abolition and social unrest was routinely made. Adding to the protean character of the signifier 'United States', this fear interestingly served to refract the increasing abolitionist pressure when it came to be used in the slaveholder camp. Making fruitful use of the U.S. case, slaveholders argued that Brazil was ill prepared to endure a similar fate to that of the United States. Abolition at home would entail social unrest which was much more regrettable than that experienced in the United States where:

[h]ad it not been for the virility of the American Union, the state would have disappeared! Wealthy, industrious, with more than thirty million inhabitants, the American Union almost fell in the struggle; poor, without industry and with an insignificant population Brazil will certainly fall!²²⁵

Stemming from a shared vivid memory of the revolutionary undertones surrounding abolition in the United States, 'aristocratic' thinkers worked hard until fairly late to minimise the social disruption entailed by the abolitionist campaign, a commitment

²²⁴ Since the decade of the 1870s Rebouças had been publishing extracts of his studies on the democratisation of access to land in *O Novo Mundo* (New York) and the *Jornal do Comércio*. These articles were later published in book form under the title, *Agricultura Nacional, Estudos Econômicos. Propaganda Abolicionista e Democrática* (R. Janeiro: A. J. Lamoureaux & Co., 1883). See also, Nabuco, 'Discurso proferido num meeting popular na praça de S. José de Riba Mar a 5 de novembro', in Falcão, *Campanha Abolicionista*, 45-52, 49.

²²⁵ *O Paiz*, 28 Jan. 1881.

which actually meant deliberately denying slaves any place in the movement, to the minimal satisfaction of Brazil's slaveholders.

Yet, the chances to maintain control over the abolitionist sentiment gradually diminished. The creation of Brazil's Anti-Slavery Society in the capital city quickened the organisation of similar societies and clubs throughout the Empire. From then on people everywhere who objected to slavery began setting up or joining anti-slavery associations. The abolitionist movement thus began to penetrate every town, attracting people from different social, political, racial and occupational backgrounds.²²⁶ It was at this time that Brazil's transnational connections took on an ironic twist. In May 1883 a businessman descendant of a Confederate émigré family to Brazil, João Clapp, created the Rio de Janeiro Abolitionist Confederation along with Patrocínio and Rebouças. This association had the distinguished figure of Frederick Douglass as correspondent from the United States. Douglass naturally served as a conspicuous unmediated link with the radical variant of the previous Anglo-American abolitionist world.²²⁷ Besides this link, there existed two English-language weekly newspapers in Rio, *The Rio News* edited by U.S. citizen Andrew Jackson Lamoureux and *The Anglo-Brazilian Times. Political, Literary and Commercial* edited by Irish immigrant William Scully.²²⁸ Both organs were sympathetic to the cause of abolition and served as another important link to and forum for the 'Anglo-Saxon' abolitionist world and ideology.²²⁹

Abolitionists in Brazil had traditionally turned to foreign ideas and inspirations to justify the new positions regarding slave labour at home. Ever since the U.S. Civil

²²⁶ Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala*, Part III, ch. III: 'A abolição', 428-455.

²²⁷ Thomas Braga, 'Castro Alves and the New England Poets', *Hispania*, 67:4 (Dec., 1984), 585-593, 586.

²²⁸ On William Scully, see Marshall, *English, Irish and Irish-American*.

²²⁹ Antônio Penalves Rocha, 'The Rio News de A. J. Lamoureux: Um jornal abolicionista carioca de um norte-americano', *Projeto História* (São Paulo), N. 35 (dez., 2007), 141-159. See also, Braga, *idem*.

War, Brazilians had been looking at themselves in the *mirror* that the United States represented for them, trying to tackle the unavoidable crisis of self-reflection once the slave system, considered the quintessential cultural characteristic of Brazilian civilisation since colonial times, had been condemned to death.²³⁰ Certainly, the images of the U.S. abolitionism provided one of the key ways in which Brazilians reflected upon slavery and abolition at home and that was so until the legal transition to free labour was completed. Yet, Brazilians did not only draw negative lessons from the United States over how to reduce the violence involved in such a crucial structural change. The historical example of the United States was also used positively to work out, for example, what the accomplishment of abolition would look like in the Brazilian rural landscape and what complementary measures should be implemented to underpin the work of abolition. The renowned civil engineer, learned analyst of Brazil's socio-economic problems and admirer of the U.S. model, André Rebouças, wrote in 1880 in the *Gazeta da Tarde*, the most uncompromising abolitionist newspaper, that should a land reform be pursued in Brazil to accompany the liberation of slaves:

Brazilian Rural Democracy would be born, predestined to reproduce in the South-American continent the marvels that the Yankee Democracy had achieved in North America [author's use of capital letters].²³¹

²³⁰ *O Cruzeiro* (R. Janeiro), 22 Nov. 1880.

²³¹ The full citation is as follows: 'O liberto e o agregado passarão a ser lavradores com propriedade territorial: a vastíssima região, que hoje é esterilizada por 20,000 fazendeiros, dará riqueza e bem-estar a 3 milhões de libertos e de agregados; nascerá assim a Democracia Rural Brasileira, predestinada a reproduzir no continente Sul-Americano os prodígios, que a Democracia Yankee tem realizado na América do Norte'. André Rebouças, *Gazeta da Tarde*, 1 Dec. 1880.

The ‘marvels’ of the U.S. socio-economic model not only served Rebouças to support his criticism of the landowners’ monopoly of the land and to strengthen his struggle for democratic access to this resource—despite the fact that the tradition of the yeoman farmer had no equivalent in the Luso-Brazilian experience.²³² The U.S. case was also fertile ground for Rebouças in underpinning the purported weakness in economic terms of the slave system of labour. As mentioned above, the core of Brazil’s abolitionist argument had primarily been grounded on economic reasoning: slavery was economically regressive and inherently weak since the productivity indexes were low, whereas free labour and a proper labour market were not the only way of achieving modernisation of the agricultural sector whilst also attaining a significant increment of its production. Accordingly, Rebouças wrote in 1883 that as soon as abolition occurs:

the same thing that happened in the Mississippi Valley after the war of emancipation in the United States will happen on the plateau of São Paulo. The production of coffee will increase. In the same fashion that the cotton production grew there [...] ploughed by free men, they will produce ten times more than those watered by the tears and sweat of wretched slaves.²³³

²³² For example, ‘Providencias para a Exposição Universal de Philadelphia em 1876’ and ‘Missões aos Estados Unidos para o aperfeiçoamento geral do todo systema de cultura e produção do algodão’, in Rebouças, *Agricultura Nacional*, ch. XXII: ‘Aplicação dos princípios de centralização agrícola e industrial a produção do algodão’, 203-208 and ‘Propriedade territorial, landocracia e democracia rural’, *Gazeta da Tarde*, 19 Apr. 1887. See also, Richard Graham, ‘Slavery and economic development: Brazil and the United States South in the nineteenth century’, *CSSH*, 23:4 (Oct., 1981), 620-655.

²³³ *Gazeta da Tarde*, 31 May 1883.

Rebouças was joined by other liberal ideologues in pointing to the U.S. post-abolition society as a shining paradigm of liberty and prosperity. Rather than focusing on the loss of wealth by U.S. Southern planters under the Reconstruction era as pro-slavery sectors preferred to do, abolitionists naturally opted to stress that ‘the most complete possible proof [as regards free labour] is the material and economic transformation of agriculture in the [U.S.] Southern states after the war’. Moreover:

agriculture today is many times richer, more prosperous and more thriving than at the time when the cotton crop represented the salaries stolen from the black race and the tears and misery of the barbarous regime which was supposedly necessary to that product.²³⁴

So much was Nabuco convinced that the adoption of free labour in the U.S. Southern states ought to serve as a beacon for Brazil’s decision-making process regarding abolition, that he decided to enlighten public opinion at home by calling upon a figure with a controversial background to testify to the increased prosperity resulting from the termination of slavery and the purported improvement in U.S. race relations. This person was the former U.S. slaveholder, Henry Washington Hilliard from Georgia, an ex-Confederate who had served Jefferson Davis as commissioner and minister to Brazil between 1877 and 1881. Historian of the United States Gerald Horne has recently highlighted the persistence of the ante-bellum tradition of appointing ‘reliable’ Southerners as chief diplomats to Brazil.²³⁵ As a Southerner who had been engaged in the Confederate war, Hilliard’s appointment represented another link in this chain, and the republican concerns of such a political move in the United States

²³⁴ Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo*, *idem*. ch. XVII: ‘Receios e conseqüências. Conclusão’.

²³⁵ Horne, *The Deepest South*, 245.

also resounded in Brazilian diplomatic dispatches of the time.²³⁶ Yet, what is relevant for our purposes about Hilliard's profile is the impact that his pre-Civil War views against, and post-war certainties in favour of free labour had among Brazilians.

On 19 October 1880, three years before his reflection on free labour cited above, Nabuco sent a letter on behalf of the Brazilian Antislavery Society to this former exponent of one of the principal slaveholding areas of the United States, the state of Georgia. In the letter Nabuco asked Hilliard to inform reluctant Brazilians about the consequences of abolition and the transition to free labour on the level of agricultural production of the Southern states and the impact on race relations that such important change had brought to Southern society. Precisely because Hilliard had been a member of the planter class, Nabuco believed that his opinion was bound to be influential among those in Brazil who saw the abolition of slavery as the main obstacle to economic sustainability and social order rather than the main obstacle to the productivity potential of the agricultural factors and to the social modernisation of the country, as contended by abolitionists.²³⁷ As expected, Hilliard's reply was consistent with Nabuco's stance. In order to demonstrate the advantages of free labour and social freedom, Hilliard replied with a long letter in which he pointed out, in short, that not only had the cotton industry not been ruined after the freedom of manpower in the U.S. South but that it had actually grown; he also indicated that after abolition relations between 'whites' and 'blacks' had also improved.²³⁸ As a way of

²³⁶ For example, Antônio P. de Carvalho Borges a Diego Velho Cavalcanti de Albuquerque, New York, 7 Aug. 1877, MDB, AHI, Washington, Ofícios, Seção Central N. 8 and Carvalho Borges a Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira, Barão de Villa Bella, Washington, 14 Feb. 1878, *idem.*, Seção Central N. 2.

²³⁷ Joaquim Nabuco to Henry W. Hilliard, Rio de Janeiro, 19 Oct. 1880, in Joaquim Nabuco (ed.), *Sociedade Brasileira contra a Escravidão. Cartas do Presidente Joaquim Nabuco e do Ministro Americano H. W. Hilliard sobre Emancipação nos Estados Unidos* (R. Janeiro: G. Leuzinger & Filhos, 1880), 3-5. For the English version of these documents, see Henry Washington Hilliard, *Politics and Pen Pictures at Home and Abroad* (New York: G. P. Putman, 1892).

²³⁸ Henry W. Hilliard to Joaquim Nabuco, Rio de Janeiro, 25 Oct. 1880, in *Sociedade Brasileira contra a Escravidão*, *idem.*, 6-23. The exchange of missives was published in the *Jornal do Comércio* and the *Gazeta de Notícias* (R. Janeiro) on 31 Oct. 1880. The letter was also edited in Rio de Janeiro by

welcoming Hilliard's encouragement to Brazil's abolitionist cause, the senior members of Brazil's Antislavery Society offered him honorary membership of the society and organised a banquet in his honour. The feast was held in the most prestigious premises of the capital city, the Hotel dos Estrangeiros, on 20 November 1880. A string of ironies unfolded that evening, some of which were carefully planned. As Robert Conrad has indicated, the menu included *Bouchées de Dame à la Monroe*, *Jambon de York à la Garrison*, *Poisson Fin à la Washington* and *Pudding Diplomate à la Hilliard*.²³⁹ Perhaps equally awkward for a planter who fought for the Confederacy was the fact that a large portrait of Abraham Lincoln in the act of reading the Emancipation Proclamation to the members of his cabinet dominated the Salon of Honour where the banquet was served.²⁴⁰

Witticisms apart, the immediate response of pro-slavery sectors to this undiplomatic 'intromission' into Brazilian affairs was to appeal to nationalistic sentiments in a similar way as had been the case thirty years earlier when a *sui generis* patriotism had been wielded against the British who forcefully managed to bring the Atlantic slave trade to a halt. Headed by *Paulista* deputy and inveterate slaveholder Antônio Moreira de Barros, pro-slavery sectors argued that slavery was a legal institution in Brazil, the basis of the country's wealth and one of the defining factors of the Luso-Brazilian civilisation sanctioned as much by laws as by secular customs.²⁴¹ Furthermore, Moreira de Barros asserted that Hilliard was acting

José Ferreira de Araújo; despite not being radically abolitionist the journal often featured anti-slavery articles.

²³⁹ Conrad, *The Destruction*, 142.

²⁴⁰ See, *Sociedade Brasileira contra a Escravidão. Banquete Offerecido ao Exmo. Sr. Ministro Americano Henry Washington Hilliard a 20 de Novembro de 1880 no Salão de Honra do Hotel dos Estrangeiros (no Cattete)* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Primeiro de Janeiro, 1880). See also Conrad, *The Destruction*, 'The Hilliard incident', 141-143.

²⁴¹ Slavery as a distinctive mark of the Luso-Brazilian culture was another favourite argument posited by slavocrats for the preservation of the system. Toplin, *The Destruction*, ch. V: 'The defense of slavery', 131-144 and Conrad, *The Abolition*, 'The pro-slavery reaction', 163-169 in ch. X: 'Action and reaction', 150-169.

intrusively as emissary of the United States in order, at best, to bring Brazil in to line with the U.S. which had recently embraced philanthropic principles, if not to seek revenge for Brazilian friendliness towards the Confederacy during the Civil War.²⁴² If this incident was inconclusive, it nonetheless shed some light on the attempt by Brazilian liberal thinkers to formulate ideas about economic recovery after abolition and post-emancipation society while still advocating the voluntary relinquishing of slavery by planters on the basis of economic growth as previously experienced in the U.S. Southern states. Their positive message was based on the success of the U.S. post-bellum Southern cotton industry which had made the region move forwards from an export economy to an industrialised economy. The positive image of the time was likewise based on the land reform which aimed at dividing the large plantation properties and redistributing them among small farmers, as Rebouças and Nabuco had dreamed of for Brazil. In fact, the U.S. model of abolition was now no longer seen as a dangerous political event of far too unpredictable consequences but as a process deriving from a successful programme of economic and social modernisation.

Besides the Hilliard incident, the year of 1880 also witnessed another, even more relevant event. Early that year the planter class from the Southern provinces of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais successfully decided to end the internal slave trade which had been actively unfolding for three decades. The trade and shipment of slaves within the Empire was practically ended by the imposition of prohibitively high taxes in 1880 and 1881 and formally abolished in 1885. Rather than a last-minute conversion to abolition on the part of this, Brazil's most dynamic economic sector, this move was an attempt to shore up the fast-eroding commitment of Northern planters to the slave system and as such as a reaction against the growing

²⁴² 22 Nov. 1880, Chamber of Deputies. Cited in Nabuco, *The Life*, 77 and Conrad, *The Destruction*, 142. See also, Toplin, *The Abolition*, 60.

abolitionist mood which was increasingly revealing its presence and unwonted strength. Ironically, however, in so doing Southern slavocrats inadvertently helped to reinvigorate the very movement which they sought to suppress. The first, most striking expression of this unforeseen outcome was that in March 1884 the Northern province of Ceará declared the end of slavery within its territory. This measure, the first of its kind, happened in an area which had been converted to a form of labour alternative to slavery since the middle of the century. Most immediately though, the sudden eruption of the abolitionist movement in Ceará was the result of the work undertaken by the provincial abolitionist societies and the backing they received by the provincial ruling class and popular involvement.²⁴³

Abolition in Ceará naturally encouraged abolitionist sentiment elsewhere, prompting a sudden proliferation of anti-slavery societies and clubs in every corner of the Empire. Furthermore, from then on abolitionists pursued subversive actions which culminated in delivering the lethal blow to the slave system. At the same time, Rio's Abolitionist Confederation presided over by João Clapp gradually incorporated and coordinated the work of many of these smaller societies by deliberately modelling them on the earlier associationist forms which had previously worked effectively in the United States—and in Britain—in taking the debate to the people and thus reinforcing public support for the cause. This is when middle classes and the enslaved began cooperating with the abolitionist cause by taking direct, even violent action against the system, something that Nabuco epitomised as the death knell of William L. Garrison's abolitionism, the point at which the radical phase began.

1884-1888: *The abolitionism of John Brown*

²⁴³ Conrad, *The Destruction*, ch. XI: 'The movement in Ceará', 170-182.

In December 1880 Luíz Gama wrote in the newspaper *Gazeta do Povo* (R. Janeiro): ‘I want to be mad like John Brown, like Spartacus, like Lincoln, like Jesus’.²⁴⁴ Gama had been born free to an African woman and a member of the Bahian aristocracy who at the age of ten had sold him illegally into slavery. The inter-provincial slave trade had seen him shipped from Bahia to São Paulo; once there his mulatto appearance spared him from working in the coffee fields: Gama was bought to serve as a domestic servant in an urban household.²⁴⁵ This fate allowed him to learn to read and write. At the age of seventeen he fled from slavery and became a poet, journalist, editor and self-taught lawyer.²⁴⁶ Following the publication of his first poems in 1859, Gama gained recognition from within elite enlightened circles.²⁴⁷ He was soon to become the great precursor of the Brazilian abolitionist cause and movement. Even though Brazil’s most illustrious slavery resistor, Joaquim Nabuco, was reluctant to recognise the legitimate character of Gama’s early genuine struggle for unconditional abolition, the ex-slave was the first to initiate successful abolitionist activities which included the ransoming of the illegally enslaved on the basis of the

²⁴⁴ Luíz Gama, ‘A emancipação ao pé da letra’, *Gazeta do Povo* (R. Janeiro), 28 Dec. 1880.

²⁴⁵ Mulattos were also privileged when it came to manumission. Scholarly literature on the complex construction of race in Brazil is vast. Carl N. Degler was the first to tackle the mulatto ideology in Brazil in his comparative study, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York & London: Collier-Macmillan, 1971). On the Brazilian system of colour classification and its link to social stratification, see Patrick Wolfe, ‘Land, labor and difference: Elementary structures of race’, *AHR*, 106:3 (Jun., 2001), 866-905, 895-904. On the political consequences of the mulatto social mobility in Brazil, see Thomas E. Skidmore, ‘Bi-racial U.S.A. vs. multi-racial Brazil: Is the contrast still valid?’, *JLAS*, 25:2 (May, 1993), 373-386. See also Skidmore’s classic study, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

²⁴⁶ Despite being discouraged by his social circles to go to a Faculty of Law, Gama learned the legal discipline on his own and obtained the *rábula*, a special licence to practice the profession granted to those who knew the juridical canon in an informal way. His reputation was also built on the fact that he represented slaves before the courts free of charge and that he won more than 1,000 appeals to court against illegal enslavement. For a comprehensive biography of Luíz Gama, see Sud Mennucci, *O Precursor do Abolicionismo no Brasil (Luíz Gama)* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938). See also, Kennedy, ‘Luíz Gama’.

²⁴⁷ Getulino [Luíz Gama], *Primeiras Trovas Burlescas* (São Paulo: Typographia Dois de Dezembro, 1859). Getulino also was one of the pseudonyms used by Gama when writing anonymously in the press.

1831 law.²⁴⁸ By the mid-1860s Gama was already helping Italian cartoonist Ângelo Agostini, founder of Brazil's renowned humoristic *Puck*-like weekly magazine, the *Revista Illustrada*, to establish the two first anti-slavery and anti-monarchic *Paulista* illustrated journals.²⁴⁹ And in 1868, along with Américo Brasiliense, one of the leading figures of the *Paulista* republican propaganda, Gama co-founded the abolitionist and republican Masonic lodge of the capital of São Paulo province, 'Loja America', the republican and abolitionist ideals of which were influenced by, and paid tribute to the U.S. political doctrine and post-emancipation social model. Moreover, Gama's motto and dream was respectively 'American Brazil and the Cruzeiro lands with neither kings nor slaves' and that Brazil should be called the 'United States of Brazil'.²⁵⁰ As indicated by the abolitionist deputy from Minas Gerais, Antônio Manoel Bueno de Andrada, 'The influence of Luís Gama grew day by day as, consequently, did his circle of action and his exhausting labours'.²⁵¹

Gama envisaged a revolutionary-like campaign in which slaves themselves would participate in the struggle for abolition. He was the one pioneering abolitionist for whom the U.S. experience in building a community of abolitionist practice based on a structured network of societies, press organs and subversive activities such as the Underground Railroad served as a blueprint. Furthermore, to the hatred of gradualists, Gama once declared that '[e]very slave who kills his master, whatever the

²⁴⁸ On Gama's abolitionist activities, see Kennedy, 'Luíz Gama', 260 and *passim*.

²⁴⁹ They were *O Diabo Coxo* (The Lame Devil, 1864-1865) and *O Cabrião* (Portuguese word for a troublesome person, 1866-1867). Nabuco said that the *Revista Illustrada* was the 'Bible of abolition for those who do not read', a comment which may be extended to all illustrated magazines of the 1870s. Cited in Alexandre Miranda Delgado, 'Aspectos da campanha abolicionista na imprensa', in Arno Wehling (ed.), *A Abolição do Cativo. Os Grupos Dominantes* (R. Janeiro: Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 1988), 123-127, 126.

²⁵⁰ Luíz Gama, Letter to his son Benedito Graco Pinto da Gama, 23 Sept. 1870. Cited in Ligia Fonseca Ferreira, 'Luíz Gama: Um abolicionista leitor de Renan', *Revista de Estudos Avançados* (Universidade de São Paulo), 21:60 (2007), 271-288, 278.

²⁵¹ Antônio Manoel Bueno de Andrada, 'A abolição em São Paulo', *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo), 77 (1941), 261-272. Cited in Robert E. Conrad (ed.), *Children of God's Fire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), Part 5: "'The noblest and most sacred cause": The abolition struggle', ch. IX: 'An ex-abolitionist recalls the anti-slavery struggle in São Paulo (1918)', 466-472, 468.

circumstances, does so in self-defence'.²⁵² Yet, his 'exhausting labours' not only included the destructive stage of assisting the disassembling of the slave system which came hand in hand with his public support of slave violence. Gama was also committed to the construction of a new horizon of freedom based on a system of primary-school education for slaves and the supply of food and shelter for freedmen, all assisted by him.²⁵³ Nevertheless, according to Brazilian standards, December 1880, when Gama publicly praised the boldness of John Brown and Lincoln, was certainly an early time for preaching the dismantling of the system by popular agency. Moreover, at the very time that Gama applauded John Brown's courage in the anti-slavery struggle, 'aristocratic' abolitionists such as Nabuco were still struggling to keep the abolitionist cause restricted to the political elites, as has been seen above. Furthermore, between 1882 and 1883 when Nabuco was laying out the principles of the abolitionist propaganda in his *Abolitionism*, a work inspired by the thoughts and actions of Abraham Lincoln and intended to stir up Brazilian planter class, he turned to the image of John Brown which he was yet to reject and replace with the one most suitable for his reformist program, that of William L. Garrison. Despite the philosophical chasm between direct and indirect action as embodied in the abolitionists' agendas here and there as described in Brazil, after the controversies over the passing of the Sexagenarian Law in September 1885 even moderate abolitionists would finally become radicalised.

In 1884, in the context of mounting political pressures for meaningful reforms regarding the abolition process, Dom Pedro appointed a liberal leader as Prime Minister. He was Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas from Bahia who was in charge of drafting an abolitionist project which would free slaves over sixty years old. The main

²⁵² Cited in Kennedy, 'Luíz Gama', 262.

²⁵³ Toplin, *The Destruction*, 171.

point of Dantas's project was the immediate emancipation of all bondsmen over the age of sixty.²⁵⁴ Yet, his plan failed to pass by a narrow margin of 52 against 50 votes, a defeat which precipitated the fall of the ministry in 1885. What was at stake was the whole question of the legality of slave property.²⁵⁵ The defeat of the Dantas bill, the fall of his ministry and the change of the original project by the following cabinet headed by conservative minister José Antônio Saraiva, Bahian former Minister of Foreign Affairs and spokesman for the slave proprietors, marked the greatest disillusion of abolitionists and the beginning of the radical phase of abolition.²⁵⁶ From now on, abolitionist of all shades of opinion united in their scepticism regarding any possible parliamentary solutions for the slavery question. This is when the radical stances which had been developing in earlier years irreversibly crystallised.²⁵⁷ Parliamentarian abolitionists set about working cooperatively with more radical resisters in order to further the cause outside Parliament. New abolitionist newspapers were created; the circulation of pamphlets and books gained new momentum; new clubs and societies were established; regular banquets were offered. There was an explosion of conferences, public rallies, benefit dances and bazaar auctions to raise funds for emancipation. Activists for the now united abolitionist front travelled around the country to spread the word of abolition and increase popular participation. These new organisational impetus techniques were built deliberately on the

²⁵⁴ Dantas's bill also included the creation of new taxes to increase the emancipation fund for slaveholders, the definitive ban of the inter-provincial slave trade, the register of all slaves in Brazil, the immediate liberation of all non-registered slaves and a table for the progressive amortisation of slave values. See, Nabuco, *The Life*, ch. X: 'The rise of the abolitionist movement, 1884', 106-117. Note that the series of articles written by Joaquim Nabuco under the pen name of 'Garrison' referred to above, were during and in support of the Dantas' cabinet and bill, during the year of 1884.

²⁵⁵ The bill would have set the precedent against the slaveholders' right to claim monetary compensation for emancipation. Toplin, *The Abolition*, 102.

²⁵⁶ Law N. 3270. Viotti da Costa reminds us that during the debates about the Sexagenarian Law which freed slaves over sixty (also known as the Saraiva-Cotegipe Law) approved on 28 September 1885 following strong opposition and a change of Prime Minister, the progressive coffee planters from Western São Paulo separated themselves from the most conservative landowners now concentrated in Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais. This change was decisive for the Parliamentary victory against slavery gained in 1888. Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 426 and 439.

²⁵⁷ Toplin, 'Upheaval', 642 and *passim*.

foundations of previous experience of the Anglo-American movement which had successfully taken the abolitionist cause to the people and gained public support for the cause.²⁵⁸

A year after the controversies over the Sexagenarian Law the imperial government banned the practice of whipping slaves as legal slaveholders' punishment against bondsmen.²⁵⁹ If, after losing faith in the legal process as a means to end slavery, the controversies over the emancipation of the sexagenarians had served to unite abolitionists, the law prohibiting the corporal punishment of the bondsmen likewise unleashed a new chain of events, this time initiating the very last phase of the whole struggle. This law was the immediate cause for slaves to abandon the plantations en masse; the desertion in turn brought about the actual downfall of the slave institution, of which the passing of the Golden Law two years later was but a legal consequence.²⁶⁰ It was this same year of 1886, moreover, that the renowned radical anti-slavery activist lawyer Antônio Bento de Souza e Castro organised an articulated 'underground' railway system in São Paulo to assist the runaway slaves. The movement and its members were known as the Caifazes and became crucial cogs in the spread of abolitionist propaganda and activities. The Caifazes urged slaves to flee the plantations and to head off to urban centres which were being rapidly converted into sanctuaries of escapees. The Caifazes systematised their operations on the basis of the Underground Railroad system which had previously succeeded in the United States for the slaves to gain freedom by directly escaping bondage. Bento's organisation also edited a journal called *A Redenção* (The Redemption) the editorial

²⁵⁸ Conrad, *The Abolition*, ch. X: 'Action and reaction', 150-169.

²⁵⁹ Law N. 3310. 15 Oct. 1886.

²⁶⁰ Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 'Conclusão', 456-467, *passim*; Toplin, *The Abolition*, ch. VIII: 'The collapse of slavery', 194-224, *passim*.

of which advocated 'immediate liberation with no delay'.²⁶¹ At the same time as working in the fields the Caifazes furthered the struggle through their propaganda organ. As in many other abolitionist newspapers of the time, *A Redenção* serialised Mrs Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the fictional work which awakened enthusiasm and served as a great source of inspiration for Brazilians at a moment when its theatrical representation was banned by the police authorities.²⁶²

By May 1888 the struggle for the abolition of slavery was drawing to a close. The last signal of the planters' defeat was sounded in 1887 when the Armed Forces refused to continue acting as *capitães-do-mato* (hunters of runaways). This act was decisive in persuading the majority of planters to convert suddenly to abolition.²⁶³ They began freeing slaves in exchange for manpower as a desperate move to keep the plantations working. Moreover, just as some runaways began returning to work in exchange for a wage, the province of São Paulo eventually converted entirely to the abolitionist doctrine even before emancipation was legally passed. Yet, interestingly for our purposes, the inexorable defeat of the planter class made the most recalcitrant sectors of it emphasise in their discourse the association of their fate with that of the Confederates some decades earlier. A not unimportant part of their argument addressed, moreover, the economic ruin endured by their U.S. counterparts. We saw above that during these last years of the struggle one of the abolitionists' discursive strategies had been to convince planters of the economic advantages of turning to free labour force. Rather than accepting the prospects of any auspicious future based on a

²⁶¹ Cited in Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala*, 430. On the Caifazes, see Toplin, 'Upheaval', 642-645.

²⁶² The first Portuguese version of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) dates from 1853 and was published in Paris. The second was published in Lisbon in 1856. Also, *A Cabana do Pai Tomas* was published in serial forms in many abolitionist newspapers in Brazil.

²⁶³ The fact that the army gave up capturing runaway slaves led to the emergence of a body of historiography which depicts the armed forces as a progressive, pro-abolitionist institution, support for which contributed significantly to the ending of slavery in Brazil. Hendrik Kraay, "'The shelter and the uniform': The Brazilian army and runaway slaves, 1800-1888", *Journal of Social History*, 29:3 (Spring, 1996), 637-657, 638.

free labour market, most recalcitrant pro-slavery sectors still organised their last-resort defence of slavery by resorting to U.S. imagery. On the eve of the liquidation of the system the contradictions and multiple facets of the process of abolition in the United States were still reverberating in the Brazilian experience. The entrenched planter from traditional Bahia and Conservative Minister between 1885 and March 1888, the above-mentioned Baron of Cotegipe, argued in the Senate the very day that abolition was passed that '[he was] convinced that Brazil will not die because of the absence of slavery'. The Baron did fear, nonetheless, the death of the slaveholders' 'fortunes acquired by good faith' condemned not by the exhaustion of the system but by political decision. Drawing on 'the great misfortunes in the South of the United States', the Baron of Cotegipe foresaw a gloomy future for former slaveholders:

If that great nation could resist the brusque and violent extinction of the servile element it is because an important part of the North did not depend on slave labour; but the misfortunes which fall on the South are so many and so great that they might not be repaired in half a century.²⁶⁴

Conclusion

This chapter has studied the various political usages of representations of the U.S. experience of the abolition of slavery throughout the long and slow process of the demise of the slave system in Brazil. Both internal and external factors shaped (though with different degrees of intensity and persistence) the Brazilian path towards

²⁶⁴ João Maurício Wanderlei, Barão de Cotegipe, Senado, 13 May 1888. Cited in Luíz Koshiba and Denise Manzi Frauze Pereira, *História do Brasil* (São Paulo: Atual, 1996), 238-239.

free labour. We have shown the consequences that the news about the U.S. Civil War and its outcome had for the future of slavery in Brazil. Yet, by focusing on the interaction between the reception and impact of news about developments in the United States and domestic events, we identified the political purposes the example of the U.S. emancipation served in the local political arena. More importantly, we discovered that internal developments were refracted through the lens of comparison with the United States and, furthermore, that, domestic developments would have been seen differently without reference to the U.S. experience of abolition. These images, in fact, emerged as the focal point around which the reformist political elites based their positions with respect to slavery and, in the last phase of the process, the very organisational dimension of their campaign.

All in all, we found that the Brazilian images of the United States were ubiquitous and diverse. Ubiquitous or omnipresent because the representations of the United States were present in every step of the Brazilian process of abolition thus their versatile character deploying to the maximum. And versatile or polymorphic because the case of U.S. abolition was in the first instance a negative example, or the best available counter-example employed by liberal reformists to illustrate the possible eventual decadence of the Brazilian planter class should they continue to resist any possible reform of the 'servile element'. In the second phase of the process, however, the U.S. example came to be seen by the same campaigners as a positive case which no longer showcased a negative violent event of unpredictable consequences but, on the contrary, a positive instance, one which stemmed from the very process of modernising the country, the ultimate fixation of Brazilian abolitionists who pursued the insertion of Brazil as an active member of the community of 'civilised' nations. By the early 1880s the United States had already

secured first place among Brazilian liberal thinkers on the ladder of progress. The benefits of free labour and the need to revise the socioeconomic structure of Brazilian society became clearer for an increasing number of liberals within and beyond the Houses of Parliament. This new threshold of political will, combined with a more active participation of popular sectors, made the case for abolition unstoppable. Not only did the U.S. example provide Brazilian abolitionists with the useful rhetorical and political weapon of a hypothetical threat of civil war *à la Américaine* skilfully wielded against slavocrats, but images of U.S. abolition also worked positively by furnishing Brazilians with both propagandistic and organisational guidelines as well as heroic actions.

The images of the United States mutated all along the path towards abolition in Brazil ranging from negative to positive appraisals. We contend that this case is an example which challenges the conventional view of the influence of the United States in whatever sphere it might be, running monolithically in one direction. This is the first chapter which shows, on the contrary, how active was the role played by Brazilian observers of the United States and how strategic the uses they made of the U.S. representations were in shaping, supporting and promoting their political aspirations and thus the fate of their own country. We are ready now to move onto the next chapter which surveys the Brazilian representations and uses of the U.S. political and civil freedoms.

Chapter 2: The U.S. model of political and civil freedoms

Introduction

As in other Latin American processes of nation building, Brazil's ruling elites turned to foreign models of political organisation for the building of an independent nation. Of them, Great Britain, France and the United States at different times provided different aspects of what the Brazilian elites regarded as the major expressions of 'modern' civilisation. Following the tradition initiated by the Portuguese metropolis of looking to other nations for guidelines on organising the nation, the political elite of imperial Brazil combined elements of the British constitutional monarchy with institutions inspired by the French centralising political and administrative model. Rather than the Portuguese former metropolis, Great Britain supplied the elites of the First and Second Empire with the blueprint for a parliamentary monarchical system of government. Likewise, the French doctrines of the Moderating Power and the Council of State were enthusiastically adopted by the ruling elites of Brazil. Deprived of many of their original characteristics, these foreign models came to form in Brazil the pinnacle of a highly centralised political structure. Accordingly, students of Brazil's political history have traditionally been more concerned with the study of the role these models of political organisation played in shaping the institutions of the First and Second Empires. Whereas historians have tended to focus on the influence that these European models of society had on the political practices of the Brazilian Empire, the place occupied by the United States, the third component of Brazil's ideological platform for the building of the nation, has received less scholarly attention. Furthermore, almost nothing has been written on

how the images of the United States came to dislocate Brazil's traditional repertoire of political theory.

Despite the growing importance that the United States came to occupy for some liberal intellectuals and politicians towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century as a repository of political and civic ideas, this foreign example has not been tackled as such in the field of Brazil's history of ideas, as also indicated in the Introduction of the thesis. Nevertheless, we have seen that even though the dominant historiographic tendency is still today inclined to almost exclusively focus attention on the prominent place that the U.S. federal organisation of power occupied in the ideological repertoire and political agenda of those Brazilians who throughout the century, but with even greater force after the early 1870s, increasingly opposed the centralising government of Dom Pedro II, there are some few exceptions to this rule. These exceptions are well represented, for example, by the studies of Murilo de Carvalho and Gildo Marçal Brandão on the different types of citizenships and paths to democracy elicited by the model of U.S. liberal institutions such as the form of government or the juridical norms and moral values contained in them.²⁶⁵

Other studies have shed light on further specific aspects of the U.S. links with Brazil. Some of the most important themes covered by this scholarly literature and also mentioned in the Introduction include, for example, the role model offered by the U.S. Constitution for the drafting of Brazil's first republican Constitution of 1891; the military action by the U.S. naval squadron anchored in the Guanabara Bay at the time of the monarchist revolt against the regime of Floriano Peixoto in 1893-94; or Brazil's policies of friendliness towards the United States as contained in the Pan-Americanist ideal devised by James G. Blaine and happily embraced by Brazilian republicans such

²⁶⁵ Murilo de Carvalho, 'Cidadania' and *Cidadania no Brasil*; Marçal Brandão, 'Human nature'.

as the renowned Minister to Washington Salvador de Menezes Drummond Furtado de Mendonça, better known as Salvador de Mendonça, and later on by Joaquim Nabuco himself.²⁶⁶ For all the insights these studies have yielded on diverse aspects of the political ascendancy of the United States in Brazil, none of them has established the correspondent relationships between the U.S. model of social and political organisation and Brazil's other main foreign ideological referents, notably Britain and France. Perhaps more importantly, the historiography of Brazil is still awaiting studies which focus on the reception and interpretation by nineteenth-century Brazilian thinkers and politicians of the U.S. pattern of organisation regarding politics and society at the level of civil society.

In short, in the process of studying the place of the United States in the imagining of modern Brazil, of establishing its relationship with the two other main foreign models and re-evaluating its salience, we found that there is at least one important aspect of the U.S. republic that attracted the attention of Brazil's ruling and intellectual elites, which has been relatively neglected. This aspect taps into the relationship between state and society: it is the identification of the United States as the place where civil liberties took root, formed a strong base and went on to thrive. The formation of a civil society where people's rights and liberties developed in nineteenth-century Latin America remains an open field of historical study. Furthermore, the very term 'citizenship' only became salient in political and academic arenas in relation to Latin America during the 1980s and 1990s. As the prominent Argentine historian Hilda Sabato has pointed out, the notion of 'citizenship' only started to be part of a common language of politics in Latin America during the

²⁶⁶ Lobo, 'O Pan-Americanismo e o Brasil'; Pedro Calmon, *Brasil e América (História de uma Política)* (R. Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Ed., 1943); Souza Andrade, *Joaquim Nabuco*; Roger W. Fontaine, *Brazil and the United States: Toward a Maturing Relation* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974); Topik, *Trade and Gunboats*; Smith, *Unequal Giants*; Villafañe G. Santos, *O Brasil entre A América e A Europa*; Dennison, *Joaquim Nabuco*.

political process which restored democratic governments across the Southern cone in the 1980s. As a consequence, only recently have political and cultural historians begun to address a new set of questions and thus re-write different dimensions of Latin American history through the new perspective provided by this conceptual tool. Following these theoretical developments, the re-definition of the idea of citizenship implies going beyond the expansion of strictly political representation (mainly the right to vote). The notion of citizenship has been stretched to embrace other forms of involvement in the public sphere which included different modes of sociability, the construction of public opinion or the establishment of the jury system, to mention merely a few aspects. It refers, in short, to the development of civil society.²⁶⁷

This chapter contributes to the scholarly literature concerned with the configuration of a civil society in nineteenth-century Latin America. By studying the nineteenth-century Brazilian descriptions of the strength and dynamism of U.S. civil society, we expose the salient role that the U.S. example played among Brazilian thinkers and politicians of different persuasions as regards such important liberties as freedom of belief or women's entitlement to work or study. It is to the study of the reception and interpretation of this social pattern of organisation for political and civil power by Brazilian thinkers and politicians that this chapter will be devoted. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section introduces some historical landmarks in the development of the ideas of decentralisation and republicanism throughout the nineteenth century. The second section discusses how Brazilians represented the United States as the most balanced example of a decentralised organisation of political and administrative power. This depiction appears particularly vivid for our period of study in the context of an intellectual debate between two

²⁶⁷ Hilda Sabato, 'On political citizenship in nineteenth-century Latin America', *AHR*, 106:4 (Oct. 2001), 1290-1315 and *La Política en las Calles. Entre el Voto y la Movilización. Buenos Aires, 1862-1880* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Sudamericana, 1998).

paradigmatic figures of imperial conservatism and liberalism, Paulino José Soares de Sousa, Viscount of Uruguai, and Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos. The debate was sparked by the political centralisation that was ushered in following the establishment of the Second Empire in July 1840. The third and last section of the chapter brings to the fore Brazilian images of the United States regarding the development of U.S. civil society. It will be shown that these images were produced from different aspects of U.S. society and were projected by the Brazilian liberal thinkers as vectors of the liberal and democratic ideals of the nineteenth century.

Federal republicanism as unfolded in Brazil. Some historical facts and landmarks

The organised resistance against centralised power which opened in the late 1860s began with the emergence of a demand for a federalist reform and ended with the establishment of a republican regime. Yet, federal as well as republican ideas had existed in Brazil since late colonial times, when news about the new set of democratising demands being developed in the transatlantic world reached Brazilian shores. The allure of the republican system of government had already made significant strides among some sectors of colonial society following the American and French revolutions. The Brazilian sectors particularly receptive to the new republican ideas in the late colonial period corresponded to the members of the elites who saw their business and activities oppressed by the policies dictated in distant Lisbon. Of the regional secessionist movements which broke out during the late eighteenth century in the Portuguese American colony, the so-called *Inconfidência Mineira*, which sprang up in 1789 in the city of Ouro Preto, captaincy of Minas Gerais,

represented the most important manifestation of an emerging republican ideology. The rebellion began when the educated and world-travelled elite of the region, crushed by the decline in gold production and feeling oppressed by Portuguese fiscal policies, initiated an anti-colonial rebellion.²⁶⁸ The *inconfidente* leaders sought to impose an independent republican regime in their captaincy modelled after the example of the recently established U.S. republic. More than with revolutionary France and its conspicuous example of activism and mobilisation of the masses, the *inconfidente* conspirators drew parallels between the course of actions and events in the United States and their own plight. The first representations of the United States as a post-colonial society which, having successfully changed the location of authority seemed determined to found a new, independent nation on the principles of political liberty and autonomy, appeared in Brazil with the *inconfidente* rebels. Furthermore, in their search for tactical and material support for their own insurgency, the *inconfidentes* even established contact with Thomas Jefferson, by then the U.S. Minister to France. In a letter dated 21 November 1786, the ideologues of the Inconfidência declared allegiance to the ideological ground of the U.S. revolution. Expecting an array of political consequences stemming from the change of power in the United States, they asserted:

Brazilians consider the Revolution of North America the precursor of that sought in Brazil and they hope to receive every help from the United States.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ For the background to the Minas rebellion, see Kenneth Maxwell, *Conflict and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal, 1750-1808* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), ch. 4: 'Confrontation', 84-114.

²⁶⁹ Vendeck (pseudonym for José Joaquim Maia e Barbalho, medical student from Rio de Janeiro at the University of Montpellier) to Thomas Jefferson, 21 Nov. 1786. Cited in José Honório Rodrigues, 'A revolução americana e a revolução brasileira da Independência (1776-1822)', *Revista de Historia de*

That help never arrived however. Recent scholarship has questioned the relevance of U.S. democratic premises regarding the organisation of the state for the elitist-minded *inconfidente* rebels.²⁷⁰ Even though the Mineiro ideologues were more (or only) interested in the anti-colonial aspect of the U.S. revolutionary war, the circulation of images of republican United States in the Brazilian colonial countryside, we believe, attests if not to the rebels' flirting with the idea of creating a republican regime in their captaincy along the lines of the U.S. democratic example, at least to the early ideological presence and impact that political developments in the United States brought to bear on some sectors of the political spectrum of the time.

Demands for a republican form of government re-emerged with certain vigour in independent Brazil. Now, these demands formed part of the reaction against the centralising rule of Brazil's first independent Emperor, Dom Pedro I. The principles of the imperial centralisation of power lay at the basis of the imperial Constitution of 1824 drawn by him. The Constitution subordinated the provinces in every way to the central government, depriving them of any legislative, judicial or financial autonomy, instead rendering them mere administrative subdivisions, as discussed in the Introduction of the thesis. During the Regency period Brazil experienced federalism for the first time. The expansion of the power of the Justice of the Peace (*Juiz de Paz*) and to the citizen jury (*serviço do júri*) as stipulated in the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedures (*Código do Processo Criminal*) passed on 23 October 1832 was based on the British tradition of the people's tribunal, although through the filter of

América (México), 83 (jan.-jun., 1977), 69-91, 78. See also, Salvador de Mendonça, 'Republicanism in Brazil', *The North American Review*, 158:446 (Jan., 1894), 8-15, 10.

²⁷⁰ João Pinto Furtado, 'Uma república entre dois mundos: Inconfidência Mineira, historiografia e temporalidade', *RBH*, 21:42 (2001), 343-363, 351-352.

the U.S. model of elective justice. The Brazilian renowned expert in British and U.S. jurisprudence, jurist Rui Barbosa, explained that:

Before passing from the British Isles to the [European] continent, the old inspiration of the Anglo-Saxon legal genius established its second patria in the American land. The jury was one of the oldest institutions of the English colonies in North America.²⁷¹

The United States served liberal thinkers such as Barbosa as an example of the process of democratisation of the structures of government in the American continent. This expansion of the power of the people embodied the radical liberal hopes for popular involvement in the distribution of justice and the maintenance of order. Yet, this decentralising experiment did not resolve the issues raised by radical liberals as regards the sharing of public power with the central government.

Despite the early start, only by the late 1860s did the demands of provincial autonomy and republicanism come to be once again the rallying cry for the enemies of the centralising politics dictated from Rio de Janeiro. In particular, the *Paulista* planters sought in the U.S. political model a solution which might redress their under-representation in Parliament, as we shall discuss below. Likewise, federal and republican ideology also found fertile ground on which to spread when the economic and social dynamism of the 1870s, triggered in part by the rising prices of coffee in the international market, provoked the emergence of new middle sectors in urban areas who decided to bring their new aspirations to the political arena. The presence of these new constituencies in Brazil's social spectrum opened up a new opportunity

²⁷¹ Rui Barbosa, *Posse de Direitos Pessoais. O Júri e Independência da Magistratura* (R. Janeiro: Typographia do Jornal do Comércio, 1896), in *Obras Completas de Rui Barbosa* (R. Janeiro: Ministério de Educação e Saúde, 1942), 49 Vols., Vol. XXIII (1896), t. III, 148-149.

for the U.S. model of society, to be projected as an appropriate alternative to perform the necessary reforms towards greater political representation. By 1870, various sectors sceptical about the monarchical form of government had embraced the republican cause. Nevertheless, republicanism as a political ideology had its main locus in the coffee-growing provinces of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. One of the consequences of the displacement of the economic hub from North to South in the 1850s was the development of a growing asymmetry between the system of political representation and the economic base of the imperial regime. Following this development the spread of an ideology which sought decentralisation occurred among the planter class from Central-South Brazil and, in particular, among the rising rural oligarchy of Western São Paulo. What is relevant for the topic of this chapter is that the sectional revitalisation of the plight for decentralisation from the 1870s onwards sought and found in the language of republicanism a solution to resolve the bottleneck posed by the combination of two factors: the lack of appropriate political representation in Parliament and the alleged commitment of the central government to carry out an emancipationist agenda. As we shall see below, for the new economically powerful sectors, decentralisation and republicanism appeared as a new ideological framework from which to command political power.

The period between the monarchical coup of July 1868, when the Emperor interrupted the normal procedures of the Parliament to replace a legitimately elected cabinet, and the republican coup of 1889, which proclaimed Brazil's First Republic (1889-1930), was marked by political realignments which profoundly altered the traditional map of political allegiances and traditional bipartisan politics. Brazil's first Republican Party was founded two years after the explosion of the worst political crisis, which was related to the concentration of power in the central government. The

party was the brainchild of a group of liberals, mostly from Rio de Janeiro, who in 1870 seceded from the Liberal Party to form the third formal political party of the Empire. These liberals who seceded were the first to identify the United States as the political paradigm and empirical source of model solutions for Brazil with regard to such urgent problems as the Emperor's discretionary wielding of the Moderating Power or the suffocation of the regional potential for development, among other aspects. The first organic manifestation of the new anti-monarchic mood, which sought to bring Brazil closer to a continent governed by republican regimes, came from the Manifesto of the Republican Party issued on 3 December 1870. In this document, the new supporters of republicanism asserted:

We come from America and we want to be Americans. Our form of government is in essence and practice opposed and hostile to the American law and to the interests of the American states. [...] Under these conditions, Brazil can consider herself an isolated country, not only in the Americas, but also in the world.²⁷²

This statement proclaimed publicly for the first time the need felt by some members of the elite for Brazil to move politically with the times and to integrate the country's foreign policy with republican America, an argument which, in turn, suited republicans who sought to justify the overthrowing of the monarchy.²⁷³ As for the

²⁷² 'Manifesto Republicano', *A República* (R. Janeiro), 3 Dezembro 1870, 1. The Manifesto is fully transcribed in Reynaldo Carneiro Pessoa, *A Idéia Republicana no Brasil através dos Documentos* (São Paulo: Editora Alfa-Omega, 1973), 'O Manifesto Republicano de 1870', 39-62, 60. It is also transcribed in Américo Brasiliense, *Os Programas dos Partidos e o Segundo Império* (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1979), 61-85, 82-83. Historians agree that the text was most probably written by Quintino Bocaiúva, Salvador de Mendonça and Saldanha Marinho.

²⁷³ If the idea of Pan Americanism is implied in the extract above, the reorientation of Brazil's foreign policy towards questions of hemispheric concern did not become formal policy until the republican regime when the Baron of Rio Branco (son of the Viscount of Rio Branco) held the portfolio of foreign

level of internal affairs, the Manifesto articulated the attack against the centralising character of the monarchical regime and posited the autonomy of the provinces as its cardinal principle.²⁷⁴ Most republicans found in the post-Civil War U.S. republic the practical example which thus far had most successfully combined political diversity and the strengthening of the national union. Notwithstanding this consensus, the Brazilian thinkers did not agree on what aspect of the U.S. model was best for the development in Brazil of a society in which political and civil freedoms could thrive, as the following section will show.

Towards the early 1870s, the United States as a political experiment began to catch the attention of republicans and monarchists alike. For Conservative monarchists, the U.S. federal system in itself was in great measure accountable for the crisis of the Civil War. The conservative sectors shrewdly interpreted that episode in the U.S. history as the inevitable outcome of the federal organisation of power and, as such, as a counter-model in the discussions around the decentralisation of power, as we also indicated in chapter 1. On the other hand, republicans saw in the ‘Great Republic of the North’, as the United States was often referred to at the time, the only republic of the Western Hemisphere which had managed to find a viable political formula for national organisation. It was the empirical case of the success of a political equation which, by adopting a presidential republican system of government that combined a strong Executive with a bicameral legislature, had succeeded in sparing the country the threat of civil war and *caudillo*-style leadership, which had been afflicting the neighbouring Latin American republics ever since independence

affairs (1902-1912) and Joaquim Nabuco the post of Brazil’s first ambassador to Washington (1905-1910). See, Dennison, *Joaquim Nabuco*.

²⁷⁴ ‘Manifesto Republicano’, Pessoa, *idem*.

from Spain.²⁷⁵ As for specifically Brazilian affairs, the United States offered liberal thinkers an alternative model of federation to the centralised monarchy which had ruled Brazil since 1840.

On 15 November 1889, a military coup overthrew the monarchy and established Brazil's first republican regime. The new government supplanted the Empire's reformist liberal cabinet headed by Affonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo, Viscount of Ouro Preto (July-November 1889). The complexity of Brazil's transition from monarchy to republic began with the fact that the *coup d'état* against the Empire was led by somebody who, at best, did not have republican convictions. He was Marshall Manoel Deodoro da Fonseca, a monarchist who admired Dom Pedro II, but who had been forced by a chain of events to deprive the Emperor of throne and country and to become the provisional president of Brazil between 1889 and 1891.²⁷⁶ Moreover, the coup of 1889 was the result of a last-minute alliance between the military factions disaffected with the monarchical regime and the republicans from the provinces of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, where the republican ideology was more firmly established.²⁷⁷

The military fraction that launched the coup consisted of two clearly defined sectors, the high-ranking Army officers and the junior officers below the rank of lieutenant colonel. The former group followed Da Fonseca's lead in the coup on the basis of their resentment against the imperial regime which, ever since the Paraguayan War, had denied the Army their main demand, namely the right to participate in

²⁷⁵ Nícia Vilela Luz, 'A monarquia brasileira e as repúblicas americanas', *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, 8:3 (Jul., 1966), 358-370, 360.

²⁷⁶ Charles Willis Simmons, 'Deodoro da Fonseca, fate's dictator', *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, 5:1 (Jan., 1963), 45-52, 45. See also, June E. Hahner, 'The Brazilian armed forces and the overthrow of the monarchy: Another perspective', *The Americas*, 26:2 (Oct., 1969), 171-182, 172.

²⁷⁷ It took a concerted effort on the part of military and civilian republicans to convince Da Fonseca to accept the position of leader of the coup. This thesis has later been revised; it was then argued that the Army as a whole was not a mere vehicle for civilian ambitions. Robert A. Hayes, 'The tragedy of Marshal Deodoro Da Fonseca: A military class perspective', *LBR*, 14:2 (Winter, 1977), 211-224, 212-213 and Hahner, 'The Brazilian armed forces', 173, respectively.

politics as a corporate group. For them, the establishment of the republic was a way to resolve the dispute between the Army's hierarchy and the government.²⁷⁸ On the other hand, there were the Army's junior officers whose disaffections against the monarchy differed from those of the officers. They were followers of the popular professor of Mathematics at the Rio de Janeiro Military School and leader of the Positivist movement in the Army, Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães.²⁷⁹ Constant sought to undertake sweeping social, political and institutional reforms which were to be carried out under the leadership of a scientifically trained elite, the self-proclaimed vanguard of Brazil's march towards industrial progress.²⁸⁰ Comtean Positivism was founded on socially conservative precepts of progress through order. Initially, this rationally-oriented ideology was popular among the Law graduates (*bacharéis*) who, in their vast majority, were the scions of the planter class, a topic which will be developed in the third chapter of this thesis. Yet, after a brief flirtation with Positivism, they gradually discarded it. As time passed, Positivism became increasingly identified as the philosophy of the military and civilian urban middle sectors of which Constant was one of the leaders.²⁸¹ Constant's ground to carry out his programme of social reform was the Rio de Janeiro Military School, to which he was appointed in 1873. This was the centre of intellectual and political activity from where resentment against *bacharelismo*

²⁷⁸ Celso Castro, *A Proclamação da República* (Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Jorge Zahar, 2000), 10 and *passim*. On the so-called 'military question', see Simmons, 'Deodoro da Fonseca'. See also, José Murilo de Carvalho, 'The unfinished Republic', *The Americas*, 48:2 (Oct., 1991), 139-157, esp. 'Deodoro and the militarized Republic', 143-145.

²⁷⁹ José Murilo de Carvalho, *A Formação das Almas. O Imaginário da República no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2006), 18-22.

²⁸⁰ By contrast, the other branch of Brazil's positivism emphasised the secular spiritualism of the French ideology and led the attack against the Catholic Church. Its leaders were Miguel Lemos and Raimundo Teixeira Mendes who, in 1881, converted the study group first organised in 1878 as the Positivist Society into the Positivist Church. Robert G. Nachman, 'Positivism, modernization and the middle class in Brazil', *HAHR*, 57:1 (Feb., 1977), 1-23, 8-9.

²⁸¹ For a summary of the history of the influence of the Positivists' ideology in Brazil, see Nachman, 7-8.

emanated.²⁸² Even though high and low ranking Army officers had different expectations, they responded positively to the courting of the republicans in their aim to carry out a palace coup in order to cause the downfall of the monarchy. Military and civilian sectors born during the economic dynamism of the 1870s believed that Brazil needed to be republican.

This particular alliance between republicans and a sector of the military adds a new chapter to the ideological debates which, since the early 1860s, had been tackling the basic question of the meaning of a democratic regime built on the basis of a slave-based monarchical regime. There were three main schools of thought in the debate over the organisation of power during the second half of the century. They were the above-mentioned Positivism, French Jacobinism and liberalism in the U.S. fashion.²⁸³ The Positivists emphasised the need to contain the popular participation in political events, as also mentioned above. The Jacobins, on the other hand, by drawing on the example of the French Revolution, openly sought the participation of the ordinary people in the conquest and administration of the political and civil freedoms. Brazil's Jacobin ideology was fully developed in the context of the de-organisation of power following the overthrow of the monarchy. By using the imported rhetoric of the masses, these radical republicans argued that the people were to be called on to take the government under their direct control without any intermediation of representative

²⁸² Castro, *A Proclamação*, 'A mocidade militar', 11-28; Murilo de Carvalho, 'The unfinished Republic', esp. 'Benjamin Constant and the Sociocratic Republic', 145-148. On the Law School graduates and their insertion in the bureaucratic-state machinery, see Barman and Barman, 'The role of the law graduate'. See also, Pang and Seckinger, 'The Mandarins'; Murilo de Carvalho, 'Political Elites'; Sergio Adorno, *Os Aprendizes do Poder. O Bacharelismo Liberal na Política Brasileira* (São Paulo: Ed. Brasiliense, 1988); Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo das Raças. Cientistas, Instituições e Questão Racial no Brasil. 1870-1930* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005), ch. 5: 'As faculdades de Direito ou os eleitos da nação', 141-188. The state bureaucracy of the second half of the century was so centralised that it was described at the time as a big head with neither arms nor legs, and as a body the circulation of which did not manage to reach its extremities. The 'macrocephalia' of the Brazilian state has been studied by Murilo de Carvalho, in *A Construção da Ordem*, ch. 6: 'A burocracia, vocação de todos', 143-168, 152.

²⁸³ Murilo de Carvalho, *A Formação das Almas*, 22 and *passim*.

bodies.²⁸⁴ The Jacobins were nationalistic and xenophobic, particularly against the Portuguese residents in Brazil and, moreover, they held Portugal accountable for all Brazilian evils. Paradoxically, for all their nationalism, they saw in the development of friendly relationships with the United States a way to break with the Luso-Catholic past which, according to them, was a hindrance for progress.²⁸⁵ Furthermore, Brazilian Jacobins saw the Pan-American ideal as well as the Monroe Doctrine as the new projects Brazil had to endorse to eradicate its Portuguese past. Moreover, they considered the United States as an anti-imperialist alternative to counter-balance the traditional European and most notably British influence in Brazil.²⁸⁶ The third ideology turned instead to the U.S. liberal model of organising political and civil power. It is to the reception and interpretation of this social pattern by Brazilian thinkers and politicians that the following two sections of the chapter will be devoted.

The place of the United States in Brazil's historical and historiographical traditions about the organisation of power and government

We saw that the *inconfidente* leaders drew on the U.S. example of a revolutionary war for the struggle they sought to lead against the Portuguese metropolis. Apart from this early positive depiction of the United States, the U.S. example as a new pattern of principles of political organisation only came once again to form part of Brazil's intellectual tradition of social and political thought after the mid-nineteenth century. Paradoxically, the reinstatement of the United States as a socio-political model for Brazil was brought about by the studies conducted in the

²⁸⁴ Murilo de Carvalho, 'The unfinished republic', 153.

²⁸⁵ Suely Robles Reis de Queiroz, 'Reflections on Brazilian Jacobinism of the first decade of the Republic (1893-1897)', *The Americas*, 48:2 (Oct., 1991), 181-205.

²⁸⁶ Topik, *Trade and Gunboats*, 209.

early 1860s by one of the most important conservative theoreticians of the monarchical centralisation who, in the 1850s, had also been Councillor and reporter of the Council of State's Foreign Affairs; he was the above-mentioned Paulino José Soares de Sousa, Viscount of Uruguai. As was the case with the *inconfidentes*, along with other intellectuals of his generation, the knowledge that the Viscount had about the U.S. political system was mediated by analysis of that society by third parties. Until at least the first Brazilian elite members began to visit the United States with some regularity in the decade of the 1870s—a trend most probably furthered by the Emperor's trip to that country in 1876—, the representations of different aspects of the U.S. civilisation circulating in Brazil came second hand from European observers. Works by French scholars, most notably Alexis de Tocqueville, Michel Chevalier and Édouard Laboulaye, were the specific sources of information and knowledge regarding the United States which the Viscount of Uruguai relied upon for his studies.²⁸⁷ He also relied on the works by François Guizot for indirect knowledge of the U.S. political system and Anglo-American civilisation in general.²⁸⁸

Following the publication of the Viscount's main work, *Essay on Administrative Law* in 1862, the case of the U.S. example of political organisation came to be a new element in the Brazilian imaginings of political systems, as prominent as the French and British examples thus far.²⁸⁹ What is particularly relevant for the purposes of this chapter is the fact that the Viscount of Uruguai was Brazil's first thinker to develop a systematic analysis of the value of the municipal institutions of the U.S. for the exercise and development of civil liberties. The Viscount equated

²⁸⁷ *Démocratie en l'Amérique, Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord* and *Histoire Politique des États-Unis* respectively. See, José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Entre a autoridade e a liberdade', in Murilo de Carvalho, *Paulino José Soares de Sousa*, 11-47.

²⁸⁸ Murilo de Carvalho, *idem*.

²⁸⁹ Paulino José Soares de Sousa, Vizconde de Uruguai, *Ensaio sobre o Direito Administrativo* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1862), 2 Vol. We use the edition of this work by Murilo de Carvalho cited above.

the notions of decentralisation and democracy, traced the origins of the U.S. democratic organisation of power back to its British roots and concluded that the U.S. peoples ‘extended and democratised further’ the inherited British tradition of self-government.²⁹⁰ The Viscount of Uruguai acknowledged that a decentralised national government combined with self-government at the municipal level was, in theory, the ideal form of political organisation. ‘This is the way it has to be,’ he asserted, ‘at least in those fortunate countries where the people were homogeneous, mostly literate and moral and where the education and habits qualify them to govern themselves’.²⁹¹ However, the Viscount underlined that ‘self-government is not a talisman which could be used by anybody’. Basically, he was sceptical about the power of laws to instil new ways of life and behaviour into the people. On the contrary, he argued, ‘self-government is a habit, an education, a custom. It is in the tradition, in the race, and when these conditions are absent, it cannot be established by laws’.²⁹² The Viscount did not believe that the Brazilian people were prepared to exercise their political rights. He also underlined the contrast between the distant British model, which arrived in Brazil through the U.S. democratic experience, and the social basis upon which it would be implemented in Brazil. Whereas ‘the English emigrants who founded the United States carried the spirit of these institutions, the education and the required habits for their administration with them’, the Viscount pointed out that the Brazilian peoples did not have ‘the dogma of the sovereignty of the people’ ingrained in their habits as the British colonists did.²⁹³ Moreover, in the United States, the

²⁹⁰ Vizconde de Uruguai, *Ensaio*, 483; p. 470 for the Viscount’s analysis of the British decentralisation.

²⁹¹ Vizconde de Uruguai, *Ensaio*, 491.

²⁹² Visconde de Uruguai, *Ensaio*, 180.

²⁹³ Vizconde de Uruguai, *Ensaio*, 480.

Viscount went on, 'the commune was organised before the county, the county before the State, [and] the State before the Union'.²⁹⁴

In short, the conditions which made possible the development of political and civil liberties in Britain and the United States were absent in Brazil. Also, because there was no similar tradition of state control by the people, the Viscount expressed scepticism about the potential results that a wholesale adoption of such foreign institutions as self-government or civic freedoms would yield among peoples unaccustomed to living by them. The paradox of the Viscount's role in bringing the U.S. example of individual rights to the centre of the Brazilian political studies lay, therefore, in the fact that he resorted to it to argue against its adoption in Brazil, at least under the social circumstances of the time. Yet, irrespective of whether the new example of the U.S. was assessed positively, negatively or just as unsuitable for Brazil's social circumstances of the time, the relevance of the United States as a new parameter in the Brazilian theory of political organisation was that it supplied a new formula of society which found a place between the two traditional institutional examples for Brazil's nation-building process: the British Parliamentary system and the French model of centralisation.

Brazil's British model of parliamentary monarchy was known by the political elites of the Second Empire through the works of the British constitutionalist Walter Bagehot. *The English Constitution*, published in 1864, was one of Bagehot's books most read by contemporary Brazilian politicians.²⁹⁵ Following analysis by the British thinker, the imperial political elites saw Britain's monarchy as the example of a modern, democratic parliamentary system and proclaimed it to be the Empire's

²⁹⁴ Vizconde de Uruguai, *Ensaio*, note 281.

²⁹⁵ Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (London: Watts & Co., 1864). Christian Edward Cyril Lynch, 'A primeira encruzilhada da democracia brasileira: Os casos de Rui Barbosa e de Joaquim Nabuco', *Revista de Sociologia Política* (Curitiba, Paraná), Vol. 16 (2008), 113-125, 114-115.

blueprint.²⁹⁶ Yet, the way in which the Emperor exerted his powers had little to do with the way in which the British parliamentary monarchy allowed the sovereign to govern Britain.²⁹⁷ We saw that the ideologues of the Second Empire blended the British institutional model with elements of the French constitutional tradition of centralisation as the Moderating Power.²⁹⁸ For example, whereas the British monarch was entitled to choose his cabinet in cases of crisis, the Brazilian Emperor followed the opposite direction. The brandishing of the Moderating Power allowed Dom Pedro II to overthrow and appoint cabinets, to dissolve Parliament and to convene elections to ratify change, as happened in July 1868. Rather than an exceptional resource, the Emperor's use of his personal power was part of his prerogatives. The considerable sum of power held by the Brazilian Emperor separated Brazil from the British model.

Nevertheless, the ideal political model of the elites of the Second Empire, as articulated by its outstanding exponent the Viscount of Uruguai, comprised a combination of the British parliamentary monarchy with an emphasis on the civil rights and a de-emphasis of the people's rights to participate in politics, as carried out by the French conservative liberalism of the July Monarchy.²⁹⁹ The Viscount of Uruguai pursued the ideal of a clear distinction between administrative self-government and political centralisation. This stance was further reinforced in the Viscount's subsequent publication, *Practical Studies on the Administration of the Provinces in Brazil* (1865).³⁰⁰ Interestingly, according to liberal thinker Tavares Bastos, this work was a conservative self-critique of the excessive centralisation

²⁹⁶ Faoro, *Os Donos*, 406.

²⁹⁷ Fausto, *A Concise History*, 99-100.

²⁹⁸ Faoro, *idem*.

²⁹⁹ According to Murilo de Carvalho, what the French liberal conservatism of the Monarchy of July achieved was a 'rescuing' of politics from the domain of 'passion' and relocated it in the domain of 'reason'. José Murilo de Carvalho, 'A utopia de Oliveira Vianna', *Revista de Estudos Históricos* (R. Janeiro), 4:7 (1991), 82-99, 88. See also, Cyril Lynch, 114-116.

³⁰⁰ Paulino José Soares de Sousa, Visconde de Uruguai, *Estudos Práticos sobre a Administração das Províncias no Brasil* (R. Janeiro: B. L. Garnier, 1865), 2 Vols.

which the Brazilian state had incurred since 1840 following the example of the French July Monarchy. Political centralisation, in Tavares Bastos's analysis, was but a conservative reaction to a decade of experimentation in self-government in which Brazil put into practice some elements of the U.S. decentralised administration of power.³⁰¹ Moreover, the publication of this work, Tavares Bastos argued, was proof of the 'beneficial influence that the study of the American institutions exerted on the author'.³⁰²

Tavares Bastos was the Viscount's great intellectual contender and renowned admirer of the U.S. decentralised organisation who, on the basis of an analysis of that society, fashioned a political model for Brazil which differed from the one drafted by the Viscount of Uruguai. In 1862, he had pronounced the following opinion:

I am a frenetic enthusiast of England, but I can only understand the greatness of that people when I contemplate the greatness of the republic that they founded in North America. Studying England does not suffice; it is necessary to know the United States.³⁰³

Eight years later, Tavares Bastos had accomplished this task, at least to his own satisfaction. In 1870, the liberal thinker published *The Province. Study on the Decentralisation of Brazil*, which came to be Brazil's most cogent case for the decentralisation of the monarchy in the mould of the U.S. Republic. The British and U.S. 'greatness' stemmed, in Tavares Bastos's analysis, from the decentralised socio-

³⁰¹ Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, *Os Males do Presente e as Esperanças do Futuro* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1976), ch. II: 'Ilusão', 41-47, 45.

³⁰² Tavares Bastos, *A Província*, 69.

³⁰³ Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário. Estudos sobre Reforma Administrativa, Ensino Religioso, Africanos Livres, Tráfico de Escravos, Liberdade de Cabotagem, Abertura do Amazonas, Comunicações com os Estados Unidos, etc.* (1^a ed., 1862—R. Janeiro: Typographia da Actualidade, 1863), Carta XXX, 345.

political organisation and their standards of self-government, civic virtues and education, among other things. He asserted that many of the Brazilian statesmen ignored the fact that, besides ‘civil rights such as the *habeas corpus* or judgement by jury [...] which accompany and form the essence of the British citizen, he also possesses, even in the colonies, great political freedom, *self-government*, government of the country by the country, representative government’.³⁰⁴ Yet, the United States was for him the paramount example of balance between a plurality of self-governments and a solid national unity. With *The Province* the liberal thinker came to join Brazil’s first analysts of the U.S. political system. Like the Viscount of Uruguai, Tavares Bastos relied on French scholars for his knowledge of the United States. Tocqueville’s works, notably *Démocratie en l’Amérique*, constituted the principal axis around which his discussions with the Viscount on decentralisation and self-government revolved. It has been highlighted that both the Viscount and Tavares Bastos might have been less interested in the dichotomy of aristocracy-democracy than in the analysis of the specific socio-political aspects of the United States, for both of them only focused their readings of Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* on the first volume, in which the French thinker analysed the social, cultural and political model of the United States.³⁰⁵

In *The Province*, Tavares Bastos acknowledged the attraction that the unfolding of individual liberties at the local level in the United States exerted on his project for the reform of the Brazilian state.³⁰⁶ For him, a decisive consequence of the reform of the monarchy in the sense of granting more political and administrative autonomy to the provincial governments and town councils was to bring about the development of the people’s ability to exercise freedom. The extension of universal enfranchisement

³⁰⁴ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, Carta XXVIII, 328.

³⁰⁵ Nunes Ferreira, *Centralização e Descentralização*, 179.

³⁰⁶ Tavares Bastos, *A Província*, 43.

would follow the freedom thus locally underpinned, and then Brazil would enter the modern civilisation of which the United States was, according to him, the archetype:

The North-American people [...] are teaching the ideal government of the future. A complete decentralisation combined with the constant intervention of popular sovereignty are the main traits of their political system.³⁰⁷

Tavares Bastos related the U.S.'s decentralised administration with the vibrancy of its civil society as the former factor, according to him, assisted the convergence between individual and public interests. In the United States, Tavares Bastos pointed out, 'the original Anglo-Americans, the Irish, Germans, French immigrant and the Spaniards of the Southern states congregated in that world in miniature'. This plurality of peoples with different languages, creeds and national backgrounds gave rise to 'the most thriving state in the world'.³⁰⁸

The United States certainly was a model society for Tavares Bastos and a point of departure from which to propose the reform of the Brazilian state, either with or without monarchy.³⁰⁹ In the United States, the people 'owed their noble independence and rapid prosperity to the absence of fetters'.³¹⁰ For him that country embodied the greatest progress of society through the greatest expansion of individual liberty. Nevertheless, the thinker was not blind to the distance between the U.S. democratic

³⁰⁷ Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, 'O governo americano e a descentralização', 65-67. Cited in Luiz Pinto (ed.), *Idéias e Pensamentos de Tavares Bastos* (R. Janeiro: Editora Minerva, 1943), 141-142.

³⁰⁸ Tavares Bastos, *A Província*, 58.

³⁰⁹ Tavares Bastos's political thought came to be so close to republicanism that there have been academic discussions to discern whether he eventually became a republican partisan. Scholars have concluded, however, that he ultimately deemed monarchy to be the best solution for Brazil's problems. The debates are summarised in Jackson F. da Silva, 'Tavares Bastos: Biografia do liberalismo brasileiro', Tese, 'Conclusão: Os herdeiros e os "contra-herdeiros" de Tavares Bastos', 131-142, 133.

³¹⁰ Tavares Bastos, *Os Males*, 31.

organisation of power and the reality of power in Brazil where, following the centralising reforms of 1840, the Emperor reigned, governed and administered as the ideologues of the Second Empire advocated. ‘How distant from the democratic organisation of the United States’ is Brazil, Tavares Bastos lamented, ‘where the central power is so limited and its executive authority so circumscribed.’³¹¹ For him, the civil society was a reflection of what a given society had produced historically. In Brazil, he contended, the people grew accustomed to considering certain social responsibilities, such as the administration of justice or police, as exclusive obligations of the government, ‘that powerful stranger about which Tocqueville speaks’.³¹² In fact, political and civil rights during the Second Empire were greatly restricted and exclusively granted to the property-owning classes. According to Tavares Bastos, this franchise restriction was one of the main barriers to social progress through the action of the individual forces as showcased by the United States.

In 1840 began to circulate a Portuguese translation of *The Federalist* which constituted a major new source of knowledge regarding the U.S. political organisation of power.³¹³ Tavares Bastos was the first to draw a correlation between decentralisation (of the monarchy) and the strengthening of the national union from this new source of information regarding the U.S. political system.³¹⁴ His equation of decentralisation and unity or, inversely, centralisation and political unrest, was first

³¹¹ Tavares Bastos, *A Província*, 95.

³¹² Tavares Bastos, *A Província*, 113.

³¹³ Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison, *O Federalista* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve & Comp., 1840), 3 Vols. This was the first Portuguese edition.

³¹⁴ Tavares Bastos, *A Província*. For example, Part I, *Centralização e Federação*, ch. 5: ‘A federação nos Estados Unidos’, 1-75 and 37-60 respectively. Tavares Bastos recovered the concept of ‘federative monarchy’ from the liberal ‘Exaltados’ or radical federal republicans of the 1830s, mentioned above, as a viable project to carry out decentralising reforms within the framework of the monarchy. Joaquim Nabuco and the legal scholar and politician Rui Barbosa later endorsed the ‘federative monarchy’ project.

articulated in *The Province*. Interestingly, even though Tavares Bastos genuinely pursued the granting of political and civil rights to the Brazilian peoples, *The Province* quickly came to be the first intellectual blueprint and political catechism of an influential political sector which, unlike Tavares Bastos, did not have the defence of political and citizenship rights as a priority in their reformist agenda.³¹⁵ This group were the republicans, particularly from the province of São Paulo, who found in Tavares Bastos the most articulate defence of the provinces' political autonomy. Even though Tavares Bastos made a case in *The Province* for strengthening the government of the national union, what the *Paulista* republicans found most appealing in Tavares Bastos's thesis was the fact that the province was proposed as the crucial player in the dismantling of Brazil's centralised state and, as such, as the receiver of a significant devolution of power.

Since the issuing of the Republican Manifesto in 1870, republicans had been turning to the United States for guidelines on how to rebuild Brazil as a dynamic, modern society out of the ethics of slavery and a monarchical regime. Nevertheless, the ideas of decentralisation and republicanism were formulated differently by sectors of different areas with specific interests and agendas for change. Hence, even republicans did not necessarily agree on what elements of the U.S. society were worthy of being adopted. Tavares Bastos had pursued the expansion of civil and political liberties after the example of the United States. Yet, the main dilemma of where best to allocate sovereignty, for example in the hands of the people or in the governments of the provinces (re-founded as states after the 1891 republican Constitution), was to be resolved by his republican followers in favour of the latter.³¹⁶

³¹⁵ On Tavares Bastos's project for expanding political representation, see for example, *A Província*, ch. 4: 'Objecção', 31-36. He eloquently demanded that 'the first slave to emancipate be suffrage'. *Idem*, 125.

³¹⁶ Lessa, 'A invenção da Republica do Brasil', 16.

The republicans from São Paulo were mostly rural landowners who sought the decentralisation of the political game in order to position their province as the recipient of political power. Basically, the centralising policies of the Second Empire had not adjusted the system of political representation following the economic changes of the mid-century, a trend which was rendered irreversible by 1870. As a consequence, the political organisation of the Second Empire continued to grant more political power to the representatives of the traditional elite long after they had lost their economic power. More importantly, the new coffee barons from Western São Paulo saw that the imperial centralisation held them back from fully administering the benefits of the coffee boom. Decentralisation was for them the most satisfactory way to make the most of the collection of coffee revenues, thus preventing their wealth from flowing to the coffers of the central government.³¹⁷

In their crusade, *Paulista* republicans followed the model of U.S. decentralisation. Nevertheless, unlike Tavares Bastos, they operated an inversion of its meaning: they presented their demands for decentralisation as demands for freedom; however, they were not demands for political democratisation and civil rights.³¹⁸ For them, decentralisation did not mean granting more political and civic independence to the people through the exercise of self-government, the quintessential route to freedom for both the Viscount of Uruguai and Tavares Bastos. Their fight for decentralisation was, on the contrary, an economic demand in which the political and civil rights of the population found no real place.³¹⁹ On the other hand, there were the republicans from Rio de Janeiro. The republicans from the capital of the Empire were not as committed to the decentralising aspect of the reform

³¹⁷ June E. Hahner, 'The Paulistas' rise to power: A civilian group ends military rule', *HAHR*, 47:2 (May, 1967), 149-165, 151.

³¹⁸ Murilo de Carvalho, 'Federalismo e centralização', 178-183.

³¹⁹ Murilo de Carvalho, *idem*.

as they were to the rebuilding of the social foundations upon which the political praxis of modern Brazil should rest. The main concern of Rio's republicanism was the defence of civil and political liberties.³²⁰ This group of republicans in particular, found inspiration in the democratic aspects of U.S. society.

The Brazilian debates on the organisation of power mentioned thus far suggest two related directions in which nineteenth-century political debates proceeded: the form of government and the relationship of the people with their government. These questions permeated the political debates of the nineteenth century not just until Brazil's first republican government was established in 1889. Questions about the form of government and political representation also sparked significant controversies during the first decade of the Republic until at least 1898, when the *Paulista* candidate Manoel Ferraz de Campos Salles rose to power (1898-1902). We have seen that the majority of the leaders of the *Paulista* republican party were coffee-planters who found in the decentralised organisation of power a key solution for administering the exportation of their produce. These republicans were concerned with the establishment of a decentralised political regime above all else. On the other hand, the republicans from Rio de Janeiro, centre of the other main Republican Party of the Empire, were not so much committed to the decentralising aspect of the reform as they were to questions of political representation and citizenship. These republicans from the capital of the Empire were mainly intellectuals, urban professionals and merchants who pursued the democratisation of the political regime. They pursued the rebuilding of the foundations upon which modern Brazil should rest. In this vein, they sought to redress the distortions of the political system of representation as conducted by the monarchy in order to allow the individual rights and freedoms to develop. For

³²⁰ 'Manifesto Republicano', Pessoa, *idem*.

such a goal they looked to the United States as a model example of how a modern society should be organised. Along with the question of political freedoms, they also praised the dynamism of U.S. society at the level of the civil society.

Three cornerstones of the dynamism of U.S. civil society: An appreciation from Brazil

Although Brazilians of different political persuasion produced sharply different interpretations of the distribution of power in the United States, different actors representing different interests and ideologies showed unanimity in depicting the United States as the place where such crucial liberties for the progress of a modern society, such as freedom of creed, freedom of association, freedom to participate in politics, even for women, could thrive. References to the expansion of individual liberties in the U.S. civil sphere came to the fore for the first time under the Second Empire with the above-mentioned debates between the Viscount of Uruguai and Tavares Bastos. Positive depictions of U.S. civil society were also yielded by intellectual and political figures of contrasting ideologies during the last three decades of the century. Monarchists such as Joaquim Nabuco or Eduardo Prado, liberal republicans such as Quintino Bocaiúva, Rui Barbosa or João Alberto Salles, or even writers such as Adolfo Ferreira Caminha, eagerly pointed to the development of the people's freedoms in U.S. society as one of the forms that modernity adopted in the Western Hemisphere. These members of the Brazilian intellectual elite certainly did not agree over the best way to modernise the political and social structures of the Brazilian Empire, especially those who aligned themselves in the well-defined camps of monarchism and republicanism. Yet, what has encouraged us to bind them together

as a group for the purpose of the chapter is their shared positive evaluation of different aspects of U.S. civil society. Let us now itemise three of the most important of them.

The power of civic freedom

Notwithstanding their divergent views about the political prerogatives that the central government should hold, the Viscount of Uruguai and Tavares Bastos agreed in pointing out the contrast between the training being gained by the U.S. people in the art of self-government at every practical level and the backwardness of Brazilian society in this respect. Both thinkers looked at the cultural traits of the respective metropolis in their endeavour to understand one more aspect of the divergent historical development of both post-colonial societies in the Americas. The Viscount underlined that, unlike the British colonists, the Portuguese did not hand down any practical experience of self-government to their colony or any kind of civic education. The absence of any traditional civic freedom and civic education at home came to be constitutive of what the Viscount called the ‘national character’ of Brazil, a central point in his argument for the State to temporarily assume the role of ‘pedagogue of freedom’, to use Murilo de Carvalho’s phrase.³²¹ After the failed experiment in the political and administrative decentralisation of Brazil in the U.S. fashion as carried out during the decade of the 1830s, the Viscount articulated a dogmatic argument against decentralisation as well as against political and civil citizenship. The Viscount

³²¹ On the ‘national character’ as the Viscount’s central argument, see Nunes Ferreira, *Centralização*, Anexo: ‘Os “usos” da *Democracia na América*’, 179-194. Murilo de Carvalho’s reference on the State as pedagogue of freedom in the Viscount of Uruguai’s political thought is in ‘Federalismo y centralización en el Imperio Brasileño: Historia y argumento’, in Marcello Carmagnani (ed.), *Federalismos Latinoamericanos: México, Brasil, Argentina* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 51-80, La querrela del federalismo, 68-76, esp. 70-72.

highlighted that only in those societies such as in the United States where the habits of order and legality were diffused throughout all social strata, could the public freedoms be safeguarded from oppression both from the central government as much as from the people. In Brazil, the Viscount argued, civic freedoms should only be introduced gradually; moreover, experiments in administrative self-government should be subject to tutelage for the people had first to be taught to administer their political as well as their civil freedoms: ‘The people need to be educated, gradually getting them used to administering their freedom’.³²² The Viscount justified his argument by enhancing the cultural connection between U.S. progress and its European roots: ‘We do not have a practical education which would enable us to govern ourselves, like the British cultivated for centuries, like the United States inherited’.³²³

Tavares Bastos was also eager to understand the reasons why Brazil’s political and civil freedoms were lagging behind the modern standards of the day as embodied in the Western Hemisphere by the United States. Like the Viscount, he also turned to Brazil’s federalist experience of the 1830s as a framework for analysis; yet, Tavares Bastos went further back in history to understand the differences between both societies. In his work *The Wrongs of the Present and the Hopes for the Future (Os Males do Presente e as Esperanças do Futuro)* first published in 1861, Tavares Bastos stated that ‘the origin of our [Brazilian] misfortunes does not only stem from the recent mistakes of yesterday, as it is normally stated. No!’, he asserted. To discover their origins, the thinker argued, it was necessary to turn to ‘the epic Middle Ages’ and to understand ‘the terrible drama of modern history’. Tavares Bastos argued that it was for the ‘peoples of the Latin race, above all’, that the sixteenth-century medieval absolutism translated into ‘tyranny and fanaticism [...], symbols of

³²² Vizconde de Uruguai, *Ensaio*, ch. 31: ‘Aplicação ao Brasil das instituições administrativas inglesas, americanas e francesas’, 468-504, 491-492.

³²³ Vizconde de Uruguai, *Ensaio*, ch. 30: ‘Da centralização’, 426-444, 429.

the greatest social misery'.³²⁴ In a comparative spirit, he pointed out that '[t]he fabulous prosperity of the United States occupied the imagination of the Brazilian reformers' of the early nineteenth century. Yet, '[t]hey did not see the profound differences which used to distinguish and [still] distinguish both countries'.³²⁵ He argued that if there was anything which could explain 'the general depravity and barbarian roughness of their [Brazilian] customs, and thus the absence of what is known as public spirit and entrepreneurial activity, it is doubtless the colonial system'.³²⁶

By citing the words of German historian Georg Gottfried Gervinus, Tavares Bastos remarked how different the history of the Portuguese and British colonies was in the Americas. In the United States, Tavares Bastos indicated, the free institutions were not the result of the revolution of independence but 'they did exist before [it]; they had their roots in the [Britain's] free charters'.³²⁷ Inversely, '[a]t the beginning of the century we did not know [in Brazil] either public spirit or individual liberty'.³²⁸ And the thinker went on: '*My house is my kingdom*, says every Englishman; in the Brazil of those days [of independence], like today, the only authority is arbitrary' [author's emphasis].³²⁹ Tavares Bastos argued that the social environment conditioned individual behaviour in any given society and that the civil society, understood as the aggregation of individual actions, was a reflection of what that society produced historically. Interestingly, we see that the example of the United States seems to have served Tavares Bastos to organise an articulated critique of the Portuguese colonial system in the American continent. Accordingly, the thinker did not hesitate to point

³²⁴ Tavares Bastos, *Os Males*, 27-28.

³²⁵ Tavares Bastos, *Os Males*, 45-46.

³²⁶ Tavares Bastos, *Os Males*, 31 and *passim*.

³²⁷ Tavares Bastos, *Os Males*, 31. The work by Georg Gottfried Gervinus consulted by Tavares Bastos was *Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century*, first published in 1853.

³²⁸ Tavares Bastos, *Os Males*, 31.

³²⁹ Tavares Bastos, *Os Males*, 32. Original English in italics.

out the cultural traits of the Portuguese transmitted to the Brazilians as one of the reasons for the sluggishness in the development of a dynamic civil society in Brazil.

Scholarly literature has recently shown that for Tavares Bastos the lack of civil freedoms at home stemmed, in part, from the way in which private wealth had been conceived in Brazil since colonial times. Private property in Brazil, the thinker argued, was not the product of individuals' efforts; furthermore, the landowners, the indisputable political and economic elite of the country, reproduced the chasm between the property owners and the rest of the population by associating political enfranchisement with property, thus excluding the majority of the Brazilian people from political citizenship.³³⁰ In fact, when the property requirement to vote was removed with the so-called Saraiva-Cotegipe electoral law passed on 9 January 1881, a new crucial restriction was imposed: the law excluded the illiterate people from the actual body of the electorate.³³¹ This requirement alone provoked a drastic fall in popular participation in the elections. Whereas in Britain, France and the United States the process of democratisation seemed irreversible, Brazil's 1881 electoral law put the country in the opposite direction of the countries from where politicians drew their political models and ideologies.³³²

The alleged desideratum of the elites to reproduce the social distance which separated them from the popular classes was a pivotal characteristic of the socio-political organisation of the Second Empire. Certainly, the politics of the Second Empire consecrated political and civil rights exclusively to the propertied classes, thereby obstructing the possibilities for any social progress through the action of individuals, as Tavares Bastos yearned to see. The liberal thinker identified individual

³³⁰ Jackson F. da Silva, 'Os dilemas do liberalismo no pensamento de Tavares Bastos', 5-6.

³³¹ Decree N. 3029, 9 January 1881.

³³² Joseph L. Love, 'Political participation in Brazil, 1881-1969', *LBR*, 7:2 (Dec., 1970), 3-24; Sidney Chalhoub, 'The politics of silence: Race and citizenship in nineteenth-century Brazil', *Slavery and Abolition*, 27:1 (Apr., 2006), 73-87.

liberties and civic education as key elements in the historical process which had allowed the U.S. people to build a social organisation which was coming to the fore on the international scene as the most advanced society of the day. To reform Brazil's grim social scenario inherited from the times of Portuguese colonisation, the liberal politician proposed to learn 'from the civilising, democratic, evangelical, humanitarian and fraternal spirit of the North-Americans'.³³³

Tavares Bastos's discourse about the need to promote the development of civil and political citizenship in Brazil was consistent with his unrestricted demand for the decentralisation of the structures of government following the example of the United States, studied in the previous section. The liberal thinker embraced the idea of self-government as both an exercise in regional autonomy as well as in political, administrative and civil freedom of the people. It is in this regard that Tavares Bastos's references to U.S. society as the realm of the practical exercise of liberties, made part of a broader liberal discourse at home which, by employing the argument of modern freedoms, sought to loosen the grip that the central administration and a traditional institution such as the Catholic Church had upon Brazilians. As mentioned above, this discourse proved to be particularly attractive to republicans.

Quintino Bocaiúva was an emblematic figure within republican circles; he was fully cognisant of the new international place that the United States was gaining worldwide as a consequence of its growth and prosperity. Between 1866 and 1867 Bocaiúva resided in the United States where he worked as an agent of the New York-based branch of Brazil's Imperial Immigration Society. His main task there was to promote the colonisation of Brazilian lands by U.S. Southern farmer families (see chapter 1). Back in Brazil, his impressions of U.S. society did not fade away. For him,

³³³ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, Carta XXX, 345.

the United States was synonymous with the republican variant of liberalism: ‘America is the Republic; America is freedom’ he asserted.³³⁴ Bocaiúva co-founded Rio de Janeiro’s Republican Club in 1870, co-wrote the Republican Manifesto and was the editor of its newspaper, *A República*, between 1870 and 1874. Because of the enthusiasm with which this journal described U.S. society, Bocaiúva, in his role of journal editor, was accused by the monarchist camp of being partial as regards the ‘fatal fascination [which the United States is exerting] upon the peoples of today’.³³⁵ In May 1889 the republican politician was elected president of the National Republican Party, a position from which he committed himself to making Brazil a full member and ‘brother’ of ‘the families of the American republics’.³³⁶ Committed to the development of modern freedoms in the context of a republican form of government, he asserted:

Florence, Geneva, Holland, the old republics, are the historical evidence of the richness and aggrandisement achieved by the creative exercise of freedom; nowadays, the example of the glorious Republic of the United States of America suffices.³³⁷

In general, Brazilian observers of the United States tended not to obliterate the intrinsic connection which existed between Europe and the specific form that freedoms were adopting in U.S. society. Some of the forms that the development of

³³⁴ Silva, *Idéias Políticas de Quintino Bocaiúva*, Vol. 2, 151.

³³⁵ Joaquim dos Remédios Monteiro, *Monarquia ou República?* (Bahia: Imprensa Econômica, 1875), 75. Cited in Maria Lúcia Spedo Hilsdorf Barbanti, *Francisco Rangel Pestana: O Educador Esquecido* (Brasília: Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas Educacionais, 1988), 39.

³³⁶ Cited in Celso Lafer, ‘O significado de República’, *Revista de Estudos Históricos* (R. Janeiro), 2:4 (1989), 214-224, 216, N. 6.

³³⁷ Quintino Bocaiúva, ‘Manifesto de Quintino Bocaiúva ao Partido Republicano Brasileiro’, *O Paiz* (R. Janeiro), 22 maio 1889. Fully transcribed in, Carneiro Pessoa, *A Idéia Republicana*, 146-162, 152-153.

modern freedoms were adopting in the United States to which Bocaiúva and other liberal thinkers such as Rui Barbosa, Adolfo Caminha or João Alberto Salles referred, involved two important developments at the level of the civil society. They were the place of women in society and the great tolerance of different religious faiths and practices.

The place of women in society

Male voices were raised in Brazil from the decade of the 1870s onwards regarding the role of women in society in light of social developments in Europe and the United States. One of the first thinkers to tackle the topic for the period under study was Tavares Bastos. Taking the latest developments in U.S. society as a model example, in 1873 Tavares Bastos asserted that the exaltation of woman and her moral influence not only in the arts but also in the political arena, 'is not a utopia: it is the tendency of the modern nations and it will be the new conquest of civilization'. This trend, which had begun in England at the town level, was also already being practiced 'in the United States [where] women began to exercise their right to vote'.³³⁸

Taking U.S. society as a yardstick to evaluate the state of Brazilian civilisation, he found the social realities at home the opposite of the United States. In Brazil, the colonial patriarchal structure of the exercise of power had remained in place throughout the century. The gender dimension of this tradition as inherited from the Portuguese colonists, confined middle- and upper-class women to the roles of wives and mothers. Accordingly, what prevailed in Brazil throughout the century was the idea of a basic incompatibility between women's domestic and public roles. The rigid

³³⁸ Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, *Reforma Eleitoral e Parlamentar e Constituição da Magistratura* (1873), in *Os Males do Presente e as Esperanças do Futuro* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939), 236.

social discipline which organised Brazil's family life and society determined that the natural place for women was the domestic arena. This was 'their true domain' which 'belongs to them by right and where they exercise their government', as was claimed in an article published in 1884 in a *Carioca* (from the city of Rio de Janeiro) newspaper written, paradoxically, by its female editor D. Cecília de Bivar.³³⁹ Even though towards the 1870s patriarchy began to weaken, the traditional mores continued to affect the potential development of a life in the public and political domain for Brazilian women for years to come.³⁴⁰ The question of how women could gain a position in the public sphere was a general concern for those liberal thinkers who followed the unfolding of social developments in the Old and New World societies which served them as different models of modernisation, namely Britain, France and the United States.

Tavares Bastos was only one among many Brazilians who looked to U.S. society as a template for the reform of such entrenched cultural codes as the seclusion of women from social and political activity in a freer and more modern way. In 1875, the Brazilian journal *A Aurora Brasileira*, edited in the United States by Brazilian students at Cornell University, commented that '[t]he American woman has already conquered her rights and acts by herself, without the oversight of a man'. This social progress led the author of the article to assess, optimistically, that 'with time, the woman will manage to achieve the same position as men in all countries'.³⁴¹ In 1879, *O Novo Mundo*, the most important Brazilian newspaper edited in the 1870s in the United States, also gave an account of the reality of Brazilian women as compared to

³³⁹ *A Resurreição. Periódico Noticioso, Litterário e Recreativo* (R. Janeiro), I:3, 27 Apr. 1884, 1.

³⁴⁰ Interestingly, women were both object and subject of mistreatment in Brazilian society for, whereas their husbands subordinated them, they ruled over their slaves. On the depiction of the nineteenth-century Brazilian women as submissive and violent at the same time, see Regina Zilberman, 'Mulher educável, depois educadora, enfim leitora infiel: O publico feminino no Brasil do século XIX', *LBR*, 26:2 (Winter, 1989), 131-143, *passim*.

³⁴¹ *A Aurora Brasileira. Periodico Litterário e Noticioso* (Syracuse, New York), II:7, 20 Apr. 1875, 51.

their U.S. counterparts. Since 1875 this journal, which was characterised by its abolitionist, republican, Protestant and, in general, liberal stance, had included a section specifically dedicated to women. Its main features were the latest tendencies in French fashion as received in U.S. society. Yet, another topic which related to women throughout the nine years that this journal was published, was the system of co-education of the sexes in all three levels as was being developed in U.S. universities and colleges, a topic which will be addressed in chapter 4 with other aspects of this journal.

In June 1879, an article was published in *O Novo Mundo* in which the writer sought to highlight the differences that, in general, women experienced in daily life in both countries as a result of different cultural values. In Brazil, the author noted, there were no ‘healthy amusements’ for women, their destiny being to marry and devote themselves to domestic life, as was also observed by Tavares Bastos; and, if women remained unmarried, playing the piano and crocheting was their fate as stipulated by the prevailing social mores.³⁴² Interestingly, however, the article’s approach reveals that even such liberal intellectuals as the members of *O Novo Mundo*’s editorial board agreed that there was no room yet in Brazil to proclaim women’s equality with men with an ethical rationale similar to that showed in the United States, as we shall see shortly. In 1872, this journal had published an article informing Brazilian readers about the presence in the whole of the United States of four women’s associations for the promotion of female enfranchisement, the state of Massachusetts being at the vanguard of this social progress.³⁴³ In this article, the writer blamed the fact that ‘that right is mingled with many others such as the right to divorce, which *thankfully* is

³⁴² ‘Educando as jovens’, *O Novo Mundo. Periódico Illustrado do Progresso da Edade* (New York), IX:102, Jun. 1879.

³⁴³ ‘Sufrágio feminino’, *O Novo Mundo*, II:19, April 1872, 118.

regarded with horror' [our emphasis].³⁴⁴ We can also note that a similar reluctance to see civil and political rights of both genders equated in the civil society is also present in the 1879 article mentioned previously. Even though this article claimed that 'the woman needs much more liberty to develop herself because liberty means responsibility and this, in turn, implies her complete moral development', its author unambiguously stated: 'we neither want to see lawyers, nor many female doctors, nor stateswomen who are almost always pedantic', as happened in the United States.³⁴⁵

Notwithstanding examples such as those above, in general Brazilian liberal thinkers had a high regard for U.S. public life. Among other things, they admired the endeavour of gradually granting women similar rights to civil and political freedoms as men in the United States. In 1883, Rui Barbosa, advocate of the adoption of the U.S. constitutional model for republican Brazil, explained that the U.S. attitude towards women in the public sphere was grounded in the firm conviction of the people of the United States that 'the woman's intellectual aptitudes are not at all inferior to the man's'. On the contrary, Barbosa pointed out, 'everybody sees in the woman, in the mother of the [North] American family, one of the most precious secrets of that marvellous civilisation'.³⁴⁶

The place that the woman was gaining in U.S. society constituted one of the questions that the Brazilian liberal thinkers tackled when they tried to discover what were the pillars of the dynamism of U.S. civil society. In 1894, new light was shed among Brazilian intellectuals on U.S. women when the distinguished young novelist Adolfo Caminha, one of the chief exponents of Brazil's Realistic literary movement,

³⁴⁴ 'Sufrágio feminino', *O Novo Mundo*, II:19, Apr. 1872, 118.

³⁴⁵ 'Educando as jovens', *O Novo Mundo*, IX:102, Jun. 1879.

³⁴⁶ Rui Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário e Varias Instituições Complementares da Instrução Pública* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1883), in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. I, 254.

published his book called *In the Country of the Yankees (No País dos Ianques)*.³⁴⁷ Caminha was a naval officer by profession. He studied at Rio's Naval School and in 1886 travelled to the United States to complete his officer training in the military academy at West Point. Caminha's book was originally planned by the author as a study of 'the great American nation, so singular in its costumes, in its hectic and tumultuous life, in its variegated aspects'.³⁴⁸ Yet, the few months that Caminha spent in the United States only allowed him to write an account, in travel-book form, of 'the amazing progress of that extraordinary country' which he declared to be his 'second homeland'.³⁴⁹ Among the big cities that Caminha visited in the United States were New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia. The many positive impressions he gathered about the Northern civilisation included amazement and admiration at the independence and dynamism of U.S. women.

Caminha confessed that, in general, he admired the United States 'because it is there where all the liberties and all the noble civilised ideas live together and prodigiously flourish'.³⁵⁰ One of the liberal features of U.S. society remarked by him, for example, was the fact that it was natural for women in U.S. cities to walk unaccompanied in the thoroughfare. Moreover, 'the American woman of the Northern states' is 'cultured' and speaks 'two, three languages on top of the vernacular'. Another trait besides the women's intellectual independence was that they cared little about balls and fashion and 'lacked the natural *coquetterie* of the Parisian woman'

³⁴⁷ Brazil's Realistic or Naturalistic literary movement developed between 1880 and 1900. It was driven by the desire to depict in the fictional works a meaningful portrait of the nation by representing life in the cities and countryside. See Antônio Cândido, 'Literature and the rise of Brazilian national self-identity', *LBR*, 5:1 (Summer, 1968), 27-43.

³⁴⁸ Adolfo Caminha, *No País dos Yankees*, (R. Janeiro: Domingos de Magalhães, 1894), 'Introdução', 3-4, 3. We use the edition available from: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/6752634/No-Pais-Dos-Ianques> (9 September 2007).

³⁴⁹ Caminha, 4 and 24.

³⁵⁰ Caminha, ch. VI, 23-27, 24.

[author's emphasis].³⁵¹ Wearing 'woollen capes' in winter, swinging their handbags on the side, U.S. women walked alone morning and evening from home to work and back. In other words, by enjoying intellectual and professional autonomy, U.S. women looked, according to the author, 'happy' and 'satisfied' and, equally astonishing for the author, 'nobody makes a mockery of them, nobody shows them disrespect'.³⁵²

This was Caminha's depiction of what he referred to as 'true American women'. This female population was composed of those who Caminha described as coming originally from the U.S. Northern states, best represented for him by the New England region. These peoples were, in his analysis, distinguishable by their external appearance: 'very blonde, with golden-coloured hair' and 'blue eyes'.³⁵³ Caminha's racialised construction of whiteness/blackness reappears when he contrasted the allegedly 'true American women' with the U.S. 'Creole' female population of places such as New Orleans. The main phenotypic characteristics of the women from this Southern state were their 'dark complexion' and 'very dark eyes'.³⁵⁴ Interestingly, in contrast to the independent character associated with the woman of the New England region, what best defined these 'Creoles' from the South was, in the author's description, the 'voluptuous sensations' that they evoked.³⁵⁵ Both Northern and Southern exponents of the 'proverbial self-assurance' of the U.S. woman and the social organisation underpinning it, very much contrasted, Caminha regretted, with the secluded place traditionally allocated to women in Brazilian society 'where ladies are eternally forbidden to compete with men in public life'.³⁵⁶ Like many other

³⁵¹ Caminha, ch. VIII, 38-43, 41-42.

³⁵² Caminha, ch. VII, 28-37, 31.

³⁵³ Caminha, 40.

³⁵⁴ Caminha, *idem*.

³⁵⁵ Caminha, *idem*.

³⁵⁶ Caminha, 31 and 42 respectively.

observers of the United States in the late nineteenth century, Caminha pointed to the mutual respect between both sexes in public life as one of the social foundations of the vibrancy of U.S. society.³⁵⁷

Religious freedom

The decade of the 1860s witnessed one of the many waves of immigration of Protestant missionaries to Brazil during the nineteenth century. This trend had been initiated in the early nineteenth century when, following the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal, the British escorted the Portuguese royal family from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro. In 1810, Dom João VI granted British residents in Brazil the right to worship freely in private dwellings. This early religious tolerance invited further Protestant immigration throughout the century.³⁵⁸ The capitalist expansion of the second half of the century likewise contributed to the missionary work by Protestant Christianity initiated back in the early decades. This expansion saw Brazil, and Latin America in general, as a conquerable geopolitical area for the projection of the activities of bankers, investors and merchants. This context favoured the arrival of Protestant clergy from the United States who wished to spread their doctrine, values and cultural perspectives among the Southern populations.³⁵⁹ The relevance of the work by U.S. Presbyterian and Southern Methodist missions in Brazil lay in the fact that not only did the Protestantism they preached involve the spread of the reformed faith, but it

³⁵⁷ Caminha, 42.

³⁵⁸ On the successive waves of Protestant priests arriving in Brazil from both Britain and the United States throughout the nineteenth century, see David Gueiros Vieira, 'Some Protestant missionary letters relating to the religious question in Brazil: 1872-1875', *The Americas*, 24:4 (Apr., 1968), 337-353.

³⁵⁹ Salvatore, *Imágenes de un Imperio*, 19-26.

also entailed the instilling of a new lifestyle concerned with individual civil and political freedoms to be introduced in Brazil through new educational techniques.³⁶⁰

At the same time as this migrant movement began to gather pace, the Roman Catholic Church radicalised its policy. In December 1864, Pope Pious IX produced a document called ‘Syllabus of Errors’ in which the rights of the Pope over the Church and of the Church over the State were asserted. This new policy sought to revitalise the social and cultural values of the traditional, pre-industrial society against the liberal paradigms of progress and modernisation which were expanding rapidly at the time.³⁶¹ The ideological radicalisation of the Catholic Church was a controversial issue in Brazil. The Brazilian elite as a whole was not known for its clerical spirit and even often assumed a somewhat anticlerical stance.³⁶² Tensions between Church and State heightened when contrasting interpretations of the right of royal patronage negotiated with the Vatican in 1824 led to the so-called ‘Religious Question’.³⁶³ The conflict broke out in 1872 when the Church’s hierarchy forbade Catholics to join the Masonry. This restriction was to be particularly inflammatory because many Catholics were themselves Masons, including the Emperor.³⁶⁴ In 1873, the editorial of

³⁶⁰ The only two U.S. Protestant faiths which spread in nineteenth-century Brazil were the Presbyterian and the Southern Baptist. Despite the debate in the United States about the ‘Protestant’ nature of the Baptist faith, both churches were and still are perceived today in Latin America as Protestant. H. B. Cavalcanti, ‘The right faith at the right time? Determinants of Protestant mission success in the 19th-century Brazilian religious market’, *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion*, 41:3 (Sept., 2002), 432-438, 435, N. 3. The relationship between U.S. Protestantism and education in Brazil will be studied in chapter 3.

³⁶¹ Roderick J. Barman, ‘The Brazilian peasantry re-examined: The implications of the Quebra-Quilo revolt, 1874-1875’, *HAHR*, 57:3 (Aug., 1977), 401-424, 410. For a summary of the Syllabus of Errors and its repercussions in Brazil, see George C. A. Boehrer, ‘The Church and the overthrow of the Brazilian monarchy’, *HAHR*, 48:3 (Aug., 1968), 380-401, *passim*.

³⁶² Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire*, ch. 8: ‘The fall of the monarchy’, 202-233, 212.

³⁶³ On the ‘Religious Question’, see Boehrer, ‘The Church’; David Gueiros Vieira, *O Protestantismo, A Maçonaria e a Questão Religiosa no Brasil* (Brasília: Editora da Universidade de Brasília, 1980). See also, Fausto, *A Concise History*, 135.

³⁶⁴ The Emperor himself saw no contradiction in being a Mason at the same time that he was the titular head of Brazil’s Catholic Church following the 1824 ‘throne and altar’ arrangement. Richard Graham, ‘1850-1870’, in Bethell (ed.), *Brazil. Empire and Republic*, 113-160, 143. Interestingly, being a member of a Masonic lodge did not require privacy in nineteenth-century Brazil. Moreover, Barman has contended that not to be a Mason for an educated man in nineteenth-century Brazil was almost to mark himself out as an eccentric.

A República, the Rio-based press organ of the Republican Party mentioned above, pointed to Catholicism as the most tenacious of those ‘sects’ which had attempted to enslave man’s consciousness.³⁶⁵ Less than a decade later, the republicans from São Paulo also made their political aspirations public regarding the development of individual freedoms. Believing that the Catholics would approach them to form a common anti-monarchy front and, more importantly, trying to attract immigrants from Protestant countries, the *Paulista* republicans issued a manifesto of their own. They openly demanded freedom of belief, equality of all religions in civil society and before the law, the separation of Church and State, the abolition of Catholicism as the Empire’s official religion, separation between secular and religious education and the secularisation of marriages, births and burials.³⁶⁶

In general, the liberal-minded politicians, whether republicans or not, supported all these demands. On the whole, they sought the loosening of the grip that the Catholic Church had traditionally held over Brazil’s culture and society.³⁶⁷ What is relevant for the question of individuals’ freedom is that the Church’s intolerance towards the Masons pushed even further the liberals’ endeavour to establish relationships with foreign Protestants and to raise the banner of the expanding political as well as civil freedoms. It has been suggested that the very development of Brazil’s movement for religious freedom was the result of Masonic involvement, if not outright collusion, with Protestantism.³⁶⁸ Even though in the 1860s Protestantism was not a popular cause in Brazil, what is certain is that the liberal elements of Brazilian society welcomed the religious and educational work that those foreign missionaries came to

³⁶⁵ *A República*, 18 Jan. 1873. Cited in, Boehrer, ‘The Church’, 388.

³⁶⁶ ‘Manifesto Republicano’, *A Província de São Paulo*, 6 May 1880, 1.

³⁶⁷ Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, ‘Memória sobre a Imigração’, *Sociedade Internacional de Imigração, Relatório Annual da Directoria*, N. 1 (R. Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve & Comp., 1867), 5-20, ch. VIII: ‘Liberdade religiosa. Casamento civil’, 16-18.

³⁶⁸ Gueiros Vieira, *idem*, 340.

undertake in the Brazilian Empire, a topic which chapter 4 will address in further detail. From that decade onwards, many liberals in Brazil welcomed and entertained personal relationships with the Protestant missionaries arriving from the United States. Furthermore, following the U.S. Civil War, the imperial government itself drew up an official policy to attract immigrants from the Southern United States. Puzzlingly, despite their slavocratic way of life, these potential immigrants were seen in Brazil as the representatives of a democratic America and their faith was considered as the religious language of modern liberal ideals. U.S.-trained engineer and renowned republican, João Alberto Salles, represented this viewpoint well. After having spent the academic year of 1875-1876 at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in New York, Salles returned home convinced not only of the necessity for his country to convert to a republican political order but also of the need to import the U.S. model of society into Brazil. In 1879, in the heat of his crusade for the modernisation of his country, he pointed out that Puritanism was not exclusively a religious sect; ‘it was also the personification of a political creed, ruled by the most elevated tenets of law and justice, and in absolute accordance with the high ideals of democracy’.³⁶⁹

For a radical liberal as Tavares Bastos, one of the ‘mysteries’ of the dynamism of U.S. society, as he referred to the degree of material and political development reached by that nation, was to be found in the fact that rather than having been oppressed by ‘the dull fanaticism of the sixteenth-century Catholic priests [...], the United States were [sic] populated by Quakers and other free sects and governed by the British’. Consequently, the Brazilian thinker pointed out, ‘the liberal spirit of the Protestant reform, morality, love of labour, intelligence, perseverance, consciousness

³⁶⁹ João Alberto Salles, ‘A instrução publica nos Estados-Unidos e no Brazil’, in José Maria Lisboa (ed.) *Almanach Litterário de São Paulo* (henceforth *ALSP*) (São Paulo: Typographia da Província de São Paulo, 1879), 8 Vols., Vol. IV, pp. 152-169, 156. Reference taken from, Roni Cleber Dias de Menezes, ‘O grupo do *Almanaque Literário de São Paulo*: Paradigmas da sociabilidade republicana nos tempos da propaganda (1876-1885)’, Master thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2006, 181.

of human dignity and zeal for personal independence' were transplanted to America through the British colonists.³⁷⁰ The friendly attitude towards the Protestant immigrants by the Brazilian liberals was encouraged by the hope that, along with the spread of the Protestant message and the establishment of the institutional means to accomplish that mission, the U.S. missionaries would transmit their cultural values to Brazilian society, thus helping to regenerate the Brazilian population.³⁷¹

In the context of a labour shortage and a national debate about the ideal immigrant type during the 1860s studied in chapter 1, Tavares Bastos swiftly rejected any possibility of viewing the migrants from the United States as a source of agricultural labour: that 'is a mistake', he pronounced. On the contrary, he argued, the origin and resources of the ex-Confederates going into exile 'make it possible for us to have more elevated aspirations': they were 'educated people who bring with them a tradition of intelligence, activity, discipline in work and customs which were acquired under the influence of a civilization more advanced than ours'.³⁷² Once again, we find that Tavares Bastos's claims articulated well Brazil's modernising liberal ideology of the second half of the century. Independently of their actual role in the Civil War, the ex-Confederates embodied in Brazil's liberal imagery a pragmatic and utilitarian version of modernisation, which manifested itself in the industrious agricultural enterprises that they had run in the U.S. South before their defeat. That civilisation, as imagined by Brazilian liberal thinkers, involved freedom of religion among other liberties enjoyed within civil society. Therefore, by favouring the mingling of the

³⁷⁰ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, Carta XXVIII, 324. See also, Hilsdorf Barbanti, *Francisco Rangel Pestana*, 187-189.

³⁷¹ On the ideology of national regeneration, see Rodrigo da Nóbrega Moura Pereira, 'Mito da regeneração nacional: Missionários protestantes, políticos liberais e a salvação do Brasil (século XIX)', *Revista Intellectus* (R. Janeiro), 3:2 (2004). Available from: <http://www.intellectus.uerj.br/Textos/Ano3n2/Texto%20de%20Rodrigo%20Nobrega.pdf> (12 October 2009).

³⁷² Silva, *Idéias Políticas de Quintino Bocaiúva*, 244.

Protestant migrant from the United States with the local peoples, they would act as carriers of renovation.³⁷³

One of the explanations for the positive representation of the United States as a locus for modern liberties might be found in the fact that the liberal thinkers widely accepted the paradigm that Catholicism and Protestantism determined, in the final analysis, the degree of progress or backwardness of a given society.³⁷⁴ Very much concerned with the rise of Brazil as a modern power, the liberals saw their society as morally decadent, politically corrupt and technologically backward on account of slavery, patron-client relationships and Catholicism. Whether monarchists such as Tavares Bastos or republicans such as Rui Barbosa, they singled out the grip that the cultural values of the Iberian Catholicism historically had on Brazil's society, politics and culture, as one of the reasons for the sluggishness of civil society and the reason why they foresaw a long time before the development of modern liberties could develop in Brazil. This negative self-perception was further accentuated when liberal thinkers compared their society with the United States.

Tavares Bastos was one of the liberal thinkers who worked with the U.S. Protestant priests for freedom of religion in Brazil. The Presbyterian Rev. James Cooley Fletcher was one of the foreign missionaries who arrived in Brazil during the 1860s with whom Tavares Bastos established a rapport and to whom he publicly referred as 'our good and respectable friend'.³⁷⁵ Fletcher's works greatly contributed

³⁷³ César Romero Amaral Vieira, 'Americanismo versus iberismo: A influência do modelo educacional norte-americano no final do século XIX', *Horizontes* (Itatiba, SP), 26:1 (jan.-jun., 2008), 21-30, 24. Available from: http://www.saofrancisco.edu.br/itatiba/mestrado/educacao/uploadAddress/Horizontes_26_1_02%5B10992%5D.pdf (8 July 2009).

³⁷⁴ This thesis seemed to have reached the Brazilian intellectual elite with the circulation of the essay by the Belgian scholar Émile de Laveleye, *De l'Avenir des Peuples Catholiques. Étude d'Économie Sociale*. Ronald G. Frase, 'The subversion of missionary intentions by cultural values: The Brazilian case', *Review of Religious Research*, 23:2 (Dec., 1981), 180-194, 181; Gueiros Vieira, 343.

³⁷⁵ Tavares Bastos, *Correio Mercantil: Instructivo, Político, Universal* (R. Janeiro), 2 May 1863, 2. Tavares Bastos and Rev. Fletcher worked together in the 1860s for the opening of the Amazon River to

to the spread of the idea of the United States as a model for modern progress in the 1860s. During his stay in Brazil, for example, he organised an exhibition of North American products held in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro. Fletcher's exhibition displayed photographs, engravings and lithographs depicting the latest scientific, technical and mechanical developments; cutting-edge farm implements, bookbinding techniques and maps, among other things.³⁷⁶ This exhibition was considered to be a historical landmark in the development of cultural relationships between Brazil and the U.S. and a great stimulus to the progress of U.S. influence in Brazil. Intellectuals, industrialists, planters, scientists, businessmen and the Emperor himself attended it.³⁷⁷ Not only did many of them remain convinced that the U.S.'s technological development was the basis of its increasing position at the forefront of modern progress, but Fletcher's mission likewise underpinned the cause for the defence of civil freedoms in Brazil by advertising that the strength and dynamism of U.S. civil society was equally grounded in the Protestant values of individual freedoms and incentives.³⁷⁸

The liberals of the 1860s embraced the image of the U.S. industrial and cultural progress as depicted in Fletcher's undertakings, as the model to be followed for Brazil to develop as a modern nation. With regard to the progress of religious tolerance in the Western world, as early as 1862 Tavares Bastos confessed: 'For me the ideal organisation of religion is that of the United States: all sects are permitted there and none of them is either subsidised or inspected'.³⁷⁹ Moreover:

international navigation and the establishment of direct steamship communications between Brazilian and U.S. ports, as chapter 4 will show.

³⁷⁶ Freyre, *Order and Progress*, 93-94.

³⁷⁷ Freyre, *idem*.

³⁷⁸ Edwiges Rosa dos Santos, 'Implantação e estratégias de expansão do protestantismo presbiteriano no Brasil Império', *Último Andar* (São Paulo), N. 13 (dez., 2005), 173-192, esp. 177-178.

³⁷⁹ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, 98.

It is unnecessary to draw attention to the highly significant example of the United States, where there is no privileged religion but there is a place for all of them. It is to this absolute freedom of creeds, no less than its independent spirit, that the Americans from the North owe their great and rapid prosperity.³⁸⁰

Brazil's liberal thinkers increasingly began to feel attracted towards a social model which had not previously been considered capable of competing with European civilisation. The emergence of the United States as a new social, political and cultural point of reference was unmistakable in the Republican Manifesto in 1870. This document came to form Brazil's first classic liberal programme for freedom of consciousness and the constitutional separation between Church and State following the example of the U.S. constitution. By adopting the U.S. model of political and social organisation in their struggle against the centralist monarchy, the republicans also fought for the development of freedom at the many levels implied in that social model.

Rui Barbosa, who had not yet been converted to republicanism, also turned to the United States for a model of society in the 1870s. Yet, Barbosa put this model into perspective with the traditional European examples in a forthright way. This thinker argued that freedom of religion was the first step and a condition for the development of other political and civil liberties. In his words:

It could be said that in England [...] the state religion is purely nominal.

Holland and Belgium, where the independence of the churches is almost

³⁸⁰ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, 63.

absolute, could also be mentioned. Yet, the American Union is the case which serves as a special example. Nowhere else is religious emancipation so truly without limits.³⁸¹

The U.S.-published *O Novo Mundo* was one of the few channels by which the Brazilian elites became acquainted with the innovations of U.S. civil society beyond the discourses strictly related to political circles. An 1871 article, for example, reported that there was no city in the United States with more than 15,000 habitants which did not have an organisation such as the ‘Christian Youth Organisation’.³⁸² In another article published in 1879 in the same journal, broader expressions of the lively U.S. civic character were highlighted. In the United States, the author of the article said: ‘[t]he cause of the poor, the slaves, the dispossessed always found a friend; the cause of political and religious freedom always found a defender’.³⁸³ And in 1879, the editorial of *O Novo Mundo* made a proposition which resembled Tavares Bastos’s line of thought:

Let us have the courage to free Brazil from the religion of the State, from slavery and from the monarchy and in few years its progress and prosperity would be comparable to that of this Republic of the United States.³⁸⁴

Some other voices from outside the sphere of politics were raised in Brazil for the cause of the development of the civil freedoms, which saw the United States as the

³⁸¹ Rui Barbosa, ‘O Papa e o Concilio’, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. IV (1877), t. I, 439.

³⁸² ‘Associação dos Jovens Cristãos’, *O Novo Mundo*, I:5, 21 Feb. 1871, 71.

³⁸³ ‘Ao público’, *O Novo Mundo*, IX:108, Dec. 1879, 274.

³⁸⁴ ‘Benefícios da emancipação’, *O Novo Mundo*, IX:107, Nov. 1879.

emblem of individual liberties in modern societies. In general, the attraction that the liberal intellectuals felt towards the U.S. social model was grounded in the appeal that the entrepreneurial and associative spirit customarily associated with the U.S. peoples exerted on them.

The increasing presence of Protestant immigrants in Brazil made the gradual broadening of civil freedoms a practical necessity to the Empire. This process was slow and not devoid of conflict. In 1861, civil marriages were legally recognised and two years later the government registration of births and deaths of non-Roman Catholics began.³⁸⁵ Yet, in 1868, the U.S. Protestant residents in Brazil were still forbidden to bury their dead in common official cemeteries.³⁸⁶ In 1871, the Councillor of State Luís Pedreira de Couto Ferraz, Baron of Bom Retiro, compared the situation of civil freedoms between Brazil and the United States. Concerned about the fact that Brazil was still lagging behind the United States, as well as Australia, with regards to the attraction of immigrants of Protestant background, he emphasised that it was time to promote liberal legislation concerning civil, political and religious affairs if hastening the pace of this immigration was among the government's goals.³⁸⁷ The next important step in the broadening of the religious freedoms was undertaken in 1881 when the new electoral law allowed non-Catholics to vote and be elected, thus acquiring full rights as citizens of the Empire.³⁸⁸ Nevertheless, these reforms did not

³⁸⁵ Decree N. 1114, 11 September 1861 and Decree N. 3069, 17 April 1863.

³⁸⁶ Betty Antunes de Oliveira, *North-American Immigration to Brazil. Tombstone Records of the "Campo" Cemetery: Santa Bárbara d'Oeste, São Paulo State, Brazil* (R. Janeiro: Oliveira, 1978), 5.

³⁸⁷ Luís Pedreira de Couto Ferraz, Barão de Bom Retiro, Conselho de Estado, Ata de 15 de novembro de 1871. Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. 8 (1868-1873). Available from: http://www.senado.gov.br/sf/publicacoes/anais/pdf/ACE/ATAS8Terceiro_Conselho_de_Estado_1868-1873.pdf (27 January 2009).

³⁸⁸ On the Saraiva-Cotegipe Law see note 256 in chapter 1. See also, Murilo de Carvalho, *Cidadania no Brasil*.

satisfy the demands of the liberal thinkers for, in general, they were ignored beyond the capital city.³⁸⁹

Not until the approval of the republican Constitution of 1891 was the separation of the Church and the State legally proclaimed. At that time, as Barbosa confessed years later, the congressmen ‘had their eyes fixed on the United States and what the United States showed us was religious freedom’.³⁹⁰ Protestantism was the religious doctrine with which U.S. civilisation was mainly identified in Brazil. Interestingly, for many Brazilian elite members, the U.S. version of Protestantism had acquired a civic expression that was different from its British roots. It was there where, according to them, one of the most appealing aspects of U.S. society unfolded: the freedom of spirit of the U.S. people. Interestingly, a Sunday in the United States could be depicted in Brazil as representative of such differences between the British and the U.S. peoples. On Sundays, according to Caminha’s account, the British men read the Bible with their family at home. ‘In the county of the Yankees’, Protestantism had little in common with its British version:

A Sunday is a day for having fun, for taking a rest, for playing cricket, for riding horses, for gambling on the boat races.³⁹¹

The image of the U.S. people entertaining themselves in a way different from their European ancestors reveals one more aspect of the Brazilian representation of the United States as the place where European inherited traditions and cultural traits as, for example, encapsulated in the Protestant ethic, acquired new meaning. It is interesting to see with regard to the employment of leisure time, that whereas an

³⁸⁹ Gueiros Vieira, *O Protestantismo*, 138.

³⁹⁰ Rui Barbosa, *Discurso no Colégio Anchieta* (1st ed. 1903—R. Janeiro: FCRB, 1981), 27.

³⁹¹ Caminha, ch. XII, 59-66, 62.

image of circumspection, if not solemnness about British people is hinted at in the observation above, the U.S. people were, on the contrary, portrayed as living a life full of freedoms even on Sundays, the very day, according to this account, reserved by the British for religious devotion. In this regard as well, the U.S. people were seen once more as setting new standards of what freedom at the level of civil society should aim for in the new modern world.

Conclusion

Brazilian scholarship has long discussed the influence of the United States on the constitutional design of republican Brazil. The aim of this chapter was to go beyond the institutional factors which had attracted the attention of the Brazilian observers of the U.S. society throughout the nineteenth century. It sought to reassess the central place that U.S. civil society and citizenship had among the Brazilian ruling and intellectual elites. We have discussed the central role that the United States occupied in the debates about political and administrative decentralisation between the two great thinkers of the 1860s, the Viscount of Uruguai and Tavares Bastos. We showed that both thinkers pointed to the U.S. federal republic and the practice of popular self-government in positive terms. They acknowledged the strong British roots of the habits of the U.S. peoples of active involvement in the affairs of local civic life; yet, they saw that such practices were experiencing further developments in the United States based on their articulation with the social bases of the society centred on the community life and the principle of association.

Yet, different lessons were drawn from the U.S. model of society as regards what was feasible in Brazil. Because of the actual absence of traditional habits of

political and civil freedoms among the people of Brazil, the Viscount of Uruguai posited that it was the task of central government to instill them. Tavares Bastos, on the other hand, turned to the case of U.S. decentralization and self-government to strengthen his claims for the political and administrative decentralisation of the monarchy to favour a fully-fledged political and economic development of the provinces of the Empire. Likewise, we have shown that the U.S. model of political organisation came to be prominent among the most economically dynamic elites of the Empire, namely the *Paulista* coffee growers, through the most cogent case for the decentralisation of the Brazilian monarchy, Tavares Bastos's *The Province*. In turn, this sector of the elite led the demands for republicanism during the last decades of the Empire following the model of the U.S. decentralised republic.

This chapter has also pointed out that the pattern of drawing contrasting lessons from the same source of inspiration is observable in other sectors of society. The United States evoked both admiration and opprobrium among the different members of the Brazilian elites not only as regards the promotion of political citizenship. The attention of Brazilians of different ideological persuasions was also awakened by the liberalism of a society which, by carrying out different experiments on social developments, was defying traditional mores and roles. The most conspicuous examples of the U.S. civic liberalism as seen in Brazil, pointed to the protection of individual freedom against the traditional determinations of fixed gender roles or religious intolerance so entrenched in Brazilian social life. Both were different, although related aspects of a bigger representation of the United States as a society built on the notions of civil rights which, by expanding in innovative directions, came to constitute a new and necessary frame of reference for those liberals concerned with the building of modern Brazil out of an empire of slaves, illiterates and patriarchs.

Chapter 3: The United States as a paradigm for Brazilian education:

Applied studies versus the established classics

Introduction

American education seems to be the only one which is not conventional, which is not a pure galvanisation of the states of mind of other times, of classical and literary ideas [...]. To a great extent, the Americans are inventing life as if nothing had been done before. All this suggests great future innovations.³⁹²

Along with the abolition of slavery, the decentralisation of the structures of government and, in some cases, the establishment of a republican regime, all topics covered by the previous two chapters, Brazilian liberal thinkers of the last three decades of the nineteenth century considered the reform of Brazil's entire education system to be a critical aspect of a more ample programme for the renovation and modernisation of society. The arrival of João VI and his court to Brazil in 1808 had inaugurated a new chapter in the history of education in Brazil. As new residents in the American colony, they had established new academies and colleges and had brought about the renovation of the aims of the education system which basically drew on the European institutions and pedagogical models such as the French academies of arts and sciences, or the British 'mutual instruction' or Lancaster

³⁹² Nabuco, *Minha Formação*.

method. Nevertheless, up until very late in the nineteenth century, education in Brazil was unscientific, impractical and reserved for the few.³⁹³

The agricultural sector was Brazil's 'principal and almost sole source of wealth'. As the liberal thinkers were concerned with the reform of the society at large, they considered agriculture as one of the most important targets of social reform.³⁹⁴ Not only did agricultural production rely on slave labour but also, until at least the late nineteenth century, farming techniques were obsolete, technology was outdated and a scientific approach to cultivation was practically non-existent. Yet throughout the whole century, the basis of Brazil's economy was agriculture; along with commerce, agriculture dominated economic activity at the expense of industry, which did not develop before 1850.³⁹⁵ Of all the problems which beset agricultural production, inefficient technology was among those that particularly handicapped the economically dynamic coffee sector.³⁹⁶

Eugene Ridings has studied the attempts at modernising the agricultural sector undertaken by the Brazilian planter class. He demonstrated that there was no antagonism or rivalry for political control over the official economic policy between the planter class and the urban merchant sector of imperial Brazil. On the contrary, the author has demonstrated the community of interests between both groups.³⁹⁷ He has indicated that the commercial associations which emerged throughout the century and to which the planter class was related, had as one of their main activities the

³⁹³ The first national census carried out as late as 1872 classified as literate less than one-fifth of all the free population of the Empire, and not one slave in a thousand could read and write. Conrad, *The Destruction*, 16.

³⁹⁴ *Livro de Actas da Associação Commercial do Rio de Janeiro, 1881-1890*, 'Relatório de 1881', Arquivo da Associação Commercial do Rio de Janeiro, 5. Cited in Ridings, 'Interest groups', 231.

³⁹⁵ Conrad, *The Destruction*, 16.

³⁹⁶ Along with outdated technology, the shortage of labour force was the other equally important problem which beleaguered the coffee sector.

³⁹⁷ Eugene W. Ridings, 'Elite conflict and cooperation in the Brazilian Empire: The case of Bahia's businessmen and planters', *LBR*, 12:1 (Summer, 1975), 80-99; Ridings, 'Interest groups', 228 and elsewhere.

promotion of the modernisation of agriculture. To that end, they imported machinery, put it on display for planters and translated and published literature on the latest farming techniques. The author has also shown the intimate connection between the planter class, their sectoral associations and their relationships with foreign investors in Brazil. Unsurprisingly perhaps, the connections that the leaders of the associations enjoyed with foreigners proved to be an invaluable channel of communication between their modernising endeavour and foreign technological developments.³⁹⁸ In other words, this foreign link provided the planter class of Brazil with one type of access to the agricultural innovation that was at the time being developed in Europe and the United States.³⁹⁹

Thanks to Riding's insights we know that the commercial associations served the interests of business as well as of agriculture. The author has also shown that despite the importance of agriculture in the Brazilian economy and of Brazil's dependence upon agricultural exports, no specifically agricultural interest organisations were founded; when they did exist, they were usually short-lived and often unenergetic⁴⁰⁰; and when smaller associations and clubs were created, mainly in rural communities, they sought to solve immediate problems such as scarce credit or low commodity prices, rather than tackling structural reforms; furthermore, when their issues were resolved they tended to disappear.⁴⁰¹ Riding's insights on the *raison d'être* of Brazil's nineteenth-century interest group associations shed light on the active role that the planter class attempted to play in the modernisation of agriculture

³⁹⁸ Eugene W. Ridings, 'Class sector unity in an export economy: The case of nineteenth century Brazil', *HAHR*, 58:3 (Aug., 1978), 432-450, 433-434 and 437.

³⁹⁹ Ridings, 'Interest groups', *passim*.

⁴⁰⁰ Eugene W. Ridings, 'Pre-modern interest groups and government: Brazil in the nineteenth century', *The Americas*, 46:3 (Jan., 1990), 315-333, 317. Six Imperial Institutes of Agriculture were created in the 1860s at the Emperor's initiative; of them, only the Imperial Instituto Fluminense de Agricultura and the Imperial Instituto Bahiano de Agricultura proved lasting. The first one barely survived the coming of the Republic; the second survived into the early twentieth century. Ridings, 'Pre-modern interest groups', *idem*.

⁴⁰¹ Ridings, 'Pre-modern interest groups', 317-318.

through their sectoral organisations, irrespective of whether these institutional resorts were registered as ‘commercial’ or ‘agricultural’. Nevertheless, as this chapter will show, promoting the modernisation of the agricultural sector was far from an exclusive concern of the planter class and their representatives in government. On the contrary, liberal elites from different professional and political backgrounds vied over various issues related to modernisation. This chapter is concerned with how education should ideally relate to the development of modern agriculture in the agenda of reform elaborated by the new generation of liberal thinkers during the final decades of the Second Empire.

Surprisingly, historiography on the Brazilian education seems to have omitted the consistent concerns by contemporaries for the need to develop modern system of practical and scientific education which could suit the needs of modern production, whether agricultural or industrial. And when students concerned with economic development tackle the history of the agricultural sector, they tend to focus their attention on institutionalised or governmental channels for reform, as exemplified by the works of Ridings. Yet this chapter will show that a survey of other, less official channels gives a different picture. Two excellent examples of informal, although crucial channels for the modernisation of Brazilian society will be introduced in this chapter, both of which dated from the decade of 1870s and both of which approached education as a symbol of modernisation. The first is the stance adopted and the efforts and investments made by the liberal republican, abolitionist and Masonic political vanguard from the province of São Paulo to assist the ex-Confederate émigrés in establishing churches and schools in their province. The second example concerns the endeavour of a small yet well-connected group of young liberal intellectuals who temporarily lived in the United States, to persuade their fellow countrymen of the need

to modernise the structures and institutions of Brazilian society. They edited and published journals in the United States to be distributed monthly in different locations in Brazil. To our knowledge, there were four journalistic enterprises of this kind, *O Novo Mundo*, *Revista Industrial*, *A Aurora Brasileira* and *A Mulher*.⁴⁰²

Despite their importance in terms of the relevance of their cause and the impact upon their audience, most of this intellectual production has not even been unearthed from the archives. Except for the insightful but isolated work by George C. A. Boehrer on *O Novo Mundo* and his editor published almost fifty years ago, only sporadic and fleeting references can be traced to these U.S.-edited Brazilian journals either in the history of Brazilian journalism, science or education.⁴⁰³ For example, Nelson Werneck Sodré's *História da Imprensa no Brasil* does not even mention the existence of these publications.⁴⁰⁴ Still as regards *O Novo Mundo*, there is the work by Elmano Cardim in which the author appears to be more concerned with the personal life of the journal's editor than with his publication and its social and political relevance.⁴⁰⁵ The most recent work which focuses on *O Novo Mundo* consists of a short article in a volume which addresses the history of the Brazilian press as a case of 'cultural frontiers' from within the field of cultural studies.⁴⁰⁶ Another example in

⁴⁰² There was a fifth journal which could be grouped with the four publications which form part of the documentary corpus of this chapter, except for the fact that it was a Cuban magazine and hence written in Spanish; it was entitled *La América Ilustrada*. Like the others, it was published in the decade of the 1870s (15 Jan. 1872-15 Dec. 1876) in the United States, and the contributions came from Latin Americans residing there. The connection with our group of Brazilian journals was that it was edited by José Carlos Rodrigues, editor of *O Novo Mundo* and the *Revista Industrial* and that the editorial board sought to understand the facts of U.S. society from and for a Latin American perspective. Interestingly, it included contributions by distinguished Cuban thinker José Martí. Ivan A. Schulman and Erica Miles, 'A guide to the location of nineteenth-century Cuban magazines', *LARR*, 12:2 (1977), 69-102, 80.

⁴⁰³ George C. A. Boehrer, 'José Carlos Rodrigues and O Novo Mundo, 1870-1879', *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, 9:1 (Jan., 1967), 127-144.

⁴⁰⁴ Nelson Werneck Sodré, *História da Imprensa no Brasil* (R. Janeiro: Ed. Mauad, 1999).

⁴⁰⁵ Elmano Cardim, 'José Carlos Rodrigues: Sua vida e sua obra', *RIHGB*, Vol. 185 (out.-dez., 1944), 126-157.

⁴⁰⁶ Elza Mine, 'Imprensa brasileira de oitocentos: Identidades em confronto', in Benjamin Abdala Júnior and Marli Fantini Scarpelli (eds.), *Portos Flutuantes: Trânsitos Ibero-Afro-Americanos* (Cotio, SP: Ateliê Editorial, 2004), 74-82.

which the persona of the editor appears to have more relevance than the product of his work occurs in the Latin American literary studies concerned with the work of the Brazilian romantic poet and engineer, Joaquim de Sousa Andrade, better known as Sousândrade who lived in New York and became vice-president and collaborator of the *O Novo Mundo*.⁴⁰⁷ Last, there are, for example, the works by June Hahner for whom *A Mulher* and *A Aurora Brasileira* were useful in supporting her hypothesis on the degree of development of women's civil and political rights.^{408&409}

The members of the intellectual cadre of imperial Brazil produced the first works on education. Yet, these works dated from the late nineteenth century and were isolated productions.⁴¹⁰ The first pioneering work on the history of education produced in the twentieth century is *A Cultura Brasileira (Brazilian Culture)* by Fernando de Azevedo, first published in 1943. This work on the history of pedagogical ideas and projects and of the education system constituted a historical landmark in the process of granting historiographical status to the academic production about the history of education in Brazil.⁴¹¹ On the whole, as with many

⁴⁰⁷ See, for example, Frederick G. Williams, 'Sousândrade's "Wall Street Inferno"', *Latin American Literary Review*, 1:2 (Spring, 1973), 143-148.

⁴⁰⁸ See, for example, June E. Hahner, 'The nineteenth-century feminist press and women's rights in Brazil', in Asunción Lavrín (ed.), *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), ch. 10, 254-285 and *Emancipating the Female Sex: The Struggle for Women's Rights in Brazil, 1850-1940* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1990).

⁴⁰⁹ Outside the specific field of Brazilian historiography, the volume entitled *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s-1970s* also stops short of reporting their very existence. This is not astonishing for the work is consecrated in order to report on the journalistic enterprises of European migrants in the United States. Nevertheless, in the Appendix of volume 3 the authors report the existence of *A Aurora Brasileira*. Yet, this journal clearly was not the most relevant in terms of the network of social and political relationships to which the editorial board belonged. Dirk Hoerder et al. (eds.), *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s-1970s: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1987), 3 Vols., Vol. 3, 202.

⁴¹⁰ José Ricardo Pires de Almeida, *L'Instruction Publique au Brésil. Histoire et Législation (1500-1889)*, written in French, published in 1889 and translated into Portuguese only a century after it was originally released. See also, Clarice Nunes, 'A instrução pública e a primeira história sistematizada da educação brasileira', *Cadernos de Pesquisa* (São Paulo), 93 (maio, 1995), 51-59; Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho, 'História da educação no Brasil: A constituição histórica do campo (1880-1970)', *RBH*, 23:45 (2003), 37-70.

⁴¹¹ Mirian Jorge Warde and Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho, 'Politics and culture in the making of the history of education in Brazil', in Thomas S. Popkewitz et al. (eds.), *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling* (New York & London: Routledge, 2001), 83-104.

other aspects of the nation-building process, Europe provided the Brazilian elites with institutional models and educational guidelines and this is what the studies on the history of Brazilian education show.⁴¹² As a field of research, the history of Brazilian education has expanded only in recent times when the first programmes of postgraduate studies in education were created in the Brazilian universities in the late 1960s. Even though two decades later the field began to experience a boom, historiographical research on Brazilian education is in the process of consolidation. In general, most studies focus on specific aspects of education in a temporal frame of five hundred years, that is, from the early colonial times until the present day. Representative of this tendency are, for example, the work *Educação Brasileira: 500 Anos de História, 1500-2000* (1989) by Arnaldo Niskier or the compilation *500 Anos de Educação no Brasil* (2000) which is a collection of articles by several authors tackling various aspects of education in Brazil.⁴¹³ As a consequence of the lack of studies dealing with the above-mentioned Brazilian U.S.-edited journals and given the scant attention paid to the critical influence that the U.S. education model had on the Brazilian liberal thinkers, this chapter will contribute to filling this gap in the current state of nineteenth-century Brazilian history of ideas about education.

The chapter is organised in two sections. The first section analyses how images of the United States permeated Brazilian diagnosis of their education system at home. This influence was reflected in the first assessments of the reasons behind Brazil's failure to attract a sustained influx of European immigrants as well as in evaluations

⁴¹² Maria José Garcia Werebe, 'Educação', in Sergio Buarque de Holanda (ed.), *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira* (R. Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1997), t. II, O Brasil Monárquico, Vol. VI, 'Declínio e queda do Império', Part IV, ch. 3, 424-443; Moacir Gadotti, *História das Idéias Pedagógicas* (São Paulo: Ática, 2002); Gerardo Francisco Filho, *História Geral da Educação* (Campinas, SP: Alínea Editora, 2003); Maria Lúcia de Arruda Aranha, *História da Educação* (São Paulo: Ed. Moderna, 2005); Maria Luiza Marcílio, *História da Escola em São Paulo e no Brasil* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial, 2005).

⁴¹³ Arnaldo Niskier, *Educação Brasileira: 500 Anos de História, 1500-2000* (São Paulo: Ed. Melhoramentos, 1989); Eliana Marta Teixeira Lopes et al. (eds.), *500 Anos de Educação no Brasil* (Belo Horizonte, MG: Ed. Autêntica, 2000).

of the state of Brazilian education at large. The second section shows how the example of the U.S. education system oriented towards the needs of agriculture and industry provided Brazil's liberal thinkers with an array of policies which they believe could lead Brazil down the road to progress.

The diagnosis: Brazilian images of Brazil through the mirror of the United States

The decade of the 1870s witnessed the emergence of a debate in the highest political circles about how to attract a sustained flow of foreign workers to satisfy the demands for labour in the rapidly expanding coffee areas of Central-South Brazil. This debate broke out in the context of an ever increasing emancipationist pressure from abroad and at home, a trend which adopted its first concrete form when the Law of the Free Birth was passed in September 1871.⁴¹⁴ Two years after this law was approved, the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works, José Fernandes da Costa Pereira Junior, commissioned João Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, by then deputy from the Northern province of Goiás, to devise a plan to attract foreigners to the Brazilian lands in order to fulfil the dynamic coffee sector's insatiable demand for workers. The idea was that a steady current of foreign labourers would help to develop the still dormant public and private factors of agricultural prosperity and wealth. Yet, this single goal required, first and foremost, the reorganisation of the agricultural sector.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁴ The national debate about the ideal immigrant type also addressed the question of the attraction of potential colonists to populate the portions of fertile but still uncultured lands. More on the contemporary debates about the ideal immigrant type in chapter 1.

⁴¹⁵ The other most important reforms for the attraction of immigrants to Brazil included the abolition of slavery, the creation of a free labour and land market, the separation between church and state, the

The main models for such a project were supplied by Argentina, the most successful case of immigration policies among the nations of the Río de la Plata system thus far, but predominantly by the United States. Menezes e Souza paid special attention to the politics of immigration designed and applied in the latter country. He claimed to have studied the best way of diverting part of ‘the torrent of European immigration [which] heads in great numbers towards the country of America [sic] inhabited by the Anglo-Saxon race’; his aim was ‘to bring the civilising exodus towards the land of [Pedro Álvares] Cabral’.⁴¹⁶ Menezes e Souza’s study also includes a comparative analysis about how the goal of attracting the European ‘civilising exodus’ was being tackled at the same time in Brazil, the Platine Republics and the United States. The result of this investigation was the volume entitled *Theses sobre Colonização do Brazil. Projeto de Solução a’s Questões Sociais, Que Se Prendem a Este Difficil Problema. Relatório Apresentado ao Ministério da Agricultura, Commércio e Obras Publicas em 1875 (Thesis on the Colonisation of Brazil. Project to Solve the Social Questions Connected with this Difficult Problem. Report Submitted to the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works in 1875)*, published in Rio de Janeiro in 1875.⁴¹⁷ This work was significant at the time because it was the first articulate treatise produced locally on the burning question of immigration and potential farm workers in view of the manpower crisis as a consequence of emancipation. For the purposes of our research, Menezes e Souza’s study is particularly meaningful for its recognition of the relevant place that

freedom of creed and education and the civil registry of births, marriages and burials. Some of these points are addressed in other chapters of this dissertation.

⁴¹⁶ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses sobre Colonização do Brazil*, 361-363.

⁴¹⁷ A similar piece of contemporary research was commissioned from Nicolau Moreira, member of the Brazilian legation to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Moreira, *Relatório sobre A Imigração nos Estados-Unidos da América*.

Brazilians granted to the United States as a source of examples, in this case on the development of the agricultural productive forces.

In his preliminary considerations, entitled 'Emigration to the United States, to Brazil and the Plate Republics', Menezes e Souza adopted the broader perspective of the international political scenario and highlighted its changing conditions.⁴¹⁸ He stated that 'the Latin race is under threat of losing pre-eminence' at the hands of the 'Anglo-Saxons and that France, the old civilising reference for all the nations of the 'Latin group', 'seemed to have lost the opportunity to primogeniture and tutelage which it used to exert upon the Latin family without contradiction'.⁴¹⁹ The 'Anglo-Saxon' stock to which Menezes e Souza referred were the British colonists who went to the 'Northern portion of the new hemisphere' in search of a new home; 'having traversed the ocean, they left behind in [...] old Europe the traditions, prejudices and habits [...] which [...] would have curbed their movements and retarded their progressive advance'.⁴²⁰ In fact, according to Menezes e Souza's account, the descendants of the 'European race' established a 'vigorous society' in the United States, full of 'vitality' 'the influence of which grows at a speed never seen before'.⁴²¹ In his account, as well as in other diagnoses of U.S. society by Brazilian intellectuals made both before and after Menezes e Souza, the concern that both statesmen and ordinary people alike showed for the development of education and scientific curricula in the United States, appeared as a main feature of the material wealth and growth of that expanding society. Later on, for example, Brazilian intellectual and member of the Brazilian diplomatic legation to Washington, Manoel de Oliveira Lima, explained:

⁴¹⁸ Menezes e Souza, 'Considerações preliminares. Emigração para os Estados- Unidos, para o Brazil e Republicas do Prata', 1-32.

⁴¹⁹ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 3-4.

⁴²⁰ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 4.

⁴²¹ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 4.

Education came to be a fever in New England. Thanks to [...], above all, the facilities for education, almost everyone wants to learn, most of the young people aspire to *graduate* [author's emphasis].⁴²²

Menezes e Souza's comment on the so-called Anglo-Saxon and Latin 'races' can be considered as a local intellectual offshoot of the pseudo-scientific racial theories and diagnoses of social evolution elaborated in Western Europe and in the United States as of the second half of the nineteenth century. Towards the 1870s, this foreign ideological trend was also making strides among Brazilian intellectuals.⁴²³ We recall that according to the racial paradigm elaborated by the fashionable evolutionist theory, the 'civilised' peoples of the time were identified as the white and Protestant people of German and British descent who were succeeding in establishing a new society in the United States. The strength of this new social configuration was dependent in great measure on the purported materialisation of modern freedoms, such as freedom of education, religious and political freedom or freedom of speech, as the previous chapter has shown; yet, its strength was also reliant on industrial development based on popular education and scientific research, as this thesis shows here and elsewhere. The way in which this ideology appears in Menezes e Souza's work, as well as in some of our other sources, fits well with this description since his belief in the purported superiority of the Anglo-Saxon 'race' over the Latin peoples

⁴²² Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *Nos Estados Unidos. Impressões Políticas e Sociaes* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1899), ch. III: 'Efeitos da imigração', 53-89, 59. This book was an anthology of articles first published in the *Revista Brasileira* (R. Janeiro), t. VII, VIII (1896) and XII (1897).

⁴²³ Viotti da Costa has highlighted the paradox of Brazilian intellectuals selecting racial ideas which stressed white superiority in a country where around 1870 only 40 percent of its population could be considered 'white', and when some members of the elite could not be sure of their 'racial 'purity''. Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire*, ch. 9: 'The myth of racial democracy. A legacy of the Empire', 234-248, 239.

was based on the contingent factor of the material prosperity that was being achieved at many levels in the United States by people of Anglo-Saxon extraction.

The information, data and statistics about U.S. society that Menezes e Souza had at his disposal seem to have derived, in important measure, from Jules Duval's *Historie de L'Émigration Européenne, Asiatique et Africaine au XIX^e Siècle. Seus Causes, Ses Caractères, Ses Effects, Etc.*, which was first published in Paris in 1862.⁴²⁴ Like most of his contemporary countrymen concerned with the modernisation of the social institutions of Brazil, Menezes e Souza studied the United States; and like most of them, he relied on analysis of U.S. society by French thinkers. In particular, the author's remarks on how the cultural and social 'supreme authority' not only of the French civilisation but of the Western European nations in general was being gradually superseded by the new society being built in the United States upon new social arrangements, were founded on the works of Michel Chevalier.⁴²⁵ On the basis of his French sources, Menezes e Souza called attention to the different factors which seemed to be playing crucial roles in attracting a steady flow of European immigrants to the United States. Among them were: the division and proper demarcation of lands, the agricultural credit institutions, the development of means of transport and communications and the guarantee of political, civil and religious freedoms, as was also pointed out by other observers of the United States, which we saw in chapter 2. Last but not least, Menezes e Souza also mentioned the practical importance of establishing a place to give food and shelter to the immigrants as soon as they arrived in the country, the Castle-Garden in New York being for him as well as for other liberal thinkers such as Tavares Bastos, the model example in this

⁴²⁴ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 11 and *passim*.

⁴²⁵ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 4 and *passim*. We saw in the previous chapter that the works by Michel Chevalier were among the sources of information about the United States upon which the Viscount of Uruguai and Tavares Bastos elaborated their own analysis of that society.

regard.⁴²⁶ In short, for Menezes e Souza, the U.S. peoples stood out in the task of hosting immigrants for their hospitality was based on a pledge that they should be ‘in perfect equality with the nationals as regards political, civil and religious rights’.⁴²⁷

Among the rights enjoyed by the residents of the United States was the right of access to education on three levels for people of all backgrounds. In Menezes e Souza’s analysis, the prominent role granted by the U.S. federal and state government as well as the private sector to the system of education at all levels was another key question which helped to explain why the United States was a favourite destination for Europeans embarking for the Americas.⁴²⁸ This latter factor alone was one of the fundamental axes of comparative analysis upon which Menezes e Souza relied on in order to understand why Brazil was failing to attract as steady a current of European immigrants as the United States.⁴²⁹ Menezes e Souza’s ultimate goal was to study the way in which Brazil could become a more attractive country for potential immigrants than it was at the time. Hence, when the author tackled the question of education, he, like other contemporary Brazilian thinkers and politicians committed to the reform of the education system, pointed to the bigger picture of relations between the characteristics and objectives of the education system, the degree of development of the productive forces and the consequent degree of material development of the society. The second section of Menezes e Souza’s study is entitled ‘The insufficiency of teaching is principally due to the absence of agricultural and professional

⁴²⁶ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 324; 336-343; Tavares Bastos, ‘Memoria sobre imigração’, in *Os Males do Presente e as Esperanças do Futuro* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939), 57-127, 68-77, ch. 3: “Acção do governo”, 76; Moreira, *Relatório*, 48-68.

⁴²⁷ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 302-303; 361-368, 362.

⁴²⁸ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 68-69.

⁴²⁹ The Argentine case was also an important pattern of comparative analysis for Brazilian statesmen with regard to immigration policies. See for example, Rui Barbosa, ‘A imigração na República Argentina (Estudo)’, in *Queda do Império (Diário de Notícias)*, in *Obras Completas de Rui Barbosa* (R. Janeiro: Ministério de Educação e Saúde, 1947), XLIX Vols., Vol. XVI (1889), t. IV.

education'.⁴³⁰ There the author argued that the development of social productivity was inversely proportional to access to the study of the sciences by all social sectors.⁴³¹ 'The direction of public education in Brazil', Menezes e Souza complained, 'has a disastrous influence upon productivity and is one of the reasons for the backwardness of national agriculture'.⁴³² The politician lamented: 'The basis of our education is to make the intense study of Latin the backbone of the study of the humanities, in the fashion of the nations of the Latin race'.⁴³³ Many other liberal thinkers agreed with him, as we shall see below.

Menezes e Souza was resolute in criticising the Brazilian education system which made students devote three or four years of their scholarly life to the study of the 'dead languages' and the classical poets. This system, he argued, 'delivers to society an individual infested by mere speculative spirit and prepared only for the sterile study of literature and with no ideas'.⁴³⁴ He regretted that the time which could be used for the acquisition of practical knowledge and training necessary for the development of agriculture and industry was instead being 'wasted in archaeological excavations of extinguished monuments which have nothing to say to the present'.⁴³⁵ Condemning as frivolous the central role that the study of the classical humanities had in a predominantly rural country like Brazil, Menezes e Souza declared: 'We do not want to form erudite people but people with aptitudes for the affairs of life [...] in contemporary society [...] which is opening up to the present generation'.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁰ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 'A insuficiência do ensino é principalmente a ausência de instrução agrícola e profissional', 66-201.

⁴³¹ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 67.

⁴³² Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 69.

⁴³³ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 74. Similar arguments are elsewhere; see for example, 'Co-educação nos Estados Unidos', *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:8, 20 May 1874, 57; Antônio de Almeida Oliveira, *O Ensino Público. Obra Destinada a Mostrar o Estado em que se Acha e as Reformas que Exige* (Maranhão: n/e., 1874).

⁴³⁴ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 74.

⁴³⁵ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 74.

⁴³⁶ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 75-76.

The dim view of Brazil's system of instruction as described by Menezes e Souza has its roots in the Portuguese educational policy, the effects of which would reverberate on the educational debates and procedures up until the early twentieth century. In colonial times, the metropolis had ensured the intellectual dependence and isolation of its American colony: those who desired to pursue higher education should cross the Atlantic and enrol at the University of Coimbra. The so-called Coimbra bloc was a homogenous elite educated in hierarchical, conservative schools that favoured the implementation of a policy aiming to build a centralised empire. The educational concerns of the Portuguese monarchy were limited to training the governing elite and the military. The Portuguese regent prince Dom João VI, resident in Brazil since 1808, initiated a liberal revolution which sought to revitalise Brazil's agriculture, industry and commerce. In the educational field the Portuguese regent likewise initiated an innovative policy oriented towards the creation not of universities but of professional, technical *faculdades* regulated and administered by the central government. These institutions were meant to have a practical orientation, representing a break with the scholastic traditions of the University of Coimbra characterised by an emphasis upon rhetoric, grammar and bookish erudition.⁴³⁷ Following independence, more colleges were founded across Brazil, the most important being the Law Schools of Olinda (which moved in 1854 to Recife, also in Pernambuco) and São Paulo.

On the whole, the system of colleges created since the beginning of the century provided courses in economics, agriculture, chemistry and technical design.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁷ Richard L. Cummings, 'Transformations in Brazilian engineering education', *LBR*, 7:1 (Summer, 1970), 64-73, 65. On the role of the teaching of Roman Law at Coimbra upon Brazil's imperial political elite, see also Murilo de Carvalho, 'Political elites', 386-392.

⁴³⁸ There were six colleges established in the early part of the century: the Military Academy (R. Janeiro, 1808), the School of Fine Arts (R. Janeiro, 1816), the School of Law (Olinda-Recife and São Paulo, 1827) and the School of Medicine (R. Janeiro and Bahia, 1832). Because almost all imperial

Nevertheless, in a slavocrat society like Brazil where rural activities were left to the lowest layers of the population, the establishment of professional colleges with their technical approach to knowledge, was not only seen as an unnecessary measure, but was also deemed to contradict the tenets of Scholasticism, the predominant intellectual tradition in Brazil. These early attempts at establishing professional studies of agricultural labour rapidly failed; not unsurprisingly, the failure was due, in great part, to the lack of students. The predominantly agrarian orientation of the economy based on slavery militated against technical education throughout the century. Even if these professional colleges had thrived, they would still have remained isolated with respect to the other levels of education administered by the provincial governments. In short, the first attempt made early in the nineteenth century to implant the professional teaching of agricultural labour yielded a network of educational institutions that was fractured both vertically and horizontally, for several regionally-based systems of education emerged, although of short existence, in place of a single national system.⁴³⁹

To remedy Brazil's educational deficiency Menezes e Souza proposed a reform of the education system the main concern of which was to awaken people's vocation for the mechanical and industrial arts in their multiple manifestations.⁴⁴⁰ He argued that whereas 'in the United States the instinct for civilisation, offspring of social

politicians, journalists, economists and administrators of the Empire graduated from the Law Schools, Parliament controlled their curricula. The graduates from these schools were present in nearly every municipality disseminating political beliefs and ideas from the centre to the interior and thus undermining the regionalism that preoccupied statesmen after independence. Murilo de Carvalho, *Pontos e Bordados*, 241; James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America. A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 238-243, esp. 240; Barman, *Brazil*, 138, 219; Fausto, *A Concise History*, 103. In 1834 the Additional Act forbade the provinces to establish institutions of higher education, a clause that would only be removed with the advent of the Republic.

⁴³⁹ Raymundo Moniz de Aragão, *A Instrução Pública no Brasil* (R. Janeiro: Ed. FGV/ Instituto de Estudos Avançados em Educação, 1985), 8. See also, Primitivo Moacyr, *A Instrução e o Império, 1854-1888* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1937), 2 Vols. and *A Instrução e as Províncias* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939), 3 Vols.

⁴⁴⁰ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 74.

education, strove to make the most of the natural resources', in Brazil the Portuguese 'inoculated' the 'habit of listlessness' which 'left inactive the forces of nature'.⁴⁴¹ For such a social reform, a first step to accomplish was the establishment of new syllabi aimed at developing the study of practical, empirical and applied knowledge from an early age; in short, to develop 'knowledge which had an application to commerce, to agriculture and to all the professions upon which the life and progress of society depends'.⁴⁴²

Like many other liberal thinkers at the time, Menezes e Souza had something to say about the entrenched propensity of Brazil's educated to depend on the state bureaucracy and public administration for employment opportunities. He pointed out, for example, that *fazendeiros* and other less well-to-do rural sectors preferred to see their sons attend the high schools and colleges in the cities where they mostly devoted their time to an unproductive education which 'nourish[ed] the exclusive taste for theories and the deplorable habit of phrase-making'.⁴⁴³ More importantly, to be skilful in 'oratory and philosophical skirmishes', in the opinion of liberal thinkers such as Menezes e Souza, was seemingly all that was needed to pursue a successful career in the state and its bureaucracy. Accordingly, one of the first points that Menezes e Souza made in his study was to demand the imperial state assume the task of leading public education in a way that would 'kill the bureaucratic tendency'.⁴⁴⁴ Moreover, this reform would be welcomed by the provinces as they did not have at their disposal

⁴⁴¹ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 186.

⁴⁴² Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 74.

⁴⁴³ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 74-75. This point is systematically mentioned throughout the period. For example, Amaro Cavalcanti, *Relatório Especial sobre Educação Elementar Apresentado ao Exm. Sr. Presidente da Província do Ceará pelo Bacharel Amaro Cavalcanti, Professor de Latim em Comissão nos Estados-Unidos, Nort'-America* (Fortaleza: Typographia do Cearense, 1881). Also, *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:4, 20 Jan. 1874, 25-26. Murilo de Carvalho has argued that a slave society offered few occupational opportunities impelling the unemployed towards public employment. Murilo de Carvalho, *A Formação das Almas*, 29.

⁴⁴⁴ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 74.

the required budget to contemplate such a reform.⁴⁴⁵ The state's intervention in education was likewise considered to be a crucial aspect of reform in one of the most important, if not the most important of the education programmes of the second half of the century, which was drafted by Rui Barbosa, and will be analysed below. Yet, Menezes e Souza's project for the education and social reform of society stands out because it constituted one of the first attempts to argue for Brazil's urgent need to reform the neglected agricultural sector which drew on the previous experience of the United States.⁴⁴⁶

The most important goal of the legislator and of the public administration in Menezes e Souza's project was to attract young Brazilians to the agricultural sector. Yet, accompanying this project came a challenge to many of the institutional foundations of Brazilian society because, for example, the entire system of education and its rationale had to be revolutionised. Reconstructing the edifice of education had to begin with the teaching of theoretical and practical knowledge of agriculture from as early as primary school.⁴⁴⁷ Agricultural schools like those being established in the United States, had to be created in Brazil with the aim of further developing an appetite for agricultural studies and, at the same time, producing technically trained workers for the agricultural sector.⁴⁴⁸ The teaching of the industrial arts and techniques was likewise required to foster the virtuous circle of developing the agricultural sector, the industrial activity derived from it, the development of the productive forces and the attraction of foreigners to Brazil. Menezes e Souza's

⁴⁴⁵ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 85.

⁴⁴⁶ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 75; 193-194.

⁴⁴⁷ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 66-86.

⁴⁴⁸ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 86-105. Tavares Bastos also made a similar point. He said, for example: 'As long as we live in an eminently agricultural country [...] agricultural colleges are among the professional colleges which we undoubtedly need the most'. Tavares Bastos, *A Província*, 247. More references in, Tavares Bastos Collection, *Manuscript Section*, Biblioteca Nacional (R. Janeiro), Doc. 3, N. 22 (1866) and Doc. 6, N. 8 (1872).

programme also demanded assisting the agricultural sector with cutting-edge machinery, new technological knowledge and know-how imported from abroad.⁴⁴⁹

The important place that the agricultural sector enjoyed in the political economy of the United States was an example of the first order for Menezes e Souza; it was an empirical case which illustrated how critical the establishment of agricultural institutions was for the development of a country the economy of which was based on agricultural production. To exemplify his argument on this particular point the author cited two cases out of some thirty or so: the agricultural school at Lansing in Michigan and the ‘modernissima’ agricultural school of ‘Darmouth’ [sic].⁴⁵⁰ According to the Menezes e Souza’s report, U.S. agricultural schools, in general, began to be established in the mid-1860s. Their development was materially underpinned by a federal government decision dating to 1862, which dictated the endowment of lands where they would build their buildings and farms.⁴⁵¹ The relevance of these schools lay in that they provided theoretical knowledge and practical training in agriculture on an equal footing; they ran cycles of conferences on agriculture and they were well endowed with laboratories, equipment and the necessary open space to introduce the students to the concrete appliance of this science.⁴⁵²

The school at Lansing is depicted as paying an outstanding service to the community for ‘it delivers every year a great deal of well prepared youngsters competent in culture’; this school is equipped with laboratories, museums, botanic

⁴⁴⁹ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 75-77.

⁴⁵⁰ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 84. The author’s spelling might be wrong for a “t” is missing in the middle of the name. Menezes e Souza referred to the Dartmouth College founded in 1865; one year later the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts was incorporated into it.

⁴⁵¹ Rui Barbosa also highlighted in his study of the U.S. education system, the importance of the state policy of granting lands to the institutions of public education. See, *Reforma do Ensino Primário. Varias Instituições Complementares da Instrução Pública*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. III, 248-249.

⁴⁵² Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 84.

gardens and ‘excellent workshops of agricultural instruments’.⁴⁵³ The school at Dartmouth was likewise equipped with laboratories—for physics, chemistry and geology.⁴⁵⁴ Importantly, besides the concern with the practical level of the teaching of agriculture in the United States, these schools also had, in general, a democratising effect on the agricultural profession which was absent in the author’s homeland. The agricultural schools in the United States were intended to encourage people of poor backgrounds to pursue a professional career in agriculture. In fact, not only were they provided with ‘offices which offer jobs and bread [figuratively] to poor students’, but also ‘[t]he agricultural courses are interrupted in the harvest season so that the sons of the poor farm labourers could return to the field to help their parents’.⁴⁵⁵

Menezes e Souza advised the ministers of the Empire to allow young Brazilians to be instructed ‘in the cultured languages of the contemporary peoples’; in the ‘professions and industries of those nations which must serve us [Brazilians] as models and with whom it is advisable to enter into relations of friendship and commerce’.⁴⁵⁶ The U.S. people, their capacity for initiative and how this translated into social institutions such as the educational establishments, were presented in Menezes e Souza’s study as having played key roles in the level of development being achieved by that society to which in turn the ‘torrent’ of European immigration flocked. The entrepreneurial attitudes of the U.S. people and the degree of development of their means of production were granted a central place among the ‘contemporary peoples’ in Menezes e Souza’s analysis. Notwithstanding his criticism of U.S. society, such as the maxim ‘time is money’, racism, the hostile attitude towards the native peoples or the widespread use of the ‘revolver’, he argued that the

⁴⁵³ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 84.

⁴⁵⁴ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 84.

⁴⁵⁵ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 84.

⁴⁵⁶ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 75.

scientific orientation of education in the United States and the practical know-how gained by students at the schools of agriculture provided an invaluable example to be adopted in Brazil.⁴⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the social forces of Brazil seemed to be an obstacle to attempts of any kind to reform the institutions of higher education in the sense of granting education a practical approach.

During the Second Empire improvements in public education at the higher level were limited to the creation of three technical engineering schools and one institute of agronomy. The former included Rio's Engineering School, the School of Mines of Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais) and the Polytechnic School of Bahia, founded in 1865, 1867 and 1887 respectively. The latter was the Agronomic Institute of Campinas (São Paulo), established in 1887 and originally named Campinas Agronomic Imperial Station (Imperial Estação Agronômica de Campinas).⁴⁵⁸ In 1889 the Engineering School of Rio only had some 161 students enrolled.⁴⁵⁹ Despite the Emperor's concern for education and his personal interest in the sciences, investment in education remained remarkably low throughout the Second Empire. In addition to that, the experimental, technological and so-called 'dirty hands' approach to knowledge had little appeal in a society dominated by the strong statist orientation of its elites and by an agricultural but slave-based seigniorial society, as mentioned earlier.⁴⁶⁰ In fact, the almost universal attitude towards manual labour of the economic, political and intellectual elites was that no free man would stoop to using his muscles.⁴⁶¹ Another

⁴⁵⁷ Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 40-42.

⁴⁵⁸ The *Paulista* agricultural school was the only one which did not perish during the Second Empire. Some of the other agricultural institutes which did not survive were located in Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio Grande do Sul. More schools of engineering were established during the Republic. They were, for our period of study, the Polytechnic School of São Paulo (1893), the School of Engineering of Mackenzie College (1896), the School of Engineering of Pôrto Alegre (1896) and the school of Recife (1896). Garcia Werebe, 'Educação', 430; Cummings, 'Transformations', 65-66, N. 7.

⁴⁵⁹ Robert J. Havighurst and J. Roberto Moreira, *Society and Education in Brazil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965), 76.

⁴⁶⁰ On the statist tradition, see Murilo de Carvalho, 'Political Elite and state building', *passim*.

⁴⁶¹ Cummings, 'Transformations', 65.

reason for the neglect of educational policies committed to the development of modern productive forces lay in the lack of interest of the elites in undermining the slave-based mode of production which benefited them.⁴⁶²

There were very few establishments of higher education oriented towards the study of the applied sciences during the Second Empire. Besides, there was the question of the practicality of a reform under the current social circumstances of Brazil, mentioned above.⁴⁶³ In 1882 and 1883 Rui Barbosa presented to the Chamber of Deputies the two most complete projects for the reform of the education system in its three levels under the Empire, as will be shown shortly. So important was the gulf between his projects and the social realities of the country that he was accused of being an ‘idealist’ and of trying to transplant to Brazil institutions and practices that were inadequate and foreign to the local realities.⁴⁶⁴ These institutions basically constituted the introduction of scientific instruction to the syllabi of the entire education system in order to leave every future citizen with a taste for technical, applied and practical knowledge.

Barbosa reported that ‘in comparison with the marvels of progress in public education in the model countries of the old and new continent’, namely France, Germany, Britain and the United States, the state of Brazil’s public education was at the very edge of the limit of acceptability for a nation considering itself civilised. ‘There is decadence instead of progress’, he said; ‘we are a nation of illiterates [...] and academic education is infinitely far removed from the scientific level of the

⁴⁶² Murilo de Carvalho, *Teatro de Sombras*, 281-282, N. 24, 289.

⁴⁶³ *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:4, 20 Jan. 1874, 25-26; ‘Compêndios elementares’, I:2, 15 Jan. 1876, 2. We have shown in chapter 1 that similar arguments about the current circumstances and consequent impracticability of reforms permeated the debates around the abolition of slavery.

⁴⁶⁴ Brazilian interpreter of Barbosa’s work, Maria Cristina Gomes Machado, prefers to catalogue him as a ‘demiurge’ rather than an idealist. She posits that unlike his contemporary countrymen, Barbosa had the ability to think of the Brazilian society from above the determinants of his period. See, for example, ‘O projeto de Rui Barbosa: O papel da educação na modernização da sociedade’ (1999), 2. Available from: <http://168.96.200.17/ar/libros/anped/0208T.PDF> (16 March 2009).

present times'.⁴⁶⁵ The editorial board of *A Aurora Brasileira*, for example, condemned the syllabi of educational courses as mainly imported from Portugal and France and their exhibiting indifference and even ignorance towards the social realities and needs of Brazil.⁴⁶⁶ As for books, there were few printing houses or bookshops in the Empire and the system of distribution was deficient. It was, moreover, easier to import books from abroad than to produce them locally, although monopolies and high duties made them 'inaccessible to those who have intellectual curiosity but no money'.⁴⁶⁷

Just as sluggish as the pace of creating a printing press was the establishment of a university system. The creation of a university instead of multiple colleges and institutes of higher education was another repeated demand which sought to reverse the educational politics of the early part of the century; yet, it still proved largely futile.⁴⁶⁸ In 1870 this recurrent request was once more brought to Parliament; in May that year the Viscount of Uruguai, who in 1868 had been appointed Minister of the Empire, presented a project for the reform of public instruction to the 2nd session of the 14th General Legislative Assembly.⁴⁶⁹ We cite this project for it was the most complete project for the reform of the three levels of public education presented thus far which included the creation of a university in the capital of the Empire. Equally important, the project elaborated by the Viscount was one of the antecedents to which

⁴⁶⁵ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. I, 'Estatística e situação do ensino popular', 7-83, 8.

⁴⁶⁶ 'A instrução publica no Brasil', *A Aurora Brasileira*, II:2, 20 Nov. 1874, 13; 'Quando usaremos compêndios brasileiros?', *A Aurora Brasileira. Engenharia, Mechanica, Sciencia, Artes, Agricultura e Manufaturas* (Syracuse, New York), II:3, May 1877, 39.

⁴⁶⁷ *Brazil Americano. Publicação Semanal* (R. Janeiro), N. 14, 28 Jul. 1875, 1. Emília Viotti da Costa, '1870-1889', in Bethell (ed.), *Brazil. Empire and Republic*, 161-213, 185.

⁴⁶⁸ Brazil's first university was the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro created in 1920 whereas the Ministry of Education was created only in 1930. Up until the end of the First Republic (1889-1930) education came under the orbit of the Ministry of Justice and Interior Affairs, except for the period of 1890 to 1892 when the provisional government transferred educational affairs to the so-called Ministry of Public Instruction, Postal Services and Telegraph under the direction of Benjamin Constant.

⁴⁶⁹ Paulino José Soares de Sousa, *Relatório do Ano de 1869 Apresentado à Assembléia Geral Legislativa na 2^a Sessão da 14^a Legislatura* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1870).

Barbosa turned in order to draft his own programme of reform, the most cogent case for educational reform and the watershed which once and for all uncovered the many deficiencies of Brazil's education system on the basis of a comparative analysis with European and U.S. performances, as we shall see below.⁴⁷⁰

The Viscount of Uruguai's project of establishing a university in Rio de Janeiro was attacked with the argument that it would further the concentration of power in the central government. Should such an institution be established in the city of Rio, the entrenched centralising policies of the imperial government would be reinforced, so the opponents of the project such as the editors of *O Novo Mundo* argued.⁴⁷¹ Hotly debated, this latter project succumbed once again to solid opposition in Parliament and the press.⁴⁷² The Viscount of Uruguai's report called attention to the scarcity of schools and colleges, the low budget for education, the scarcity of adequately trained teachers, the lack of appropriate locations and the generally poor conditions of the existing educational institutions, among other matters. The nineteenth century was the era when the systems of education of the Western world developed. As a man of his time, the Viscount related education to citizenship, progress and civilisation. Most importantly, the Viscount pointed out that in the context of the growing pressure for the abolition of slavery it was of primary concern to organise an education system which could absorb the mass of freedmen which would fill the ranks as the future

⁴⁷⁰ Barbosa, 'Despesas' and 'Projetos sobre instrução pública oferecidos à consideração da Câmara dos Sres. Deputados', 1870, N. 183, *Reforma do Ensino Secundário e Superior*, in *Obras Completas de Rui Barbosa* (R. Janeiro: Ministério de Educação e Saúde, 1942), Vol. IX (1882), t. I, ; 11-17 and 317-324, respectively. Note that Barbosa drafted first the project for reforming secondary and university education and then the reform of the primary level, both presented to the Chamber of Deputies in 1882 and 1883 respectively.

⁴⁷¹ 'A universidade brasileira', *O Novo Mundo*, V:52, 23 Jan. 1875, 15.

⁴⁷² Brazilian positivists argued that a university created under the Empire would become an institution where 'the most execrable despotism' would reign and strengthen the traditional regime. Miguel Lemos, *A Idéia. Jornal de Ciências e Letras* (R. Janeiro), N. 2, 1 Aug. 1874, 1; *Revue Occidentale* (Paris), 1 Mar. 1881. Cited in Moacyr, *A Instrução e o Império*, Vol. III, 570. The editorial of *A Aurora Brasileira* repeatedly opposed the project. For example, 'Necessidade de uma academia de agricultura no Brasil', II:5, 20 Feb. 1874, 36 and 'A criação de uma universidade no Rio de Janeiro', II:1, Mar. 1877, 3.

citizens of the Empire. This was also one of Barbosa's central concerns, as we shall see in the following section.⁴⁷³ Let us now turn to the study of the U.S. model of education as seen by Brazilian liberal thinkers.

The solution: The U.S. applied and scientific model of education

This section of the chapter concentrates on how the U.S. education system was depicted and presented by Brazilian liberal thinkers as a model to be emulated in Brazil. The sources of knowledge about its rationale and methodology came from different locations. First, the settlement of ex-Confederates in Brazil since the mid-1860s offered a first, direct window for Brazilians on to an approach to agriculture and education carried out by a specific group of U.S. people, for these immigrants brought with them their agricultural techniques and tools and established their own educational and religious institutions. Yet, Brazilian images of the U.S. education system were similarly elaborated in the United States. Establishing the loci of the Brazilian production of U.S. representations is particularly important since despite all the efforts of the imperial elites to attract this Protestant immigration, as mentioned previously, there was a significant amount of randomness in the availability of these images in Brazil: many of their carriers, namely the ex-Confederate immigrants themselves, either soon returned to the United States or could have chosen any other destination in the Americas. It has been estimated that between the 1860s and 1880s about 20,000 ex-Confederates migrated to Brazil and that some 80 percent of them

⁴⁷³ Maria Cristina Gomes Machado, 'Os projetos da escola pública no Brasil propostos entre 1870 e 1886: A ênfase na formação moral do cidadão', *Quaestio: Revista de Estudos de Educação* (Universidade de Sorocaba, São Paulo), 7:2 (2005). Available from: <http://periodicos.uniso.br/index.php/quaestio/article/viewFile/479/211> (20 January 2007).

went back to the United States within that same timeframe.⁴⁷⁴ Mexico, Venezuela, Chile and Perú were among the other destinations chosen by them.⁴⁷⁵ The elaboration of images of the United States by Brazilian expatriates in that country took on the form of a deliberate, proactive attitude of seeking in the United States a model of society, hence indirectly providing a new twist on the process of ‘Americanisation’. This second source of Brazilian representations of the United States was elaborated by a group of young and enthusiastic Brazilians who were so thrilled by their experiences in that country that they committed themselves to transforming important aspects of their own society under the guidance of the U.S. model. The U.S. system of education and the U.S. approach to agricultural activities seen by Brazilians either from within Brazil or from within the United States are the cases with which this chapter is concerned.

Education and agriculture in the United States as seen from within Brazil

In an anonymous article in one of the weekly journals circulating in Rio de Janeiro in the 1870s, *Brazil Americano. Publicação Semanal*, we read an interesting comment to the effect that the ‘splendid appearances’ of the ‘palaces’ built for the educational institutions in Brazil led the non-connoisseur to believe that learning had a similar status to architectural grandeur. In contrast, the writer pointed out:

⁴⁷⁴ Figures are nonetheless estimates because up until the early 1880s the Brazilian government did not keep records of the number of immigrants arriving in the different ports of the Empire. Harter, *A Colônia Perdida*, 25-26 and Mac Knight Jones, ‘Soldado descansa!’, 16.

⁴⁷⁵ On the colonies of ex-Confederates in other Latin American countries, see Justin Horton, ‘The Second Lost Cause: Post-National Confederate Imperialism in the Americas’, Masters thesis, East Tennessee State University (United States), 2007.

In the United States the development of the education system came first and only when it was spread and strengthened through wise methods were the walls of those palaces of glory raised. Here [Brazil] things were done differently and it seems that by inverting the natural order we want to arrive to the point where others [U.S. people] started.⁴⁷⁶

Brazil's elitist educational policies, outlined above, lasted for more than a century and triggered some of the problems which caused much concern to the liberal thinkers of the second half of the nineteenth century. The almost complete absence of scientific research, the non-applicable orientation of the studies at any level and the absence of a national university system were among the most pressing matters.⁴⁷⁷

In 1875 in São Paulo the argument began to circulate that unless scientific-technical learning developed among farm workers, agricultural production would not achieve modern standards. The inauguration of the Centennial Exhibition of the Declaration of Independence to be held in Philadelphia in 1876 mobilised the elites of Brazil who arranged to have a pavilion organised to exhibit the main national products. Interestingly, besides the exhibition of crops and raw material, the economic elites particularly from São Paulo rushed to project an image of the country in which agro-industrial development appeared as an element of the nation's growth. The materialisation of such a desire came with the release in 1875 of a book entitled *A Província de São Paulo: Trabalho Estatístico, Histórico e Noticioso, Destinado a Exposição de Filadélfia* (*The Province of São Paulo. Statistical, Historical and*

⁴⁷⁶ Anonymous, 'A instrução', *Brazil Americano*, N. 8, 27 Aug., 1875, 3.

⁴⁷⁷ Moacyr, *A Instrução e o Império*, Vol. II, 100-109.

Informative Work Destined for the Philadelphia Exhibition) written by politically conservative and economically liberal Senator Joaquim Floriano de Godoy.⁴⁷⁸

At this time, the new agricultural techniques, mainly for the cultivation of cotton, introduced by the group of ex-Confederate émigrés who settled in the province of São Paulo were being adopted. The plough, which gradually replaced the slave's hoe, was the most symbolic of all; yet, other significant technical improvements imported by them included manure fertiliser and pruning. Agricultural innovations as such rose as the paradigmatic expression of technical improvements which came to be identified with the 'Anglo-Saxon' stock arriving in Brazil from the United States.⁴⁷⁹ Our sources show here and elsewhere that such identifications invited easy associations, not uncommon at the time, between contingent cultural attainments such as the achieved degree of technical innovation and a specific racial kinship perceived as different. Yet, for all the technical influence that the U.S. colonists could transmit to the local landowners, the transition to free labour, the training of farm workers in technical skills and the introduction of new agricultural technology and machinery were still remote prospects.⁴⁸⁰

Yet, there was another element of cultural ascendancy that the group of ex-Confederates enjoyed among the liberal thinkers, namely their education system and the orientation of its contents as introduced in the schools they founded wherever they settled. Ever since the leaders of the ex-Confederate exile groups arrived in Brazil they summoned Protestant missionaries and schoolteachers to help build their colonies. As chapter 2 has shown, the republican leaders and elites in particular from

⁴⁷⁸ Joaquim Floriano de Godoy, *A Província de São Paulo: Trabalho Estatístico, Histórico e Noticioso, Destinado a Exposição de Filadélfia* (R. Janeiro: Typographia do Diário do Rio de Janeiro, 1875).

⁴⁷⁹ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 7 Nov. 1863. See also, Murilo de Carvalho, *Congresso Agrícola*, 161. See also, Menezes e Souza, *Theses*, 68; Mac Knight Jones, 'Soldado descansa!', 16; Serra Bryan, 'Americana de ontem', 9.

⁴⁸⁰ Godoy, *A Província de São Paulo*, 89-91.

the province of São Paulo actively assisted them to establish their churches and schools in an attempt to absorb from them what was seen as their innovative stances regarding agriculture but also education. These institutions ended up being excellent loci of cultural and ideological transmission. This exchange of ideas was built upon a growing relationship between the young liberal republicans from São Paulo, the republican and abolitionist clubs of the same province and the U.S. colonists, schoolteachers and Protestant priests.

One of the reasons advanced by locals to explain their positive attitudes towards the institutions of the ex-Confederates refugees in Brazil, was that their schools turned out to be the most prestigious of the country—still considered the case today—with the sole exception of the reputable Imperial Colégio Dom Pedro II of Rio founded in 1837. The latter offered Brazil's traditional syllabi based on the study of the classical humanities and only incorporated the study of the sciences gradually, albeit through a disinterested and erudite approach.⁴⁸¹ By contrast, in general, liberal thinkers identified the Protestant schools as symbols of pedagogical renewal. The Protestant schools enjoyed an excellent reputation especially among the republican and abolitionist elites of São Paulo. Overwhelmingly members of the Masonic lodges, these elites felt attracted to these schools not for the religious doctrine they spread but because of the applied and scientific approach to knowledge offered in their syllabi. For them, they were the pedagogical version of progress and modernity.⁴⁸²

⁴⁸¹ Solange Aparecida Zotti, 'O ensino secundário no império brasileiro: Considerações sobre a função social e o currículo do Colégio D. Pedro II', *Revista Histedbr On-Line* (Campinas, SP), N. 18 (jun., 2005), 29-44. Available from: http://www.histedbr.fae.unicamp.br/art04_18.pdf (14 July 2007).

⁴⁸² Analete Regina Schelbauer, 'O método intuitivo e lições de coisas no Brasil do século XIX', in Maria Stephanou and Maria Helena Câmara (eds.), *Histórias e Memórias da Educação no Brasil* (R. Janeiro: Vozes, 2005), 132-149; Hilsdorf Barbanti, *Francisco Rangel Pestana*, 60. The first Confederate immigrants to settle in Santa Bárbara d'Oeste in the province of São Paulo, were led by Colonel William H. Norris, the Alabama deputy, Civil War veteran and Masonic grand master. Orizio, *Lost White Tribes*.

Protestant schools in Brazil had a practical and scientific approach to education for both sexes and they also applied the ‘intuitive method’ so greatly praised by Rui Barbosa. If by the early century Brazilian statesmen had opted for the ‘Lancasterian method’, in the second half of the century they tended to embrace the new pedagogical development, the ‘intuitive method’. Unlike the previous, British-born teaching method which prioritised repetition and memorisation, the ‘intuitive method’ was seen as a further improvement as it downplayed the study of abstract theories and emphasised observation and experimentation.⁴⁸³ This latter method was seen as the latest trend in popular education; and like the former, it had also been conceived in Europe yet it was in the United States where, according to Brazilians, it was currently acquiring its fullest expression.

As with other aspects of the knowledge about developments in the U.S. society, the main source of knowledge Brazilians had regarding the application of the new ‘intuitive’ teaching method in the United States came via the mediation of the French. In 1871 the imperial National Printers (Typographia Nacional) translated and published the study by the French commissioner for the study of the U.S. teaching system, Célestine Hippeau, *Instruction Publique aux États-Unis. Écoles Publiques, Colléges, Universités, Écoles Spéciales. Rapport Adressé au Ministre de L’Instruction Publique*, originally published in Paris in 1870. This work, which was seen in Brazil as ‘a complete and thorough study of the value of instruction in the country of

⁴⁸³ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol., X (1883), t. II, ‘Lições de coisas. Método intuitivo’, 197. In 1886 Barbosa translated and adapted the work of U.S. educator Norman A. Calkins, *Primary Object Lessons. For Training the Senses and Developing the Faculties of Children. A Manual of Elementary Instruction for Parents and Teachers*, originally published in 1881: *Primeiras Lições de Coisas. Manual de Ensino Elementar para Uso dos Paes e Professores*, in *Obras Completas de Rui Barbosa* (R. Janeiro: Ministério de Educação e Saúde, 1950), Vol. XIII (1886), t. I. This work was first released in 1886 by the Rio-based Imprensa Nacional editorial. On the Lancaster method see, for example, Pierre Lesage, ‘A pedagogia nas escolas mútuas do século XIX’ and Ana Maria Moura Lins, ‘O método Lancaster: Educação elementar ou adestramento? Uma proposta para Portugal e Brasil no século XIX’, in Maria Helena Câmara Bastos and Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho (eds), *A Escola Elementar no Século XIX: O Método Monitorial/Mútuo* (Passo Fundo, Rio Grande do Sul: Editora da Universidade de Passo Fundo, 1999), 5-15 and 48-61, respectively.

Washington’, circulated widely among the Brazilian elites.⁴⁸⁴ The latest trend in pedagogy started to circulate among the Western nations with the international and pedagogical exhibitions. Yet it was with the Philadelphia Exhibition that the new teaching methods became known to Brazilian elites, this time through another French study, the work by French commissioner Ferdinand Buisson, *Rapport de Philadelphie*, published in 1878.⁴⁸⁵

In Brazil, the Escola Americana (later Colégio Mackenzie), founded by Rev. George Chamberlain in 1870 in the city of São Paulo, came to represent the materialisation of what the modern methods of education meant for Brazilians. This school introduced the curricula and educative praxis of the New York public schools and was the first to gather girls and boys in the same classroom also following U.S. policy; their teachers were described as playing the role of ‘apostles of civilisation’.⁴⁸⁶ Three years later, Rev. George Nash Morton and Edward Lane, from the Presbyterian Church of the U.S. Southern states, established the Colégio Internacional, or Colégio Morton, in Campinas. This school endorsed the principles of the freedom of thought and freedom of worship and employed the teaching techniques of the U.S. ‘common schools’, namely the study of the sciences and humanities through the ‘intuitive method’.⁴⁸⁷ In 1881 the ex-Confederates also established the Colégio Piracicabano in the city of the same name, also in the province of São Paulo. This was a girls’ school and was conceived by the U.S. missionary and educator Martha Watts whose family

⁴⁸⁴ ‘Um bom exemplo’, *Semana Illustrada*, Anno XI (1871), 4402; Almeida Oliveira, *O Ensino Público*, 156-157. Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Secundário e Superior*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. IX (1882), t. I, *passim*.

⁴⁸⁵ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Secundário e Superior*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. IX (1882), t. I, *passim*.

⁴⁸⁶ ‘Escola Americana’ *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo), 20 Aug. 1872; Rangel Pestana, ‘Instrução pública’, *A Província de São Paulo*, 29 Jun. 1876; ‘Colégio Americano em Taubaté’, *Jornal do Povo* (Taubaté, São Paulo), 11 Jun. 1891. For details of the technique and contents of the Escola Americana, see Hilsdorf Barbanti, *Francisco Rangel Pestana*, 63-64.

⁴⁸⁷ *Gazeta de Campinas* (Campinas, São Paulo), 26 and 30 Nov. and 7, 10 and 17 Dec. 1871. Hilsdorf Barbanti, *Francisco Rangel Pestana*, 62.

arrived in Brazil in March of the same year.⁴⁸⁸ In Brazil, public initiatives for the schooling of girls were first manifested with the law of 15 October 1827 which created 'primary schools in all cities, villages and the most populated areas of the Empire'.⁴⁸⁹ In theory, this law sought to democratise access to popular education for both sexes. In practice, schools were few in number all over the Empire, poorly equipped and located in urban centres far away from where most of the population lived. Paradoxically, most of the very few literate people did not attend schools in their childhood as domestic teaching was the norm for elite families.⁴⁹⁰

The U.S. educational model and rationale that the Protestant missionaries introduced to Brazil in the 1870s and 1880s through their schools exerted a lasting influence among Brazil's liberal circles.⁴⁹¹ Not only did many of the *Paulista* liberal elites committed to the economic, political and cultural renovation of Brazil either study or teach at the Protestant schools; they also sent their sons to be educated under the influence of this practical and scientific approach to education.⁴⁹² Furthermore, the educational method of the Protestant schools went beyond the level of primary education. The first private institution of higher education opened in 1891; it was the

⁴⁸⁸ Blanche Henry Clark Weaver, 'Confederate immigrants and evangelical churches in Brazil', *The Journal of Southern History*, 18:4 (Nov., 1952), 446-468, 463.

⁴⁸⁹ 'Lei de 15 de Outubro de 1827. Manda crear escolas de primeiras letras em todas as cidades, villas e logares mais populosos do Imperio'. *Brazil. Instrução Pública. Collecção das Leis do Império do Brazil de 1827* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1878), Parte Primeira, 63.

⁴⁹⁰ Marçílio, *História da Escola*, 54 and 48-82 *passim*.

⁴⁹¹ Leda Maria Pereira Rodrigues, *A Instrução Feminina em São Paulo. Subsídios para sua História ate a Proclamação da República* (São Paulo: Faculdade de Filosofia "Sedes Sapientiae", 1962), ch. IX, 'O ensino particular em São Paulo', 163-194; Émile G. Leonard, *O Protestantismo Brasileiro. Estudo de Eclesiologia e História Social* (R. Janeiro & São Paulo: JUERP/ASTE, 1981), 134; José dos Reis Pereira, *História dos Batistas no Brasil. 1882-1982* (R. Janeiro & São Paulo: JUERP/ASTE, 1982), 69; MacKnight Jones, 'Soldado descansa!', 18-19; César Romero Amaral Vieira, 'Contribuição protestante à reforma da educação pública paulista', in *Anais do II Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação. História e Memória da Educação Brasileira*, 3-6 novembro 2002, Natal. (Natal, Rio Grande do Norte: Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, 2002). Available from: <http://www.sbhe.org.br/novo/congressos/cbhe2/pdfs/Tema4/0454.pdf> (23 July 2009).

⁴⁹² Hilsdorf Barbanti, *Francisco Rangel Pestana*, 62.

School of Engineering of Colégio Mackenzie.⁴⁹³ The promotion of U.S. teaching methods was popularised in the province of São Paulo early in the republican years when president Prudente de Moraes Barros requested that the radical liberal republican Francisco Rangel Pestana draft the first project to reform the education system under the republic. Pestana drew both on the model of the ‘training schools’ of the United States as well as on the local example of the Colégio Piracicabano.⁴⁹⁴ All in all, the politically powerful group of Masonic republicans articulated an educational, cultural and political discourse based on the U.S. teaching methods and curricula.

The decade of the 1870s also offered liberal *Paulista* liberal thinkers another resource for political action. It was the annually-published *Almanach Litterário de São Paulo*, edited by the Portuguese typographer, José Maria Lisboa, which provided *Paulistas* with a structure of sociability and a locus from which to wage a campaign for the political and social transformation of Brazil.⁴⁹⁵ From there, some members of the group addressed their fellow provincial to encourage them to import specific elements of U.S. society, paramount among them being the decentralisation of the government, as seen in chapter 2, and the system of education as mentioned above. Among the members and assiduous writers of the *Almanach* were the Salles brothers, sons of a large landowning family from Campinas dedicated to the cultivation of coffee. They were the U.S.-trained engineer João Alberto Salles and the future republican president Manoel Campos Salles mentioned in the previous chapter. In an article eloquently titled ‘The cult of science’, published in the *Almanach* in 1876, Campos Salles commented:

⁴⁹³ Sindicato das Entidades Mantenedoras de Estabelecimentos de Ensino Superior no Estado de São Paulo, *Ensino Superior Particular. Um Vêo Histórico* (São Paulo: Ed. Segmento, 2004), 10.

⁴⁹⁴ Amaral Vieira, ‘Contribuição protestante’.

⁴⁹⁵ The *ALSP* was published between 1876 and 1885, except for the years 1882 and 1883. On the *ALSP*, see Dias de Menezes, ‘O grupo do Almanaque Literário de São Paulo’.

When the citizens from that marvellous country [...] want a honourable title that will last and perpetuate their name in the memory of future generations, rather than turning to the heraldry of a ridiculous and absurd nobility, they have the good sense to engrave it on an action which might be recollected by the people and which could teach them to meditate and reason.⁴⁹⁶

João Alberto's articles also called attention to the central place that a democratic education system had in U.S. society. Like many other thinkers at the time, João Alberto first blamed the Portuguese educational policy for the poor state of education under the Empire; and that was why, he argued, 'we want the school, because it is [this institution] which has to make the revolution'.⁴⁹⁷ For the Salles brothers, as for the whole group of the *Almanach*, the U.S. model of education was the main point of comparison for Brazil; and, in particular for João Alberto, education was the means *par excellence* through which to bring about a social and political transformation of the country. In one of only two articles that he published in this enlightened publication, João Alberto openly compared the Brazilian and U.S. education systems and how they developed. In the United States, he argued, education was closely related to decentralisation because it was first established at the town level.⁴⁹⁸ A radical critic of monarchical centralisation, João Alberto praised the fact that the 'North-Americans' had been experiencing the taste of freedom for a long time and 'live happily under a purely democratic regime, whereas we, Brazilians, succumb to

⁴⁹⁶ Manoel Ferraz de Campos Salles, 'Culto à sciencia', *ALSP*, Vol. I (1876), 179. Reference taken from Dias de Menezes, 'O grupo do Almanaque Literário de São Paulo', 134.

⁴⁹⁷ João Alberto Salles, 'A instrução publica nos Estados-Unidos e no Brazil', *ALSP*, Vol. IV (1879), 152-169, 169.

⁴⁹⁸ João Alberto Salles, 'A instrução publica nos Estados-Unidos e no Brazil', *idem*, 157.

the weight of an oppressive regime which annihilates, sterilises and kills everything’.

Furthermore, in the United States, both the ruling class and ordinary citizens:

consider the instruction of the people as a sacred and almost divine dogma, constantly broadening and developing it through their schools, whereas among us, all wither away and die under the tremendous blows of a ruinous centralisation.⁴⁹⁹

Interestingly, unlike other Brazilian social reforms, such as Rui Barbosa, the group of the *Almanach* seemed to consider education in itself as capable of bringing about all the required changes in society, a view which drew them near to the Argentine contemporary social reformer and leading statesman, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. As well as decentralisation, the U.S. education system was a mandatory reference not only for the group of the *Almanach* but also for other liberal thinkers.

In 1879 the president of the Northern province of Ceará commissioned the renowned promoter of the industrialisation of Brazil, Amaro Cavalcanti e Serzedelo Corrêa, to study the system and organisation of primary education in the United States.⁵⁰⁰ The report that Serzedelo Corrêa produced is insightful for it also gathered valuable information about the entire U.S. education system. Through this work the ethos which underpinned U.S. educational policies became known to Brazilian statesmen.⁵⁰¹ Once again we find a Brazilian thinker pointing towards the scientifically laden character of the U.S. education system as a key factor in the

⁴⁹⁹ João Alberto Salles, ‘A instrução publica nos Estados-Unidos e no Brazil’, *idem*, 167.

⁵⁰⁰ Amaro Cavalcanti e Serzedelo Corrêa, *Relatório Especial sobre Educação Elementar Apresentado ao Exm. Sr. Presidente da Província do Ceará pelo Bacharel Amaro Cavalcanti, Professor de Latim em Comissão nos Estados-Unidos, Nort’-America* (Fortaleza: Typographia do Cearense, 1881). See also, Nícia Vilela Luz, *A Luta pela Industrialização do Brasil* (São Paulo: Ed. Alfa Omega, 1978), 71.

⁵⁰¹ Serzedelo Corrêa, *Relatório Especial sobre Educação Elementar*.

structural transformation of that society. In the United States, Serzedelo Corrêa argued, farming activities were granted the greatest attention. Moreover, it was to the U.S. people's approach to the study of the natural sciences and their application that they 'owe their outstanding progress in industrial improvements and admirable inventions'.⁵⁰² By aspiring to ever increasingly understand the laws and forces of nature, 'the Americans discover new ideas [...] and tap into the most useful applications and results'.⁵⁰³

In the Exhibition of National Industry organised in 1881 in Rio de Janeiro, liberal thinkers were still expressing great concern about the poor level of Brazil's public education and its neglect of agricultural studies. Civil engineer Antônio Augusto Fernandes Pinheiro, juror of the Exhibition and honorary member of the Industrial Association of Rio de Janeiro, was one of the voices then calling for the creation of institutions of professional training and the teaching of industrial arts all over the Empire, in order to develop skills and abilities which might bring about a sustained development of the productive forces. Fernandes Pinheiro was particularly concerned with the incorporation of the army of future former slaves into a free labour market.⁵⁰⁴ Like every thinker studied in this chapter, Fernandes Pinheiro turned to foreign examples when studying the possible ways to improve Brazil's performance in agriculture and industry: in 1887 he was the chief member of Brazil's so-called Commission of the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works in Europe and the United States of North America.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰² Serzedelo Corrêa, *idem.*, 99. See also, 'Cursos científicos', *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:1, 15 Dec. 1875, 10.

⁵⁰³ Serzedelo Corrêa, *idem.*, 99.

⁵⁰⁴ Antônio Augusto Fernandes Pinheiro, Arquivos, Biblioteca da Associação Industrial do Rio de Janeiro, 1882, CXLVII. Taken from Moyses Kuhlmann Jr., *As Grandes Festas Didáticas: A Educação Brasileiras e as Exposições Internacionais (1862-1922)* (São Paulo: Centro de Documentação e Apoio à Pesquisa em História, 2001), 93.

⁵⁰⁵ Antônio Augusto Fernandes Pinheiro, *Relatório da Comissão do Ministério da Agricultura, Commercio e Obras Públicas na Europa e nos Estados Unidos da América do Norte Apresentado ao S.*

In 1879 the Minister of Empire Carlos Leôncio de Carvalho elaborated the last reform of the educational system under the Second Empire, known as the ‘Decree of Free Education’.⁵⁰⁶ As in other cases, this project was inspired by the latest pedagogy developed in Europe and the United States. Some of the most important lines of innovation intended by this reform were free and secular education, the involvement of the central state in the organisation of popular education, the creation of private institutions, the study of the sciences and the introduction of the intuitive method as developed in the United States.⁵⁰⁷ These reforms of liberal leaning were approved by Parliament in 1879 yet barely yielded any practical results. Most of them could not actually be implemented in a socially conservative society like Brazil, the most glaring example being the slaveholders’ reluctance to allow their male slaves to attend evening schools.⁵⁰⁸ The most concrete and immediate results of Leôncio de Carvalho’s reform were the so-called *Pareceres de Rui Barbosa* (Barbosa’s reports).⁵⁰⁹ The formal procedure for the passing of a bill was to hand the project to the General Assembly for it to be discussed and only then could it be approved.⁵¹⁰ Leôncio de Carvalho’s reform, however, did not follow this stipulated route. Instead,

Ex. o Snr. Ministro da Agricultura, Commercio e Obras Públicas Conselheiro Antônio da Silva Prado pelo chefe da mesma Comissão, o Engenheiro Antônio Augusto Fernandes Pinheiro, em 31 de marzo de 1887 (Paris : Imprimerie Chaix, 1887).

⁵⁰⁶ Decree N. 7247, 19 April 1879. *Brazil. Collecção de Leis do Império do Brasil de 1879* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1880), Part I, t. XXVI, 197. Cited in Miguel Luíz da Conceição, “‘O aprendizado da liberdade’”: Educação de Escravos, Lúberos e Ingênuos na Bahia Oitocentista’, PhD thesis, Universidade Federal da Bahia (Bahia), 2007, 32, note 50.

⁵⁰⁷ The reform concerned primary and secondary education in the city of Rio de Janeiro and higher education in the whole Empire. On Carlos Leôncio de Carvalho’s reform, see Antonietta d’Aguiar Nunes, ‘Uma avançada proposta de reforma educacional no ultimo quartel do século XIX brasileiro: Leôncio de Carvalho e os Pareceres de Rui Barbosa’, *Revista da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade Federal da Bahia* (Bahia), América do Norte, 5 May 2007. Available from: <http://www.portalseer.ufba.br/index.php/rfaced/article/view/2936/2100> (16 March 2010); Cristiane Silva Melo and Maria Cristina Gomes Machado, ‘Notas para a história da educação: Considerações acerca do decreto N. 7244 de 19 de abril de 1879 de autoria de Carlos Leôncio de Carvalho’, *Revista Histedbr On-Line* (Campinas, SP), N. 34 (Jun., 2009), 294-305. Available from: http://www.histedbr.fae.unicamp.br/revista/edicoes/34/doc01_34.pdf (20 September 2009).

⁵⁰⁸ For the Bahian case study on the attempts to give school education to slaves and freedmen, see Da Conceição, “‘O aprendizado da liberdade’”.

⁵⁰⁹ Leôncio de Carvalho’s reform was valid until the reform by republican minister Benjamin Constant in 1890.

⁵¹⁰ Silva Melo and Gomes Machado, ‘Notas para a história da educação’.

in 1879 the Minister decreed the reform; it was then submitted to the Commission of the Public Education of the Chamber of Deputies for evaluation. The Commission was presided over by Barbosa.⁵¹¹ Barbosa elaborated an alternative education bill in response both to Leôncio de Carvalho's reform as well as to the so-called Saraiva-Cotegipe electoral law of January 1881 which excluded the illiterate from political citizenship, as mentioned in chapter 2. Even though Barbosa's project for reforming the education system was not even discussed in the General Assembly, it went down in history as the most complete programme for the regeneration of the citizen, the labourer and Brazilian society at large through education based on an unprecedentedly thorough analysis of decrees, documents and further information related to education both from Brazil and foreign nations.⁵¹²

Barbosa considered that education was the most important means of simultaneously creating a responsible citizenry and a competent labour force and that this achievement would produce the most enduring progress of society, namely the transformation of Brazil from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Like his predecessors, Barbosa based his pedagogy on a systematic study of the European and U.S. attitudes towards education and development. In response to those who argued against his holistic programme of reform that Brazil was an essentially agricultural country, Barbosa brought up the empirical case of U.S. agricultural industrialisation, as described in 1877 by a Portuguese thinker:

The American themselves prove that the prosperity of their states depends on their transformation from being *agricultural* to industrial [...] that their

⁵¹¹ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Secundário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. IX (1882), t. I.

⁵¹² See, for example, the above-mentioned works on Barbosa by Gomes Machado.

prosperity has grown in proportion to a reduction in agriculture [author's emphasis].⁵¹³

Moreover, there were the 'leading states' of the United States, such as, for example, Massachusetts or New York, that were indicating this path.

Barbosa's main educational crusade was for the establishment of a national system of public education which should supply free, compulsory and secular instruction at its three levels to all inhabitants of the Empire. For this, as well as for other aspects of his reform project, the United States provided the most conspicuous example to date. Regarding free education, Barbosa claimed that 'the United States [...], with its magnificent organisation of free education from primary up to high school, represents the great patria of the free school, so to speak'.⁵¹⁴ The U.S. education system likewise served Barbosa as a blueprint for his proposal to make schooling a compulsory requirement for all the inhabitants of the Empire. Interestingly, Barbosa tackled the correlation between education and crime to underpin this argument. In order to have an effect upon his interlocutors, he first recalled the spirit of liberty and of spontaneous initiative which characterised the U.S. people and only then did he introduce his point: that for all the liberty that reigns in the society built by U.S. people, 'they could not avoid the intervention of the law [against] school desertion'.⁵¹⁵ Barbosa, furthermore, supported his argument for compulsory education with statistics from New York and Pennsylvania, where 'an illiterate person perpetrates *seven times* more crimes than any of those who read and write [author's emphasis]'; and, moreover, with regard to the whole of the 'American

⁵¹³ Joaquim Antônio da Fonseca Vasconcelos, *Reforma do Ensino do Desenho* (Porto: n/e, 1879). Cited by Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Secundário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. IX (1882), t. I, 167; 170.

⁵¹⁴ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. III, 276.

⁵¹⁵ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. I, 222.

Union’, ‘each illiterate person committed ten times more crimes than an educated person’.⁵¹⁶

The third aspect of Barbosa’ agenda for public education deserving mention here was that the state should provide secular education. Barbosa extolled, for example, the ‘radically lay tendencies which prevail in the schools in the United States’.⁵¹⁷ For him, a characteristic feature of the education system of the United States was to have successfully confined religion to the private sphere. In fact, the teaching of religion was banned from U.S. public institutions of education and the system provided an absolutely secular education: ‘The Americans understand’, Barbosa underlined, ‘that in this way religion and education are both better attended, preventing the reciprocal invasion of the school by the Minister of Religion and [the invasion] of catechism by the school master’.⁵¹⁸

Barbosa presented the U.S. education system as the case which compelled not only liberal thinkers from Brazil to improve their education policies at home but also:

the mind of greatest foresight, the most progressive figures, the most pragmatic statesmen from Europe [who] nowadays bow before that apparently supernatural fact, namely the incomparable development of the United States, which they ascribe to the most palpable of causes: the extent of popular education [and] the identification of national life with the public school.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁶ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. I, 191-192. See also, ‘Da obrigação escolar’, in *idem*, 181-267.

⁵¹⁷ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. I, 307.

⁵¹⁸ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. I, 303. See also, ‘Da escola lega’, in *idem*, 269-349. Not unsurprisingly, Barbosa was a firm supporter of the separation of church and state as stipulated by the 1891 republican constitution which he drafted based on the example of the U.S. constitutional letter, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

⁵¹⁹ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. I, 131.

The thinker regretted the fact that with Brazil's location in the 'American continent', the country had largely remained at the periphery of the ideas upon which the U.S. society was built, namely 'the culture of the spirit'.⁵²⁰ George Washington, John Quincy Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Abraham Lincoln, Rutherford B. Hayes and James Garfield, all recognised the fundamental role played by popular education in the economic and political life of any state. Accordingly, all of them tackled the question of popularising education in their inaugural messages.⁵²¹ Besides its underlying principles, what made the U.S. case special was that '[t]his tradition has been religiously preserved among the statesmen and heads of State'.⁵²² Furthermore, '[s]o deeply had this sentiment penetrated the spirit of those in public affairs there [in the United States] [...] that the dreadful calamities of the Civil War could not hinder the continuous progress of general education'. On the contrary, Barbosa went on, far from debilitating popular education, 'the practical enthusiasm for the cause of education [...] drew from that same misfortune, a new fecundity, a new confidence'.⁵²³

Barbosa argued that the ultimate goal of the education system, in particular in ex-slaveholding societies like Brazil and the United States, was twofold, as mentioned above. First, it consisted of incorporating illiterate people into the body of citizenship by virtue of their new literacy skills. Education also aimed to allow the development of skilled labourers able to meet the needs of a free job market, which in Brazil was to be organised in the foreseeable future.⁵²⁴ As was the case for other liberals such as the

⁵²⁰ Barbosa, *idem*, 122.

⁵²¹ Barbosa, *idem*, 122-124.

⁵²² Barbosa, *idem*, 123.

⁵²³ Barbosa, *idem*, 125.

⁵²⁴ 'To declare slavery abolished is to give barely half of liberty to the slaves. The most difficult and most important part of the eradication of the servile yoke consists of the intellectual redemption of the

Menezes e Souza, Barbosa saw the education system anywhere as intimately related to other aspects of society; for him, educational reform was only one aspect of a more inclusive programme for the transformation of Brazilian society which included, among other things, the abolition of slavery and the decentralisation of the political structures with or without monarchy, as studied in chapter 1 and 2 respectively. With regard to the quintessential need for the ‘modern system of government’, as Barbosa referred to the republican democracies being developed across the Western world which required learned citizens to exert their political rights, he cited the words of the U.S. scholar Henry Barnard. Barnard ‘was one of the most respected, if not the most eminent of all the known authorities on public education in that country’. The U.S. scholar was editor of the *Journal of Education*, one of the sources upon which Barbosa drew, and worked jointly with Horace Mann, another key reference for Barbosa.⁵²⁵ Barbosa endorsed Barnard’s statement regarding the question of the so-called ‘moral education’ according to which compulsory education was the only available way ‘to disarm the original rusticity of the future army of voters whose ignorance can threaten our social and political organisation’.⁵²⁶ The power of education as an ‘intellectual redemption’ as experienced in the United States was particularly relevant for Barbosa as regards the incorporation of future freed people into political citizenship. He then proposed: ‘Let us promote the moral rehabilitation of the freed people by education, as the United States did twenty five years ago’.⁵²⁷

As for the goal of forming competent workers, Barbosa proposed that, in addition to the teaching of the humanities, the new orientation of the curriculum

freedman, in his education for the regime of civil life by means of schooling and work’. Barbosa, *Queda do Império (Diário de Notícias)*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. XVI (1889), t. III, 121.

⁵²⁵ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. I, 225 and *passim*.

⁵²⁶ Barbosa, *idem*.

⁵²⁷ Barbosa, ‘Política de paz’, *Queda do Império (Diário de Notícias)*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. XVI (1889), t. I, 169-178, 170-171 and t. III, 121.

should include theoretical and practical teaching of the sciences and of industrial design. Barbosa argued that the model for his educational reform came mostly from the ‘American Union’. Yet he recalled that ‘it is known that all this *revolution*’, namely the introduction of the teaching of design and the industrial arts into primary and secondary education, ‘came from England’ (author’s emphasis).⁵²⁸ Moreover, in Massachusetts, where the study of the industrial arts first began in the United States, the industrial course was dubbed the ‘English course’ in opposition to the ‘classical course’.⁵²⁹ From the mid-century onwards, the educational policy of the United States acknowledged that ‘design must be a universal language, read and understood by all peoples’ and, accordingly, made it its own by establishing a compulsory course in the syllabi of a three levels of education.⁵³⁰ As a former professor of design in Boston’s public schools ‘demonstrated a long time ago, the lack of knowledge of design among the workers of the United States was costing the state “millions of dollars annually”’.⁵³¹

Barbosa asserted that if Brazil was an essentially agricultural country, this fact should not prevent it from being industrialised, as the example of the United States demonstrated. ‘No nation has vaster regions to plough than the United States’; and this fact ‘did not prevent them [the U.S. people] seeing industry as the most productive source of wealth’.⁵³² At the time that Barbosa wrote his reports, the United States was already seen as occupying the vanguard of progress based upon cutting-edge scientific research and technological development. Barbosa showed that the teaching of design, its popularity and its adaptation in primary and secondary schools in the United States well suited the needs of both agriculture and industry; it was the

⁵²⁸ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. II, 132.

⁵²⁹ Barbosa, *idem*, 134.

⁵³⁰ Barbosa, *idem*, 139.

⁵³¹ Barbosa, *idem*, 112.

⁵³² Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Secundário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. IX (1882), t. I, 170.

principal engine of the prosperity not only of the United States but of all the nations which he saw as already initiated in the race for progress, namely Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Italy.⁵³³ Accordingly, the teaching of the industrial arts and design to train skilled workers for either sectors appeared as one of the fundamental features of his educational project.

With the U.S. example still in mind, Barbosa argued that education should be the prerogative of the national government; that it should not be left to the agency of private individuals as proposed in Leôncio de Carvalho's reform, for individual agents everywhere were customarily guided by the laws of the market. Furthermore, against those who like Tavares Bastos defended a radical decentralisation of the structure of government in which education was comprised, Barbosa turned to the British and U.S. examples. These cases served him to strengthen his argument that active central state intervention in education was not necessarily to the detriment of local governments. 'England came to this conclusion a long time ago'; there, a vast national system of education was organised 'in which the sphere of local interests freely revolved around the authority of the State'. In the United States, furthermore, 'none of the states has, in the name of the independence of their privileges and the supreme benefits of decentralisation, yet refused the financial endowments which the government of the great republic supply to the territories of each of the members of the national union'.⁵³⁴ Citing these precedents Barbosa emphasised the need for the state to intervene in delivering and organising the education of the Empire.

Education and agriculture in the United States as seen from within the United States

⁵³³ Barbosa, *idem*, 166.

⁵³⁴ Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Primário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. X (1883), t. III, 280. More on state interference in education on 281-294.

Except for the few institutions inherited from the time of Dom João VI, professional agricultural studies in Brazil were inadequate for a country so rich in natural resources. The main reasons for such a deficiency lay in the predominant tradition of the large-scale plantation system of agriculture and the legacy of the widespread use of a slave labour force. Traditionally, education was the prerogative of those entitled to its benefits in terms of economic and social status. Voices of discontent about the deficient level of instruction emerged during the whole period of study, particularly when after the 1870s education proved unable to keep up with the economic and social transformations of the country. But just as socio-economic changes gathered pace, the attention of some liberal elites started to be drawn by the post-Civil War U.S. experience of rapid progress. Furthermore, many of them began to send their sons to study different courses at Cornell University (Ithaca, New York), Amherst Agricultural College (Massachusetts), the University of Pennsylvania or Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (Troy, New York), to mention but a few. Following the U.S. Civil War, the still developing U.S. university system began to absorb overseas students. This valve opened up new opportunities for young Brazilian elite members who opted not to pursue their studies in Europe, where they had traditionally flocked ever since independence from Portugal.⁵³⁵

The strength of the new civilisation emerging in the United States was founded on the combination of scientific and applied education and technological development, as underlined by Brazilian observers. If the study of the classical humanities and French culture had traditionally enjoyed an indisputable ascendancy among Brazilian elites, the second half of the century witnessed how that frame of

⁵³⁵ Roderick J. Barman, 'Brazilians in France, 1822-1872: Doubly outsiders', in Ingrid E. Fey and Karen Racine (eds.), *Strange Pilgrimages. Exile, Travel and National Identity in Latin America, 1800-1990s* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 23-39.

reference began to be increasingly challenged by a new generation of professionals and intellectuals. Since the 1870s the liberal thinkers concerned with the modernisation of Brazil saw in the example of U.S. social and material progress the hope of one day seeing their country free from the traditional values and institutions inherited from the European model. They saw the United States as introducing the new values of freedom and initiative which were seen as the basis of their progress. In this context of change a group of young elite members temporarily resident in the United States began to produce and circulate representations of that society, many of which were influenced by the allure of U.S. educational content and techniques. One of their aims was to shape the Brazilian institutions of higher education and professional agricultural training after the example of the United States, as we shall see below.

Interestingly, if, as pointed out by Ridings and noted early in the chapter, the interest group associations constituted one of the institutionalised channels through which new machinery, technology and know-how was imported into Brazil during the second half of the century, we see that other, less official channels were also being forged at the time in order to keep Brazilians abreast of cutting-edge developments in education and agriculture notably in the United States. The self-imposed task of the young liberal-minded Brazilians temporarily resident in that country of informing their fellow countrymen about the latest technologies and innovations developing in the United States in order to promote the agricultural and educational modernisation of Brazil, constituted an alternative channel to those of the planters and merchants' associations. Like them, these young liberals, most of whom were graduate students, likewise translated and published literature on the latest farming activities and displayed cutting-edge machinery in the form of journal engravings. The images of

the U.S. education system and its consistency with agricultural activities as articulated in the journalistic ventures of the young Brazilians living in the 1870s in the United States will provide the focus for the rest of the chapter. A first step will be to introduce the main characteristics of these journalistic, mediating resources.

a. *O Novo Mundo. Periódico Ilustrado da Edade* (New York, 1870-1879)⁵³⁶

José Carlos Rodrigues, owner, editor and chief writer of *O Novo Mundo* was a conspicuous representative of the actors of society with which this chapter is concerned: the young progressive-minded Brazilian intellectual of the 1870s committed to the republican and abolitionist causes. Rodrigues worked as a lawyer and journalist for the leading *Carioca* newspaper *Jornal do Comércio*. As a fugitive of Brazilian justice for attempted fraud while working as secretary at the Ministry of Finance (1866), Rodrigues left for exile in New York. There he began to work as a translator and international correspondent for Brazilian journals.⁵³⁷ In 1870 he founded the *O Novo Mundo*, an illustrated, monthly journal published on the eve of the sailing of the regular monthly steamship from New York to Rio de Janeiro. Figure 1 shows an iconographical representation of Rodrigues which was published in 1868 in one of the satirical illustrated journals that had been circulating in Rio de Janeiro since the late 1860s, *A Vida Fluminense. Folha Joco-Seria-Illustrada Pública. Revistas, Caricaturas, Retratos, Modas, Vistas, Múzicas, Etc. Etc.* At the height of his judiciary tribulations, Rodrigues is depicted as pensive, seated before a table in jail. The caption reads: ‘He finally found a house of sufficient proportion to accomplish

⁵³⁶ The subtitle of the journal changed throughout the nine years of publication.

⁵³⁷ Rodrigues’s alleged fraud was widely covered in the national press. He went back to Brazil only when the offence expired, twenty years later.

his great idea!’⁵³⁸ The allegory of this engraving is eloquent if the jail is seen as symbolic of his judicial trial, his ‘great idea’ of Rodrigues’s determination to study and advertise the innovative aspects of U.S. society and the ‘house’ of the United States, where he was heading for to avoid trial. It is interesting to find a blank sheet on his table; it is tempting to interpret it as a shorthand expression of disapproval regarding Rodrigues’s plans ahead for the United States. Yet, there was no article in the issue referring to this engraving and as such it can only allow for a speculative interpretation.

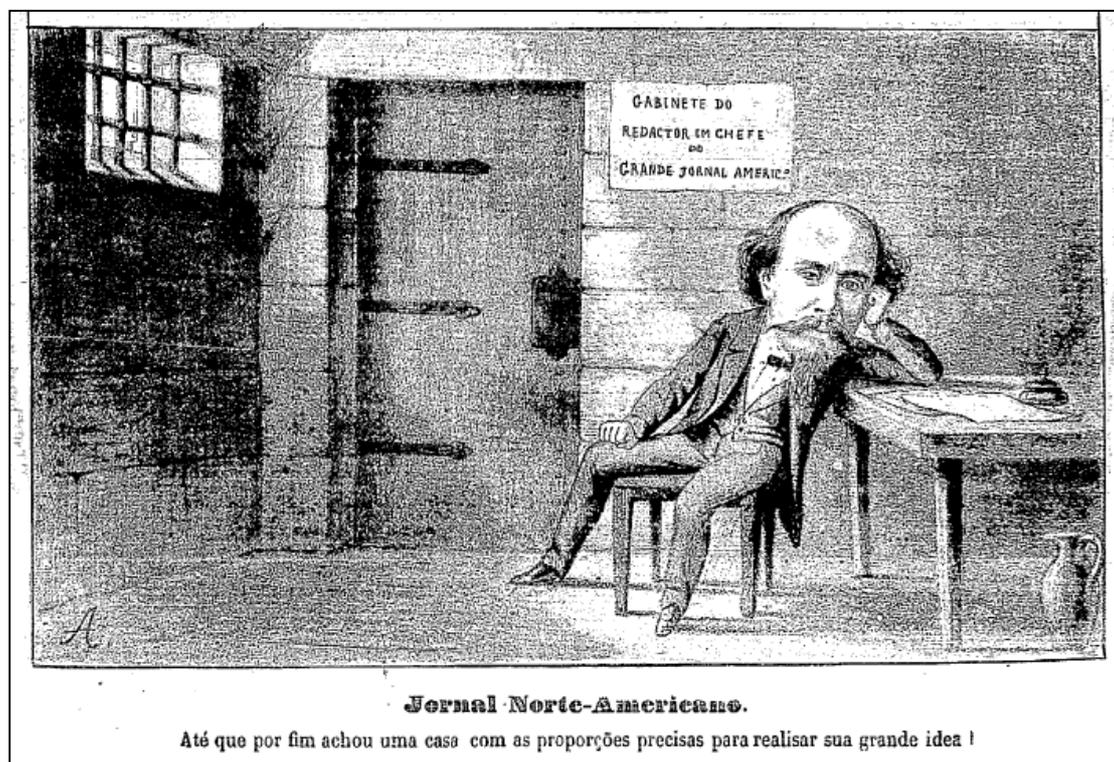


Figure 1: *A Vida Fluminense. Folha Joco-Seria-Illustrada Pública. Revistas, Caricaturas, Retratos, Modas, Vistas, Múzicas, Etc. Etc.* (R. Janeiro), 14 Apr. 1868
Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro

In the first editorial of *O Novo Mundo* Rodrigues asserted that following the U.S. Civil War, the Latin American countries were eager ‘to study in depth the things

⁵³⁸ ‘Jornal Norte-Americano’, *A Vida Fluminense. Folha Joco-Seria-Illustrada Pública. Revistas, Caricaturas, Retratos, Modas, Vistas, Múzicas, Etc. Etc.* (R. Janeiro), 4 Apr. 1868, I:14, 159.

of this [U.S.] country'. The enterprise of the *O Novo Mundo* was intended to assist this endeavour, so Rodrigues declared, 'by presenting the principal manifestations of its progress and by analysing its causes and tendencies'. Rodrigues also stated that, 'although sincere admirers of the institutions of this country, we neither want to Americanise Brazil nor other countries [for] not believing in racial distinctions, we assume that all peoples are bound to reach the same perfection through work and Providence'.⁵³⁹ Rodrigues believed that the Protestant ethic, along with democracy and education, was responsible for the U.S. degree of development, as George Boehrer has consistently shown.⁵⁴⁰ More importantly, although they were seen as rooted in the Protestant culture, these new values were all deemed by him to be acquirable attributes. Nevertheless, even though Rodrigues's principal goal was to inform his audience in Brazil of U.S. innovations in politics, social organisation or industrial development, he was aware, like many other liberal thinkers at the time, of the existing distance between the U.S. model and the political and social circumstances in Brazil. Illustrations were taken from U.S. journals assuming that they would be of interest to the Brazilian reader. Among the main reproductions were landscapes, episodes of the ongoing Franco-Prussian War and fashion for women and children; all were supplemented with written articles. There was an advertisement section at the back of each issue which grew with time; it was intended to attract 'businessmen eager to introduce their manufactures to the prosperous countries of South America'. Besides advertising products, the editor announced in its first editorial that he was committed to 'thoroughly describing them'.⁵⁴¹ In short, the journal also aimed to provide a service to the growing mutual interests in trade and commerce between both countries.

⁵³⁹ *O Novo Mundo*, I:1, 24 Oct., 1870, 2.

⁵⁴⁰ Boehrer, 'José Carlos Rodrigues', *passim*.

⁵⁴¹ *O Novo Mundo*, I:1, 24 Oct., 1870, 15.

In terms of quantity, towards the last years of its publication *O Novo Mundo* had a press run of 8,000; its distribution almost covered the whole territory of the Empire. The most important cities where delivery agencies were located, as listed in the issues, included: Rio de Janeiro and Petrópolis in the province of Rio de Janeiro; São Paulo, Campinas and Santos in the São Paulo province; Porto Alegre and Rio Grande do Sul in the Southern region and Pará (present-day Belém), Maranhão, Ceará and Bahia in the Northern provinces. The journal stopped being published ten years after it was first released: the new tariff law of 1879 made it impossible for Rodrigues to continue with their journalistic adventure. He had a certain influence among the commercial and financial circles related to Brazil, as well as among the Brazilian community residing in the United States, including diplomatic personnel. Wishing to ascertain his journal's reputation in Brazil, towards the end of the journal's existence Rodrigues wrote to a crucial figure in the relationships between both countries, Salvador de Mendonça, the Brazilian Consul in New York between 1875 and 1890. The reply came as follows:

Not one journal or review is more esteemed in the Empire than yours. "ONM" is not only an inseparable companion in all homes of culture and education, but is considered a first-class review, its opinion and articles being continually repeated in both Houses of Congress and even copied in official documents. The Brazilians, generally, have come to the conclusion that no other kind of publication has brought the country more benefit.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴² Salvador de Mendonça to José Carlos Rodrigues, New York, 6 Dec. 1877. Arquivo do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Basket 416, Folder 31.

b. *Revista Industrial. Agricultura, Minas, Manufaturas, Artes Mecánicas, Transportes e Comércio* (New York, 1877-1879)

In 1877 Rodrigues founded, along with civil engineer and later member of Rio's Industrial Association Board, André Rebouças, another U.S.-based illustrated monthly journal, the *Revista Industrial*. This new venture allowed *O Novo Mundo* to be fully devoted to political, social and cultural affairs while the *Revista Industrial* was dedicated to agriculture, mining, manufactures, mechanical arts, transport and commerce, 'questions of such importance that they require special treatment'.⁵⁴³ The editorial of the new journal stated that the Brazilian peoples 'still lack a natural taste for industry and trade'. Furthermore, they deemed that 'due to slavery, the national character rejects the idea of manual work'.⁵⁴⁴ The editorial board likewise made it clear that on the eve of the 'new era', namely in a future Brazil free from slavery, the Brazilian landowner needed to improve the quality of his products both to maximise his production and to reduce expenditure. The argument went that the end of slavery was the first step towards a longer process of modernisation.⁵⁴⁵ To achieve that aim, the planter needed to approach agriculture as a science and 'muscular force' had to be replaced by 'reason'. The best way to serve Brazil, the editors stated, was to promote a taste for industry, the key to which lay in agricultural research and innovation. Besides, given the scarcity of foreign investment in agricultural innovation and the sluggishness of foreign colonists, scientifically-oriented education, improvement of the means of production, development of the means of communication and development of foreign trade became all the more important for Brazil to find a place

⁵⁴³ *Revista Industrial. Agricultura, Minas, Manufaturas, Artes Mecánicas, Transportes e Comércio* (New York), I:1, Jul. 1877, 1.

⁵⁴⁴ *Revista Industrial, idem.*

⁵⁴⁵ Rebouças, *Agricultura Nacional*, 151.

among the nations of the modern world. The selection of engravings chosen by this journal was consistent with the priorities and circumstances delineated above. The illustrations as a whole brought to the fore the crucial economic role of, for example, the use of agricultural machinery for large estates and the adoption of plank-roads for smaller properties; the introduction of hydraulic engines, locomotives and a wide range of machinery such as mobile steam machines or manual wood cutters.

Some of the main journals of the capital city published articles from the *Revista Industrial*, the *Jornal do Comércio*, the *Gazeta de Notícias* and *A Reforma* being among the most important. Salvador de Mendonça also commented on the general impact of the *Revista Industrial* among the elites of Brazil: ‘I never heard of another paper, in so short a period of time’, he enthused, ‘having such a wide circulation among the agricultural and commercial classes of Brazil’.⁵⁴⁶ Brazil’s Chief Commissioner at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia and the officer in charge of the study of the U.S. railway system and electric telegraphy, João Martins da Silva Coutinho, likewise highly praised the new enterprise undertaken by Rodrigues and Rebouças. ‘This journal’, Coutinho publicised, ‘is for the businessman, the artisan, the engineer or manufacturer and for all those who are directly or indirectly interested in the development of the industry and natural wealth of the country, equivalent to a library’.⁵⁴⁷

c. *A Aurora Brasileira* (Syracuse, 1873-1877)

A Aurora Brasileira was another of the monthly journals published in the decade of the 1870s in the United States by a group of Brazilians resident in that

⁵⁴⁶ Mendonça, *idem*.

⁵⁴⁷ João Martins da Silva Coutinho, *Jornal do Comércio*, 16 Sept. 1877.

country. The originality of this journal lay that students created it; its editors were students of civil and mechanical engineering at the University of Cornell. In 1875 they decided to devote the journal to exclusively scientific matters; interestingly, some contemporaries identified *A Aurora Brasileira* as Brazil's first actual scientific publication.⁵⁴⁸ The name of the journal alluded to the United States, considered to be 'the light that attracted so many compatriots in search of more adequate instruction than the current Brazilian circumstance can provide', as declared in the first issue released in October 1873.⁵⁴⁹ Unfortunately, we do not have at our disposal the total number of Brazilians studying at U.S. universities for our whole period of study. Nevertheless, even though our information is fragmentary, we have a sense of the growing tendency, in relative terms, of the liberal elites to send their sons to earn a degree in the United States. We know, for example, that by October 1870 there were about twelve Brazilian students at Cornell's Polytechnic School and the Philadelphia Industrial Academy.⁵⁵⁰ We also know that in October 1872 Cornell's School of Engineering included three Brazilians from São Paulo, that three others were due to arrive, two from São Paulo and one from Maranhão, by the end of that year and that in January 1874 there was a total of twenty-five Brazilians studying at that university.⁵⁵¹ It is uncertain to what extent *O Novo Mundo*'s articles helped to attract the young Brazilians to the United States. Even though Rodrigues assured that his intellectual enterprises were not intended to exert any influence on 'this exodus', it seems that the number of students at Cornell University, for example, rose following the journal's informative articles.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁸ *A Reforma. Órgão Democrático* (R. Janeiro), VIII:25, 2 Feb., 1876, 2.

⁵⁴⁹ *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:3, 23 Feb., 1876, 2.

⁵⁵⁰ 'Notícias breves', *O Novo Mundo*, I:I, 24 Oct. 1870, 14.

⁵⁵¹ 'Brasil no Cornell', *O Novo Mundo*, III:25, 23 Oct. 1872, 2; 'Educação no exterior', IV:40, 23 Jan. 1874, 66.

⁵⁵² *O Novo Mundo*, IV:40, *idem*.

A Aurora Brasileira had two well defined periods of existence and, as mentioned above, its subtitle changed accordingly. From 1873 to June 1875 it was the *Periódico Litterario e Noticioso*, whereas from December 1875 until July 1877, the last time it was published, the subtitle changed to *Engenharia, Mechanica, Sciencia, Artes, Agricultura e Manufaturas*. The aims of the journal in its early phase (1873-1875) were multiple. First, it sought to attract potential Brazilian students to the United States in order to pursue their higher education by offering useful information on Cornell and other universities. Addressing the attention of the European-oriented elites, the editor wrote:

I presume that our compatriots will prefer to send their sons to study in the United States rather than Europe for them to attend its universities which are famous for their perfect education systems. [...] Brazil must not lag behind in the study of the organisational structure of this original and great society. It will only be able to do so by sending her sons to this country where along with a solid instruction they breathe in an atmosphere of freedom and get used to the hectic life of modern societies.⁵⁵³

Second, by advertising the U.S. innovations in agro-industrial development, the editors sought to attract the attention of Brazilian importers to the new range of machinery and know-how available in the United States. They ultimately sought to strengthen the relationships between the two countries.⁵⁵⁴ Third, as critics of the Brazilian system of higher education and the absence of any practical training in applied science, the journal's editors aspired to provide a practical means accessible

⁵⁵³ *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:3, 20 Dec. 1873, 1.

⁵⁵⁴ *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:1, 22 Oct. 1873, 1; 'Brazil e os Estados Unidos', I:5, 23 Apr. 1876, 7.

to all to learn about the new technology and know-how being developed in the United States where, they argued, knowledge and education was ‘grounded on facts rather than banal theories’.⁵⁵⁵ These students assumed the task of studying the U.S. system of higher education in order ‘to compare it with the Brazilian system’ and to improve the latter.⁵⁵⁶

The second phase of *A Aurora Brazileria* (1875-1877) was characterised by a more specific goal, the origin of which was already contained in the original project. The students wanted the journal to be the first Brazilian scientific publication, yet ‘a popular one where the worker could find what is useful and applicable; in short, a source of practical information that would push everybody to courageously and vigorously enter into the practical life’.⁵⁵⁷ Moreover, they wanted to develop scientific research in Brazil.⁵⁵⁸ To do so, they believed, it was first necessary to ‘familiarise the Brazilian people with the progress that science is making here [the United States] on a daily basis’.⁵⁵⁹ Engravings and explanations of new machinery, in particular of the equipment considered appropriate to Brazil’s circumstances, matched the aspirations.⁵⁶⁰ The journal was addressed to landowners, merchants and engineers, but also to mechanics, farmers and ordinary workers. The editors emphasised the urgent need for training in practical mechanics, agriculture and industry and the urgency of revolutionising the agricultural sector with the latest machinery. The journal also called attention to the fact that in the United States mathematics, chemistry and physics were part of the syllabus from primary school onwards, thus accessible to all. Conversely, the editorial noted, ‘Brazilian children might well be excellent at

⁵⁵⁵ *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:9, 20 Jun. 1874, 67.

⁵⁵⁶ *A Aurora Brasileira*, II:5, 20 Feb. 1875, 37.

⁵⁵⁷ *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:1, 15 Dec. 1875, 2.

⁵⁵⁸ *A Aurora Brasileira*, II:3, May. 1877, 26.

⁵⁵⁹ *A Aurora Brasileira*, *idem.*, 2.

⁵⁶⁰ *idem.*

recounting the wars between Carthage and Rome, the battle between Caesar and Pompey, but they are ignorant of the chemical composition of the most familiar substance'. And the writer complained: 'we live in the century of mechanics and geology, not of rhetoric and scholastics'.⁵⁶¹

Interestingly, the editorial of *A Aurora Brasileira* expressed awareness that this publication in itself could not redress the 'current needs' of Brazil. Nevertheless, the effort seemed to them worthwhile if, at least, the journal served as an incentive for the next generation of Brazilians to continue the path initiated by them.⁵⁶² Notwithstanding this reservation, the journal was not exempt from criticism. When in mid-1875 the editorial programme changed, most of its readers manifested their discontent with the new, more ambitious, scientifically laden objective. Political and economic elites considered the high objectives of *A Aurora Brasileira* 'either to be premature or incompatible with the current conditions of Brazil'.⁵⁶³ Besides, 'unless you write about politics, nobody will read you', so the critics contended.⁵⁶⁴ The editors retorted:

A lot of people believe that in Brazil there never was a taste for the study of the sciences and the arts and that most of the population find more delight in reading a political article or a novel by [José de] Alencar. Such an assertion is false and unjust.⁵⁶⁵

These progressively-minded students had the explicit intention of intervening in industrial politics and expressing their views about the links between higher education

⁵⁶¹ *idem.*

⁵⁶² *idem.*

⁵⁶³ *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:2, 15 Jan. 1876, 2.

⁵⁶⁴ *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:3, 23 Feb. 1876, 2.

⁵⁶⁵ *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:2, 15 Jan. 1876, 2.

and the needs of the economy. Their strategy was to persuade readers that industrial development was what Brazil needed. Actively seeking a model of social organisation in the United States, they ended up granting an almost mythical status to the role of the sciences in the development of a modern society. Even though they expressed optimism about the possibilities for the modernisation of Brazil, their crusade left an aftertaste of frustration *vis-à-vis* what the United States represented for them. As pointed out in an article appeared in 1874 in a local newspaper from the province of São Paul commenting on the role *A Aurora Brasileira* wanted to play in Brazil, we read that the editors of the journal seemed determined to show ‘from the classic country of freedom and progress, the backwardness of Brazil and the long way we still have to travel to be a great country’.⁵⁶⁶

All in all, we contend that when liberal thinkers such as the U.S.-based editors of the Brazilian journals turned to the United States in search for guidelines to modernise Brazilian society, they contributed in their own specific way to the unfolding of the two-way process of ‘Americanisation’ discussed in the Introduction of the thesis. One of the factors which brought together the Brazilian expatriates in the United States during the decade of the 1870s was their innovative views that it was in the United States, and no longer in France, where the new meaning modernity should be sought. As an ex-colony which had successfully abolished slavery, established a democratic political regime where civil and political freedoms thrived and which was positioning itself at the forefront of industrial progress based technical and scientific education, that country was presented by them as a model of society desired for Brazil.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ypanema* (Sorocaba, São Paulo), 27 Jan. 1874, 1.

What the United States had to offer to the group of Brazilians residing there was a university system from which they could earn competitive educational qualification and practice in the fields of sciences, engineering, agriculture, technology or medicine of the highest order. Whether émigrés or university students, they all assumed the task of studying U.S. society in all or some of its multiple manifestations. Either as a parallel or as a main activity, the U.S.-based Brazilians of the 1870s had the opportunity to understand U.S. society from within in order to determine the key to its position as an avatar of progress. The images that this young generation of Brazilians produced of the U.S. version of material progress pointed to the development of applied and scientific education and its link to industrial development as the key upon which the progress of the U.S. society was increasingly reliant. The images that they produced were both textual and visual. These images were produced through a particular practice of engagement, namely journalistic enterprises; they published the four journals mentioned early in the chapter which, interestingly, were specifically aimed at an audience in Brazil. Thrilled by their first-hand experiences as students and residents of that country, these young liberals wanted to show the Brazilian economic, political and intellectual elites the importance of developing scientific-, technological- and industrial-oriented education for the vicissitudes of a nation.

These observers of U.S. social organisation did not form an organic group with a uniform view of that society and a central coordination for the recollection and accumulation of representations and texts. On the contrary, we find that rather than dichotomous depictions, subtle nuances were interwoven in a more complex way. Two specific examples in this regard stand out. In 1875 the French-educated engineer and author of the acclaimed poem 'Wall Street inferno', Sousândrade, was appointed vice-president of *O Novo Mundo*. Even though in 1871 he chose the United States as

his adopted home and four years later he took his daughter to pursue her studies at New York's Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, he was not an unconditional admirer of U.S. society. There were two main targets of criticisms: first, the political and economic cases of corruption and, second, alleged sexual 'degradation' such as, according to his account, the free love practiced by U.S. women or the polygamy of the Mormons.⁵⁶⁷ The other example of complex representations of the United States is given by civil engineer André Rebouças, co-owner since 1877 of the *Revista Industrial*. Rebouças was a renowned figure of the Brazilian intellectual circles of the Second Empire who made public his allegiance to the monarchical regime. Yet, his commitment to monarchy, which made him stand ideologically opposite Rodrigues, a renowned republican, did not prevent him seeing the United States as a model to the same degree as the latter.

Besides the two examples above mentioned, fissures on the general positive depiction of U.S. society produced by the intellectual production throughout the whole period of publication taken as a whole pointed, for example, to the daring attitude of women as shown in the last chapter, the racial conflicts in the Southern states or the glaring cases of political corruption. Some aspects of the higher education system also received an amount of criticism, as we shall see below. Nevertheless, the corpus of documents that these young Brazilians produced regarding higher education as a whole, the orientation of their curricula and the relatively advanced degree of economic development achieved by the United States does not express opposite, contradictory views. Furthermore, a somewhat uniform narrative emerged as regards, for example, the successful U.S. transition from the

⁵⁶⁷ For a nationalist critique of U.S. religious liberalism as manifested through the Mormon practices, see João Capistrano Honório de Abreu, 'O caráter nacional e as origens do povo brasileiro', *O Globo* (R. Janeiro), 9 Mar. 1876, 1. On Sousândrade, see, Williams, 'Sousândrade's "Wall Street Inferno"' and 'Sousândrade em Nova Iorque: Visão da mulher americana', *Hispania*, 74:3, Special issue devoted to Luso-Brazilian language, literature and culture (Sept., 1991), 548-555.

socio-economic tribulations posed by the Civil War to gaining a place among the modern nations of the Western world. Interestingly, as also pointed out in the former section, notwithstanding the fact that the process of understanding U.S. society was undertaken from different levels and locations, we find that a monolithic representation of U.S. society as a pioneer of scientific and industrial development was construed by Brazilians in the final decades of the nineteenth century.

The topic of the applied scientific approach to farming was a trope in this scientifically oriented literature, repeatedly brought to the fore by this generation of liberal thinkers. The editorials of *O Novo Mundo*, *Revista Industrial* and *A Aurora Brasileira* praised the fact that university syllabi in the United States did not turn to abstract theories from imported books, as was the norm in Brazil. On the contrary, researchers in that country studied natural sciences in the midst of nature; in search of practical knowledge applicable to the needs of industry, students in the United States descended from the 'lofty heights' of theoretical intellectual endeavour to the sphere of practical application.⁵⁶⁸ The Brazilian liberal thinkers regretted that in Brazil the approach to science could not be more different and this was one of the main factors blamed for the backwardness of agricultural techniques and development.

Perhaps more than the Brazilians who studied the facts of U.S. society from Brazil, Brazilians resident in the United States adopted a comparative approach when studying the U.S. university system. They, for example, pointed out that while higher education in Brazil was unable to live without the support of central government, the resources for education in the United States were decentralised and therefore independent from the central authority.⁵⁶⁹ Almost all those who wrote about the

⁵⁶⁸ *O Novo Mundo*, I:7, 24 Apr. 1871, 107; 'O homem e a natureza', *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:4, 23 Mar. 1876, 3.

⁵⁶⁹ 'A universidade de Cornell', *O Novo Mundo*, I:6, 23 Mar. 1871, 141; *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:8, 20 May 1874, 57.

university mentioned the fact that individual, private funds provided the bulk of the resources not only for the foundation of institutions of higher education but also for many of the primary and secondary schools. Yet, public funding from town councils and states also funded higher education; as for the federal government, it mostly confined its contributions to the supply of public lands, as also mentioned by Menezes e Sousa. In contrast, the editorial of *O Novo Mundo* lamented that in Brazil a general tax was applied to the provinces to fund education irrespective of their income levels.⁵⁷⁰ Student of civil engineering at Cornell University, editor of *A Aurora Brasileira* and promoter of the U.S. educational model in Brazil, José Custodio Alves de Lima, argued, for example, that what was likewise regrettable in Brazil was the fact that ‘we expect everything from the government, we believe that nothing is feasible without it and least of all against it’.⁵⁷¹ The role left to the U.S. federal government and the states in the funding of education was celebrated by Brazilian liberal elites as allowing an important degree of autonomy as regards the public powers. The University of Cornell was presented as an excellent example in this regard as well for ‘it possesses millions of dollars and not one cent comes from the nation’s public funds’; furthermore, its only link with the central state was the endowment of public lands.⁵⁷² Liberal thinkers complained that exactly the opposite happened in Brazil where the Portuguese inherited cultural practice of ‘patrimonialism’ predominated.⁵⁷³ Only one, although not unimportant exception to the U.S. policy of funding education was brought up; it was the case of the first

⁵⁷⁰ ‘A universidade brasileira’, *O Novo Mundo*, I:1, 24 Oct. 1870, 3.

⁵⁷¹ See, for example, José Custodio Alves de Lima, *Estados Unidos e Norte-Americanos. Acompanhado de Algumas Considerações sobre a Imigração Chinesa no Império do Brasil* (São Paulo: w/n, 1886), 36. See also, Serzedelo Corrêa, *idem.*, 35.

⁵⁷² *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:6, 23 May 1876, 2.

⁵⁷³ Following Murilo de Carvalho, Brazilian patrimonialism can be defined as the dependency developed by the elites towards the state as regards government prerogatives thus becoming a same social group. Murilo de Carvalho, *A Construção da Ordem*, 27-29 and *Teatro de Sombras*, 249.

agricultural institute established in the United States, the Amherst Agricultural College of Massachusetts which received federal funding.⁵⁷⁴

In general the depictions of U.S. society by Brazilian liberal thinkers linked the U.S. degree of development with the paramount role that education enjoyed in the organisation of that society. Yet, further topics were raised in relation to the central importance of education. In 1873, in one of the meetings organised to discuss the introduction of compulsory primary education in Brazil, the orator and observer of the United States publicly regretted that ‘there is no Peabody in Brazil’, in clear reference to George Foster Peabody, the founder of modern educational philanthropy.⁵⁷⁵ There was a perception among the Brazilian liberal thinkers that associations of all kind sprang up everywhere in the United States, that they were the expression of the ‘energy’ and ‘initiative’ of the U.S. people and that they were also a key factor underpinning the development of science, industry and trade.⁵⁷⁶ Thus, besides education, the progressiveness of U.S. society seemed likewise to stem in these accounts from other more general cultural facts. For example, these observers commented on the habit of U.S. people to develop to the maximum of their capabilities the resources at their disposal or on the principle of association which had ‘multiplied a hundred-fold’ the available resources, both seen as embedded in the Protestant culture.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁴ Pedro Dias Gordilho Paes Leme, *Exposição Centenária de Filadélfia, Estados Unidos em 1876. Relatório sobre Agricultura em 1876* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1878), 16. See also, ‘O governo federal e o ensino publico’, *O Novo Mundo*, III:35, 23 Aug. 1873, 182; *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:4, 20 Jan. 1874, 25-26 and I:6, 23 May 1876, 2.

⁵⁷⁵ Affonso Celso, *Conferencias Litterárias da Gloria. Discurso Proferido em 28 de Dezembro de 1873. Em que Condições pode ser Instituído no Brazil o Ensino Obrigatório?* (R. Janeiro: Typographia da Reforma, 1873), 28.

⁵⁷⁶ See, for example, Augusto de Carvalho, *O Brazil. Colonização e Emigração. Esboço Histórico Baseado no Estudo dos Systemas e Vantagens que Offerecem os Estados Unidos* (Porto: Imprensa Portugueza, 1876), 106.

⁵⁷⁷ Augusto de Carvalho, *idem*.

A book released in 1886 written by collaborator of *A Aurora Brazileria* Alves de Lima above mentioned, described the organisation of courses in the U.S. universities and gave details of the teaching methods of the institutions in question.⁵⁷⁸ Interestingly, the author highlighted in this book that anyone familiar only with the institutions of higher education of the European countries or Brazil would also expect that in the United States the best universities were located in big cities such as New York, Boston, Chicago or Philadelphia, where all the strength of the ‘great republic’ was supposed to be concentrated.⁵⁷⁹ Education and industry were so well balanced in that country that ‘none of the thirty eight states could arrogate to itself all the glory, all the prestige that we normally concede to the United States’.⁵⁸⁰ On the contrary, each city either had an institution of higher education or a leading industry and most of the U.S. universities were located in places that would seem odd in Brazil where, once again the opposite seemed to happen, Alves de Lima pointed out.⁵⁸¹ Moreover, the best of these institutions in the United States were situated in areas three times less populated than, for example, São Paulo. The rationale behind this policy was that the student did his/her job better in small towns than in big cities ‘where theatres and public entertainments distract him from books’.⁵⁸²

Yet, some objections to the U.S. social organisation were interwoven amid flatteries about the education system. Criticism was raised, for example, with regard to some specific syllabi. On the one hand, students of engineering and mechanical arts earned degrees in three years of study. While this was deemed to be correct for such courses, as well as for the ones run at the Agricultural College of Cornell University,

⁵⁷⁸ The above-mentioned *Estados Unidos e Norte-Americanos*, esp. 33-44.

⁵⁷⁹ Alves de Lima, *Estados Unidos e Norte-Americanos*, 28.

⁵⁸⁰ Alves de Lima, *Estados Unidos e Norte-Americanos*, 28-29.

⁵⁸¹ Alves de Lima, *Estados Unidos e Norte-Americanos*, 29-30.

⁵⁸² Alves de Lima, *Estados Unidos e Norte-Americanos*, 30. The same argument is advanced in ‘Sugestões importantes’, *A Aurora Brazileira*, II:3, May 1877, 26.

it seemed to the Brazilian critics inappropriate with respect to, for example, the study of medicine.⁵⁸³ A series of two articles appeared in May and June 1872 in *O Novo Mundo* written by Brazilian doctor Luíz Ferreira de Lemos two months after his return from a journey to Europe and the United States to study the state of the hospitals and the Schools of Medicine, concluded that U.S. medical studies were too short to be consistent.⁵⁸⁴ The author indicated that the practical reason behind this policy was to guarantee students' attendance. In the United States, the bulk of them mainly came from modest socio-economic backgrounds and hence were also workers; if courses were longer and all modules compulsory, 'the faculties would remain closed', the author explained. Ferreira de Lemos criticised the fact that such critical studies as medicine sacrificed part of their performance to suit the needs of the students and concluded: 'These are the American reasons which made them [doctors] to play with death'.⁵⁸⁵ However, Ferreira de Lemos conceded, the existence of scientific societies, journals and libraries compensated for the flaw.⁵⁸⁶

In general, U.S. universities were well equipped with laboratories, instruments, mechanical devices and museums, as indicated by observers elsewhere. This environment greatly contributed to the creation of an atmosphere appropriate for theoretical discussion and the improvement of specialised technology.⁵⁸⁷ As for the organisation of the academic year, it was divided into three trimesters and exams were thus held three times a year. Alves de Lima argued that this was an optimal strategy for it stimulated the student's attention throughout the year. Whereas in Brazil exams were held only once a year, in the United States 'the study maintains a certain

⁵⁸³ Alves de Lima, *idem.*, 33; 'O ensino profissional', *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:9, Nov. 1876, 2.

⁵⁸⁴ Luíz Ferreira de Lemos, 'Comunicado. A medicina nos Estados Unidos. Primeira parte', *O Novo Mundo*, 23 May 1872, 138 and 'Comunicado. A medicina nos Estados Unidos. Segunda parte', *O Novo Mundo*, 24 Jun. 1872, 150.

⁵⁸⁵ Ferreira de Lemos, 'Comunicado. A medicina nos Estados Unidos. Segunda parte', *idem.*, 150.

⁵⁸⁶ Ferreira de Lemos, 'Comunicado. A medicina nos Estados Unidos. Segunda parte', *idem.*, 150.

⁵⁸⁷ Alves de Lima, *idem.*, 33.

uniformity during the whole year'.⁵⁸⁸ Besides, the teaching method in the United States 'is the most simple and democratic that one could imagine. The pulpit does not exist; the professor barely has a chair and a table at his disposal. He generally teaches standing up and evokes so much respect and consideration from the students that they cannot but admire him'.⁵⁸⁹ As for text books and manuals, they tended to be more practical than theoretical and were written in simple language; the premise in the United States was that 'anyone who writes for the public does not do so with the aim of showing up his own talent and erudition but to be helpful to readers'.⁵⁹⁰ Besides, the institutional commitment was to translate into English all useful bibliography published abroad.

Other dimensions of the U.S. university system greatly appreciated by Brazilian liberal thinkers had to do with female education and the coeducation of the sexes, as also indicated in chapter 2. Despite the very idea of coeducation not yet being widely accepted in the United States, the facts showed that not only were institutions of higher education being created exclusively for women, but women were also being accepted in many universities originally established for men. In this regard, Vassar College, in New York, was at the vanguard of this movement, as was commented by almost all the journal editors.⁵⁹¹ In a traditionally male-dominated society like Brazil, the tiny circle of Brazilian feminists welcomed the organ founded by the two first Brazilian female students of medicine in the United States.

⁵⁸⁸ Alves de Lima, *idem.*, 34.

⁵⁸⁹ Alves de Lima, *idem.*, 35. In Brazil students of law and medicine came from higher socio-economic backgrounds than professors who in their majority were mulattoes and *mestiços*. Schwarcz has shown that by the mid-nineteenth century teachers of the School of Medicine of Rio de Janeiro, for example, complained that the students threw 'stones and other solid objects' at them. Moniz Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo das Raças*, 196-197.

⁵⁹⁰ Alves de Lima, *idem.*, 37. Also, *O Novo Mundo*, *idem.*

⁵⁹¹ 'A instrução superior da mulher', *O Novo Mundo*, I:10, 24 Jul. 1871, 155 and 'Vassar College', VIII:85, Jan. 1878, 16; *A Mulher. Consagrado aos Interesses e Direitos da Mulher Brasileira* (New York), Feb. 1881, 3-4, cited by Hahner, *idem.*, 82-83; Alves de Lima, *idem.*, 38; 'Co-educação nos Estados Unidos', *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:8, 20 May 1874, 57. The Universities of Syracuse and Michigan were the first to accept women.

The journal *A Mulher. Consagrado aos Interesses e Direitos da Mulher Brasileira* (New York, 1881) was set to be a monthly newspaper published by the two first Brazilian female medical students in the United States. Nevertheless, to the best of our knowledge it was only issued once in April 1881. Barred from Brazilian schools of medicine, as well as from other institutions of higher education, these two young women headed towards the United States in the mid- and late- 1870s to fulfil their hopes of acquiring a university education. They studied at New York Medical College and Hospital for Women, a medical school for women founded in 1863. Their academic and personal lives abroad were followed by the Brazilian press which published regular reports on their progress. The unprecedented case of their struggle to study and their constant presence in the media helped the passing of educational reform which, from 1879 onwards allowed Brazilian women to attend the institutions of higher education.⁵⁹²

A Mulher was conceived as part of a crusade started by a small group of Brazilian feminists against gender discrimination during the final decades of the nineteenth century. In Brazil, women's capabilities were generally neglected and their access to education severely restricted. The contrast with the United States where experiments in female education and coeducation of the sexes were being carried out successfully, led them depicting that country as the place of 'modern civilisation' and 'human progress'.⁵⁹³ *A Mulher* attempted to be a means to convince other Brazilian

⁵⁹² Notwithstanding the 1879 reform, professions for women remained difficult option; they had to overcome social prejudices and to afford expensive private secondary education to enable them to proceed. June E. Hahner, 'Feminism, Women's Rights, and the Suffrage Movement in Brazil, 1850-1932', *LARR*, 15:1 (1980), 65-111, 82-83. See also Neldson Marcolin, 'A long journey. Some one hundred and thirty years ago the trajectory of the first Brazilian women doctors began', *Revista Pesquisa* (São Paulo), May, 2005. Available from: <http://www.revistapesquisa.fapesp.br/?art=1468&bd=1&pg=1&lg=en>, (31 January 2007).

⁵⁹³ *A Mulher*, Feb. 1881, 3-4. Cited by Hahner, *idem.*, 82-83.

women of their latent aptitude to study the sciences. For them the United States was the ‘country favoured by God to be the cradle of female emancipation’.⁵⁹⁴

A Mulher sought to persuade Brazilian women of their latent aptitudes, to show that ‘women like men can dedicate themselves to the study of the sciences’ and that the U.S. was the privileged site for doing so.⁵⁹⁵ Interestingly, one of the Brazilian students of Engineering at Cornell and editor of *A Aurora Brasileira*, Francisco de Assiz Vieira Bueno, enquired about co-education at the University of Michigan, one of the most popular U.S. universities of the time. Vieira Bueno found that women were the best students in courses traditionally thought to be exclusive to men, such as mathematics or botany. Furthermore, the author noted, the women’s right to receive a level of education as high as men was a policy promoted by private but also by public institutions.⁵⁹⁶ The result of Vieira Bueno’s enquiries indicated that coeducation needed to be a right rather than a ‘dangerous utopia’ as it was debased; moreover, as he concluded, it was a ‘social assurance’ rather than a crime against family or a cause of shame.⁵⁹⁷

Brazilian liberal thinkers either in Brazil or in the United States elaborated similar opinions regarding the key factor of education as an engine of progress. Female education was the basis of moral, scientific and industrial progress and the United States stood there to demonstrate so, affirmed Rodrigues from *O Novo Mundo*. More emphatically, in 1879, the year that the Brazilian Parliament passed the law accepting women into institutions of higher education, Rodrigues asserted: ‘It is as absurd to yearn for a free and progressive country with stupid and frivolous women

⁵⁹⁴ *A Mulher*, *idem*, 16; Mar. 1881, 18 and 22. Cited by Hahner, *idem.*, 83.

⁵⁹⁵ *A Mulher*, Jan. 1881, 2 and 6. Cited by Hahner, *idem.*, 83.

⁵⁹⁶ Francisco de Assiz Vieira Bueno Jr., ‘Co-educação nos Estados Unidos’, *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:9, 20 Jun. 1874, 65-67, 65.

⁵⁹⁷ ‘Co-educação nos Estados Unidos’, *idem*; ‘Educando a mulher’, *A Aurora Brasileira*, Part VI, II:7, 20 Apr. 1875, 51.

[...] as it is to desire to get Jacaranda trunks from pumpkin seeds'.⁵⁹⁸ The editorial board of *O Novo Mundo* went further. It not only suggested that Brazilian men would make a good decision in opting to pursue their studies in the U.S. universities; should a woman spend three or four years in the United States, she would learn a great deal from that society, the place 'where she is most respected in the world'. More importantly, she would return to Brazil 'with an open mind and practical ideas'.⁵⁹⁹ The editors of *A Aurora Brasileira* also supported the policy of encouraging women to go to study in the United States because the claim that women were intellectually inferior to men was 'worthless in this country'.⁶⁰⁰ Furthermore, not only were women 'truly educated' in the United States; even more importantly, they were aware of their rights and duties, making the United States the place of 'civilisation and therefore progress'.

In general, the Brazilian observers of the United States were impressed by the rapidity with which that country managed to recover from the Civil War. The economic progress of a country which had only recently abolished slavery, was one of the aspects which drew most attention from Brazil's politicians and thinkers. To a great extent, the economic development of the United States was seen as an important consequence of the willingness of the U.S. people to study the applied sciences and the technical arts offered in the university curricula across the country, as *O Novo Mundo* reported early in the 1870s.⁶⁰¹ Furthermore, these Brazilians likewise associated the cutting-edge performance in the sphere of inventions and innovation already evident at that time with the applied approach to knowledge of U.S.

⁵⁹⁸ 'A instrução superior da mulher: O Wellesley College', *O Novo Mundo*, IX:97, Jan. 1879, 6.

⁵⁹⁹ 'A educação das moças', *O Novo Mundo*, IX:102, Jun. 1879, 147.

⁶⁰⁰ 'Educando a mulher', *A Aurora Brasileira*, Part I, II:1, 24 Oct. 1874, 1; 'Educando a mulher', Part II, II:2, 20 Nov. 1874, 9.

⁶⁰¹ *O Novo Mundo*, I:1, 24 Oct. 1870, 2; 'Prosperidade industrial de 1870', *O Novo Mundo*, I:4, 23 Jan. 1871, 51.

education, as Barbosa exemplified with the case of teaching the industrial arts and design, as seen above. Many of these representations acquired a more palpable form when ‘the Exhibition of Philadelphia showed in 1876 that the United States did not allow itself to stay in the rear guard of progress’.⁶⁰² In 1870, for example, a Massachusetts state law incorporated the teaching of design as a compulsory course in primary schools; moreover, this law ‘stipulated the creation of *schools of industrial arts in all cities with more than ten thousand souls* [author’s emphasis]’.⁶⁰³

On top of the excellent system of education with its practical and technical training in schools and universities, students in the United States also had the privilege of being able to test the empirical application of their own education in the form of, for example, horse-cars, locomotives, railways, factories or chemical laboratories, the editors of *A Aurora Brasileira* commented.⁶⁰⁴ The same year as the Philadelphia Exhibition, Brazil’s nationalist historian João Capistrano Honório de Abreu indicated that the U.S. education system was not likely to form ‘great thinkers’.⁶⁰⁵ The editorials of the *Revista Industrial* seemed happy to concede that point, although they promptly underlined that the practical education that the United States provided was meeting and exceeding all expectations regarding what was considered useful for the practical needs of a modern society.⁶⁰⁶ The applied nature of scientific research in U.S. universities was, in short, regarded as a key factor when the Brazilian liberal thinkers sought clues as to how to earn a place among the industrialised nations of the Western world.

⁶⁰² Barbosa, *Reforma do Ensino Secundário*, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. IX (1882), t. I, 169.

⁶⁰³ Barbosa, *idem*.

⁶⁰⁴ ‘O ensino profissional’, *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:5, 23 Apr. 1876, 3.

⁶⁰⁵ This idea appears from time to time in the sources. For example, Alves de Lima pointed out that U.S. higher education did not produce professionals of the kind of the British, French or Belgians. Alves de Lima, *idem.*, 31; De Abreu, ‘O caráter nacional’, 1.

⁶⁰⁶ ‘O ensino pratico na Inglaterra e na América’, *Revista Industrial*, I:3, Sept. 1877, 83.

Among the many issues relating to the agricultural sector that the Brazilian publications in the United States brought up for discussion, was the fact that the system of cultivation at home was almost exclusively restricted to the monoculture of the coffee beans by slave labour. Accordingly, a series of improvements and innovations aimed at diversifying and increasing the level of Brazil's agricultural production was suggested based on the U.S example of a poly-cultural system and the higher education system underpinning it. In a country like Brazil, where agriculture was the leading economic sector, farmers urgently needed to receive scientific and practical agricultural education. Although there already existed some colleges scattered throughout the Empire, they were 'microscopic specimens' when compared to the percentage of people devoted to farming activities; it was imperative that institutions of agricultural training were established on a large scale following the U.S. example.⁶⁰⁷ Furthermore, even though only as few as a hundred students were bound to graduate annually due to Brazil's social structure, the investment in training and applied education was nonetheless worthwhile.⁶⁰⁸ Agriculture in the United States relied on mechanics to explore the natural richness of the land⁶⁰⁹; U.S. farmers used a broad range of agricultural machinery and cultivated the land in accordance with the cutting-edge principles of science. As a result, they were attaining a great degree of perfection in farming studies and activities. Like the Agricultural College of Cornell University, the Amherst Agricultural College in Massachusetts was presented as a model institution of agricultural studies.⁶¹⁰ Those Brazilians who wanted to devote themselves to agricultural life 'will find in this country excellent places to study and

⁶⁰⁷ 'Necessidade de uma academia de agricultura no Brazil', *A Aurora Brasileira*, Part III, II:5, 20 Feb. 1875, 36; 'Necessidade de uma academia de agricultura no Brasil', *idem*, Part IV, II:7, 20 Apr. 1875, 53.

⁶⁰⁸ *idem*.

⁶⁰⁹ Paes Leme, *Exposição Centenária de Filadélfia*, 43.

⁶¹⁰ 'O ensino agrícola no Brasil', *O Novo Mundo*, II:21, 24 Jun. 1872, 147; 'O ensino profissional', *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:9, Nov. 1876, 2.

this institute seems to be the best', asserted *O Novo Mundo*.⁶¹¹ Of the four publications in question, it was perhaps *A Aurora Brasileira*, conceived at Cornell, which proclaimed most emphatically throughout its issues the arrival of a new era of progress for Brazil. Yet this new era was conditional upon the development of the study of engineering and on the study of the industrial arts. Only applied and scientific study would bring Brazil's development closer to the level of the United States.⁶¹²

When Nicolau Moreira was in the United States as a member of the Brazilian commission to the Exhibition at Philadelphia, he took the opportunity to visit the University of Syracuse. Moreira, who in less than a decade would preside over Brazil's National Industry Auxiliary Society (*Sociedade Auxiliadora da Industria Nacional*) and Rio's Botanical Gardens (*Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro*), wanted to see first-hand how mechanics and agriculture were taught at a leading U.S. university. One of the broader conclusions he drew from this visit was expressed as follows in the final report he submitted to the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Work, Tomás José Coelho de Almeida in 1877:

We want to see a [George] Stephenson in a thresher, a [Benjamin] Franklin in a typographer, a [Gaspar] Monge in a sock-maker, a [Abraham] Lincoln in a woodcutter and a [Andrew] Johnson in a tailor.⁶¹³

Liberal thinkers such as Moreira, Barbosa or the editors of the journals published in the United States, struggled from their political and intellectual arenas to

⁶¹¹ 'Institutos agrícolas', *O Novo Mundo*, I:1, 24 Oct. 1870, 11.

⁶¹² *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:1, 22 Oct. 1873, 1; 'Ensino do desenho', *A Aurora Brasileira* I:1, 15 Jan. 1876, 3.

⁶¹³ Moreira, *Relatório*, 5.

instil a taste for the scientific and applied professions within the average Brazilian citizen. They unanimously contended that only the study of the applied sciences could help Brazilian agriculture to maximise its production and develop its industry in the conjuncture of the increased international demand for Brazilian coffee. Yet, a main obstacle to the country's progress was that the study of agriculture was socially stigmatised in Brazil. To overcome this cultural barrier, the Brazilian students of Engineering at Cornell, for example, overtly proselytised from their student publication that the Brazilian youth should turn to the practical studies of agriculture, engineering or industrial design.⁶¹⁴

As a general principle, the articles published in the press organs created by the Brazilian residents in the United States during the 1870s openly campaigned for the implementation of scientific courses and the introduction of modern agricultural machinery in their homeland following the example of the United States. Not only that, but the editors received letters from Brazilian readers, in particular from the dynamic sector of the *Paulista* planters, asking them to provide more information and pictures of the latest technology and agricultural equipment.⁶¹⁵ This demand can be seen as another example of our argument that 'Americanisation', rather than unidirectional, was a pluralistic process in which expectations and actions to import elements of U.S. civilisation were also made by local cultures, in this case by the liberal Brazilians concerned with the modernisation of Brazil. A scientifically oriented educational policy was seen as a component part of the 'civilising, patriotic and humanitarian spirit' of the modern societies which in the United States was

⁶¹⁴ 'O ensino profissional', *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:9, Nov. 1876, 2.

⁶¹⁵ *A Reforma. Órgão Democrático*, VIII:25, 2 Feb., 1876, 2 and elsewhere in *A Aurora Brasileira* and the *Revista Industrial*.

‘expanding its intellectual horizon on a daily basis’, as the sustained technological development demonstrated.⁶¹⁶

As in any other society in the process of nation-building, the imbalance between the natural resources and the relative unsatisfactory level of agricultural production compelled Brazil’s liberal thinkers and statesmen alike to look at technological performances elsewhere. The U.S. Centennial Exhibition offered an excellent window for that search. Both the young Brazilians living in the United States and the economic and political elites from Brazil actively engaged in that event. In the issue of February 1876 the editors of *A Aurora Brasileira* ‘promised’ to provide their readers with information and pictorial depictions of the new machinery and inventions exhibited at the fair.⁶¹⁷ A month later we read in their journal:

The inventions which will be exhibited in the American pavilion exceed in intelligence and mechanisation the [exhibitions of] other nations; they are the product of a heterogeneous mass of people who work together for the organisation of the Republic and support it today. [...] It is therefore here, in this land, where we must study if we want to achieve similar development.⁶¹⁸

The Brazilian representations of the United States mentioned thus far involved multiple agents reading and creating new meanings of U.S. civilisation from different locations. As for the Brazilian residents in the United States, they produced and circulated an almost homogenous image of that society as a paradigm of higher education and agricultural economy. Their representations of the U.S. organisation of

⁶¹⁶ ‘Cursos científicos’, *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:1, 15 Dec. 1875, 10.

⁶¹⁷ ‘Aviso importante’, *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:3, 23 Feb. 1876, 2.

⁶¹⁸ *A Aurora Brasileira*, I:4, 23 Mar. 1876, 2.

scientific degrees, as well as of the rapid U.S. economic development following the Civil War, were nurtured by their personal experiences as temporary residents in that country. In the main, these young Brazilians were the scions of the planter class, especially from São Paulo. The fact that they were members of the same socio-economic background might have enthused them to develop an almost monolithic narrative about the ideal way to modernise Brazil's agricultural sector in its multiple dimensions. However, notwithstanding the consensus on the virtues of the U.S. system of higher education as derived from our documentary corpus, some disagreement arose with regard to both the desirability of reforming Brazil's institutions of education following the model of the U.S. example and, more importantly, the feasibility of doing so.

For example, whereas a string of fundamental demands stemmed from *A Aurora Brasileira* which, taken as a whole, pointed to the adoption of a similar strategy to progress as the United States, *O Novo Mundo* raised some doubts about a wholesale adoption of economic practices and called attention to some local specificities. The doubts were as much about the social circumstances of Brazil, namely the slave labour system and the large land-holding, as they were about the real actors (landowners) who were the objects of the project (education for farmers). However, 'circumstances' referred as much to what was feasible given the real conditions imposed by territory, population, means of communications and cultural values, as to what Brazil ideally needed if it wanted to be on the road to modern development.

Rodrigues gave a representative example of what was feasible in Brazil in 1872. He criticised the 'uselessness' of both the agricultural institutions available in the Empire as well as the quarterly publication of the Agricultural Imperial Institute of Rio de Janeiro allegedly dedicated to 'scientific' research. Rodrigues predicted the

sterility of educational projects of the kind showcased by the U.S. universities unless ‘our reformers’ considered Brazilian society’s current stage of development and Brazil’s actual planter class. Rodrigues highlighted that ‘undoubtedly, we must pursue this high ideal’; yet, ‘this ideal cannot be decreed by law’.⁶¹⁹ Rodrigues went further. In order to improve agricultural studies in Brazil, the first step was to examine the general spirit of the sector of the population which was to be provided with agricultural knowledge, that is, the *fazendeiros*. This class ‘neither have the time to make chemical experiments with the diverse qualities of the land, nor to stop working to listen to lessons on tree breathing or plants from India’. If the Brazilian ‘reformer’ did not take into account this threshold, ‘he can have the best institutions but the preacher is useless’.⁶²⁰

There were also some disagreements with regard to what Brazil ideally needed. Whereas *A Aurora Brasileira* seemed to advocate the creation of institutions such as the Amherst Agricultural College or the Agricultural College of Cornell University as a way to develop agriculture, *O Novo Mundo* underlined the fact that ‘there are many agricultural institutions in the United States, but there are ten times more farmers’ clubs’ in each district in which, ‘besides practical discussion, they make small agricultural exhibitions and exert great influence on the progress of [agricultural] science’.⁶²¹ Furthermore, in a long article entitled ‘The teaching of agriculture in Brazil’ published in the June 1872 issue, Rodrigues argued that it was very much doubted in the United States that the agricultural institutions such as those so highly praised by the editors of *A Aurora Brasileira*, were actually useful for the farmers. Rodrigues acknowledged:

⁶¹⁹ ‘O ensino agrícola no Brasil’, *O Novo Mundo*, II:21, 24 Jun. 1872, 147.

⁶²⁰ *O Novo Mundo*, *idem*.

⁶²¹ *O Novo Mundo*, *idem*.

There is a state in this country where agriculture has reached the ideal of perfection, it is Massachusetts; there also is a practical and theoretical institute considered to be the model institution for the education of the farmer, it is the Amherst Agricultural College, in Massachusetts.⁶²²

Nevertheless, Rodrigues went on, farmers only ‘drew a few benefits from such institutions’. He highlighted that he did not neglect the importance of scientific education for the successful development of agriculture. What Rodrigues indicated was that there were two pillars upon which modern agriculture in the United States mainly rested: on the one hand, there were the institutions of higher education; on the other, there were the farmers’ leagues which were present in almost every village. It was within these institutions, according to Rodrigues, that the key to the progress of small-scale agriculture should be found. There U.S. farmers discussed the practice of agriculture, gave didactic talks and therefore exerted a great influence over the general improvement of the activity.⁶²³ Along with colleges such as the Amherst, U.S.-like farmers’ clubs were, in Rodrigues’s view, what Brazil needed to further the development of agriculture. By stressing the importance of establishing U.S.-like farmers’ clubs along with institutions of higher education as Rodrigues desired, the thinker added a new aspect of the successful U.S. system of higher education, namely the link between university and agricultural industry.

Conclusion

⁶²² *O Novo Mundo, idem.*

⁶²³ *O Novo Mundo, idem.*

At the beginning of this thesis we introduced the concept of ‘Americanisation’ and indicated some conceptual limitations implied within it. We showed that the conventional picture portrayed by this paradigm implies a series of steps the direction of which seems to run *from* within the United States *to* outside that nation. However, as this chapter in particular has argued, the process of ‘Americanisation’ could involve a dynamic, two-way interaction between the U.S. civilisation and domestic actors whose active agency made the stream of influence run in both ways. As demonstrated by the primary sources upon which this chapter has been based, the reception and adoption in Brazil of certain U.S. societal and cultural patterns and the values associated to them, something which could be labelled ‘Americanisation’, was a complex process which involved a specifically Brazilian demand for their adoption at home. In an attempt to build modern Brazil the United States came to be perceived as a new source of inspiration. Wittingly or otherwise, the efforts of the *Paulista* liberal vanguard and the young Brazilian expatriates in the United States to study and adopt the social and political facts and factors of that society and, in the second case, to disseminate them to Brazilians in order for Brazil to emulate the path of its development, tended to ‘Americanise’ Brazil.

This chapter has also shown that the representations of the U.S. system of education occupied a central place in projects for reform of the education system which appeared in Brazil during the final decades of the Second Empire. If Europe had traditionally provided a model of education for Brazilians, when the United States began to rise to a position of prominence, the former source of models began to be demoted, at least as far as modern agricultural practices were concerned. Whereas Europe still competed with model institutions of higher education, only the United States began to be seen as the most adequate model for Brazil regarding agricultural

development. Unlike Brazil and the United States, Europe combined small geographical space with large populations, as tellingly summarised by Rodrigues.⁶²⁴ Likewise, the U.S. case was identified as the most advanced educational system in terms of methods, content and socio-economic ends. Its strength was grounded in the introduction of innovative teaching practices such as the ‘intuitive method’, the study of science from primary school into university, the applied nature of these studies and the links between the orientation of higher education syllabi and the economic needs of the agricultural and industrial sectors. On account of this, we conclude that Brazilian liberal thinkers produced images of the United States as a paradigm of education for Brazil.

⁶²⁴ ‘O ensino agrícola no Brasil’, *O Novo Mundo*, II:21, 24 Jun. 1872, 147.

Chapter 4: Steamship lines with the United States. Brazil's early gravitation towards the orbit of U.S. production

Introduction

Although Britain's role in Latin America has remained marginal for most historians of the British Empire, specialists from this region and elsewhere have produced an impressive volume of publications on this topic. The concern of Brazilianists with the role of Britain for understanding the evolution of Brazil during the nineteenth century certainly proves to be a case in point. Yet, in general, empirical research on the British influence in the Latin American region as a whole has tended to concentrate more on the economic and business relationship than on political or social issues. As the Introduction of this thesis has discussed, this tendency also proves to be true for the case of Brazil.⁶²⁵

This chapter will argue that by paying so much attention to British predominance in Brazilian economic and financial affairs, Brazilian economic history has tended to overlook, or failed to attend to the economic significance of the early U.S. commercial presence in Brazil and its cultural impact. According to our sources, as early as the 1870s the U.S. economic presence in this country began to grow significantly stronger. Furthermore, from the mid-1860s onwards the advertisement sections of the leading newspapers, for example, indicate that a range of U.S. manufactures were already penetrating the Brazilian market. We know that the scope

⁶²⁵ Some examples of Brazilian historiography concerned with the economic and business role played by the British during the nineteenth century are, Rippy, *Rivalry of the United States and British Investment*; Manchester, *British Preëminence*; Graham, *Britain*; Paiva Abreu, 'As relações econômicas anglo-brasileiras' and 'British business in Brazil'; Bethell, 'Britain and Latin America'; Eakin, *British Enterprise in Brazil*; Smith, *Illusions of Conflict*; Miller, 'Informal empire in Latin America'; Knight, 'Britain and Latin America'; Guenther, *British Merchants*; Vargas Garcia, 'Anglo-American rivalry in Brazil'.

of the U.S. goods entering the country at this early stage was rather limited, especially if compared to the large-scale consumption of the 1920s⁶²⁶; besides, Brazil's internal market was restricted in size.⁶²⁷ As this chapter contends, the decade of the 1870s should be taken as a point of division in the history of U.S. penetration in the Brazilian market of machinery and consumer goods, a turning point which not always has been given the recognition it warrants in Brazilian historiography. On the contrary, a survey of the historiography indicates that most studies tend to focus on the growing importance of the U.S. commercial presence in Brazil from, at the earliest, the final two decades of the nineteenth century and, more often, from the early and mid twentieth century.⁶²⁸ Despite the fact that British commercial and financial activity in Brazil began to slow down early in the 1870s, only the few studies referenced emphasise this decade as a turning point in the commercial relations and cultural encounters between Brazil and the United States.⁶²⁹

This chapter will also show that the early commercial relationship forged between Brazil and the United States throughout the nineteenth century was a key factor in shaping the evolution of representations of the United States in Brazil. The development of communications and trade with that country provided Brazilians with new transport technology and the latest improvements in urban infrastructure being developed there. More frequent contact with the United States also involved the arrival of locomotives, agricultural machinery, equipment and tools, as well as

⁶²⁶ On U.S. large-scale production, consumption patterns and the institution of modern advertisement from the 1920s, see for example Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Rots of Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976) and Leach, *Land of Desire*.

⁶²⁷ Despite the sharp fall in the formal percentage of slaves in the total population of Brazil according to official statistics (from a quarter of the population in the early nineteenth century to about 15 percent according to the first national census of 1872), the harsh conditions under which more than three-quarters of African-Brazilians lived, subjected them to informal enslavement. These figures indicate the size of the internal market. Robert E. Conrad, 'Neither slave nor free: The emancipados of Brazil, 1818-1868', *HAHR*, 53:1 (Feb., 1973), 50-70, 69.

⁶²⁸ Valla, *A Penetração Norte-Americana*; Vargas Garcia, 'Anglo-American rivalry in Brazil'; Paiva Abreu, 'As relações econômicas anglo-brasileiras' and 'British business in Brazil'.

⁶²⁹ Graham, *Britain*; Strauss, 'Rise of American growth in Brazil'; Pletcher, 'Inter-American trade'.

consumer goods. This chapter investigates the sequence of the early events which led to Brazil developing regular communications and trade with the United States and the representations Brazilians produced of U.S. society throughout and by means of this process. It will show that images of the United States moved from predominantly negative to positive valuations in the eyes of the Brazilian elites and urban consumers. In fact, during the first half of the century, the Brazilian establishment was generally unenthusiastic about strengthening trade relationships and establishing regular communications with that country. Not only were Brazilians used to relying on consumer goods and machinery manufactured in Europe; during those decades they did not see the development of communications with the United States as a real need: besides manufactures and equipment, Europe, and most notably Britain and France, also brought in along with the monthly cargoes news and information about developments in U.S. politics and society. Yet, the early Brazilian reluctance to develop direct communications with the United States also resulted from the fact that U.S. foreign policy, at least up until the 1850s, was closely associated in Brazilian minds with an expansionist diplomacy of territorial annexation. Nevertheless, after the mid-century the negative appraisal of the United States by Brazilian statesmen began to weaken, especially following the U.S. Civil War. From the mid-1860s onwards, a new consensus favouring an approach to that country began to emerge. It was during this decade that those committed to reform and modernisation in Brazil began to draw attention to the United States as the place where modern civilisation was acquiring a different, more advanced character than in Europe, with the U.S. becoming Brazil's traditional source of political and cultural inspiration and hence the obligatory point of comparison.

What were the motives that impelled certain Brazilian policymakers in the second half of the century to gravitate towards the orbit of U.S. production? And what were the cultural implications of the early U.S. commercial presence in Brazil? This process goes back to the mid-century when the emerging U.S. presence in Brazil started to be meaningful not only in economic but also cultural terms. Certainly, the emergence of the U.S. commercial presence in the Empire was an expression of changing times. We know, thanks in great measure to Jeffrey Needell's research, that French culture, which embraced Enlightenment thought as well as matters of lifestyle, had figured prominently in Brazilian life since the colonial era. Furthermore, towards the second half of the nineteenth century, not only the elites but also the well-off among the urban middle sectors generally enjoyed French styles in dress, furniture, literature, luxuries and even schooling.⁶³⁰ Accordingly, we will contend that at a time when imported goods came predominantly from Europe, the adoption of U.S. technology for urban sewage or dock building, as much as the consumption of certain U.S. goods such as domestic appliances or a new range of home-ware, allowed the Brazilian elites to represent themselves as being modern. An essential part of this argument was that new material possibilities combining competitive prices with high quality, together with a more accessible idea of comfort, were being developed by U.S. civilisation in contrast to what Brazilians saw as characteristically European luxury consumption. As will be shown, liberal thinkers in Brazil emphasised the democratic implications of these two factors. In Brazil, by contrast, the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few not only hampered the emergence of the internal market but it also obstructed the development of the economy as a whole. It is in this context that liberal thinkers projected an image of the United States as a new alterity

⁶³⁰ Jeffrey D. Needell, 'Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the century: Modernization and the Parisian ideal', *JISWA*, 25:1 (Feb., 1983), 83-103, 86.

against which Brazil's traditional identity, shaped by a slaveholding society and a hierarchical system of personal deference and obligation, could be redefined and the *status quo* which favoured the continuation of the established privileges finally defeated.

Besides marking a socio-economic and political change, as discussed in the Introduction of thesis, the decade of the 1870s was likewise decisive in that the first attempt at modernising public infrastructure and services was staged at a local level. Activities and investment by Irineo Evangelista Sousa—widely known in Brazil as the Viscount of Mauá—represented Brazil's greatest hope for modernising the economy according to the latest developments in Europe and the United States. The Viscount of Mauá was, in fact, Brazil's first prototype of the nineteenth-century entrepreneur with a multi-investment portfolio in shipping, railways and banking, among other ventures.⁶³¹

Drawing on insights from cultural historian such as Roger Chartier and Michel de Certeau (see Introduction) into the manipulation that ordinary people are able to make of the meaning embodied and expressed in cultural artefacts in order to adapt them to their own purposes and needs, as determined by social, institutional and cultural circumstances, the chapter follows the sequence of events that first challenged and then channelled the presence of U.S. products in Brazil. The first section studies Brazil's political consensus for protectionism regarding the rights to navigate the Amazon fluvial system that prevailed during the first half of the nineteenth century; it also addresses the transition from negative to positive images of the United States, the epitome of which was a willingness among politicians to

⁶³¹ On the Viscount of Mauá, see for example, Roderick J. Barman, 'Business and government in imperial Brazil: The experience of Viscount Mauá', *JLAS*, 13:2 (Nov., 1981), 239-264. See also, Graham, '1850-1870', 134-135.

subsidise a U.S. line of steamers for the sake of closer contacts with that country and its production. The second section of the chapter deals with the actual presence of U.S. technology and manufacture in the Brazilian market. The topics studied in this section include urban infrastructure, consumer goods and further subsidies for a U.S. steamship line. It will be shown that by the 1870s a new range of U.S. products was part of Brazilian material life.

Building the channels. The Amazon and the first steamship lines between Brazil and the United State

The natural resources of the Amazon Valley, particularly its rubber, have attracted the attention of foreign powers since at least the independence of Brazil in 1822. Foreign pressure exerted on the Brazilian Empire to secure the opening of the Amazon and its tributaries to all nations became systematic in the 1820s.⁶³² Distrustful of the geographical proximity of the French and British powers in the Guyanas and of U.S. interests in the region, Brazil's imperial authorities secured a grip on the exploitation of the Brazilian Amazon resources through strict protectionist policies up until the 1860s. Thus the early diplomatic efforts by the European nations and the United States to open the Amazon fluvial system to international transit and trade proved unsuccessful in breaking Brazil's firm protectionist stance. Yet, the success of the early foreign pressure upon the Amazon area lay in the fact that it propelled the issue of the Amazon in Brazil into a diplomatic affair of the utmost importance.

⁶³² On the early nineteenth-century foreign consumption of rubber, see Lewis A. Tambs, 'Rubber, rebels and Rio Branco: The contest for the Acre', *HAHR*, 46:3 (Aug., 1966), 254-273. In 1826, in the context of the Monroe Doctrine, the U.S. Navy formed a 'Brazilian squadron' both to protect the incipient commerce in the southern Atlantic region and to develop diplomatic and exploratory missions. In the same year the U.S. Legation to Brazil asked for official permission to sail along the Amazon waters on behalf of a newly formed U.S. navigation company.

In 1825 the Brazilian representative to the United States, José Silvestre Rebello, initiated negotiations in New York to purchase a steam vessel from a newly established company, the New York South America Steam Boat Association. One of Rebello's most important duties was to buy riverboats suitable for navigating the Amazon River. But policies recommended in Rio de Janeiro clashed with interests in the Amazonian region. On that occasion, the governor of the province of Pará, in the Amazon, aborted Rebello's efforts in procuring a ship built for the service of the Amazon waters by refusing to let it proceed up the river.⁶³³ After that first attempt, forty-one years were to pass before the transit of the Amazon fluvial system would be opened up to world navigation. Yet, despite the failure of this early venture, businessmen from the United States continued to be the most actively engaged foreigners attempting to remove the obstacles blocking access to the resources of the Amazon basin.

Matthew Fontaine Maury, a Virginia-born, self-educated scientist and Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Observatory and Hydrographical Office between 1844 and 1861, embodied this ambition.⁶³⁴ Maury championed the U.S. drive to become the main interlocutor for Brazilian foreign affairs and, more specifically, the leader in gaining access to the exploitation of the Amazon's rich natural resources. A main obstacle for Maury's plans was, nonetheless, Brazil's firm protectionist policy regarding the Amazon fluvial system.⁶³⁵ Maury targeted this policy as the main obstacle to overcome and placed the Amazon question at centre stage in the

⁶³³ Arthur P. Whitaker, 'José Silvestre Rebello: The first diplomatic representative of Brazil in the United States', *HAHR*, 20 (1940), 380-401, 391-393.

⁶³⁴ Whitfield J. Bell Jr., 'The relation of Herndon and Gibbon's exploration of the Amazon to North American slavery, 1850-1855', *HAHR*, 19:4 (Nov., 1939), 494-503, 497. See also, Fontaine, *Brazil and the United States*, esp. 'Brazilian-American relations, 1808-1889', 10-14.

⁶³⁵ Most imperial state administrators opted for protectionism, for government intervention, for not confiding in market mechanisms. José Murilo de Carvalho, 'O Brasil no Conselho do Estado: Imagem e modelo', *Dados. Revista de Ciências Sociais* (R. Janeiro), 25 (1982), 379-408, 392.

relationships of the United States with Brazil. In this context an image of the United States as a nation with imperial ambitions, which was targeting Brazil for the first time, began to be spread among Brazilian politicians and parliamentarians. These representations were fostered by the reception of news in Brazil of certain key events in the development of U.S. foreign policy towards Central America: notably the annexation of Texas of 1845; the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846-1848; and, to a lesser degree, the leaking in 1854 of the U.S. plans to acquire Cuba from Spain, either peacefully or by force.⁶³⁶

By the mid-1850s the image of the United States as a menacing power in terms of territorial and commercial expansion was growing gradually stronger throughout the Western Hemisphere. In Brazil, this idea began to be a common concern in political circles. Debates in the Council of the State and in the Parliamentary Chambers are eloquent in this respect. This is particularly true during the mandate of U.S. representative to Rio de Janeiro, William Trousdale (1853-1857) whose main mission was to secure the free transit of the Amazon waters for the United States. In 1854 Paulino José Soares de Sousa expressed the view that to assess appropriately the ‘dangers of our situation’ politicians would do well to remember the most recent moves carried out by U.S. foreign policymakers in Central America. The emphasis was put primarily on the danger potentially posed by the settlements of U.S. citizens for the host country, and the case of Texas was at the forefront of politicians’ minds. In fact:

It is known that the main promoters of the independence of Texas, declared in 1836, were Americans who moved there, in 1821 obtaining

⁶³⁶ Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Annexation*.

from the Spanish government a permit to establish a colony. The American population and influence gradually grew, and eight years later (in 1844) the former province, later called the Republic of Texas, was annexed to the American Union as a state.⁶³⁷

The fact that the main actors of the Texas annexation to the United States were Mexico-based U.S. citizens made politicians in Rio circumspect about the U.S. request to liberalise access to the distant Amazon Valley. These suspicions were particularly heightened in relation to the Brazilian Amazon region due to the special interest showed in the U.S. for the opening of its waters; but suspicions were also intensified given the specificities of the region. The Amazon provinces of Amazonas, Ceará and Pará formed a vast, barely inhabited sub-region of the Empire, with still somewhat hazy borders with the neighbouring nations and far from the political decision-making centre.⁶³⁸ The recurrent idea among politicians was that once citizens from the United States settled in a new area, they would eventually come to demand annexation of that territory to their home country.⁶³⁹ The purported intension by U.S. citizens to board vessels heading off to the Amazon shores, therefore, sparked anxieties among Brazilians. ‘Our territory to the North of the Empire is not safe’, warned senator Pedro Rodrigues Fernandes Chaves in 1854: ‘Several companies have

⁶³⁷ Paulino José Soares de Sousa, Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. 2 (Atas de 7/11/1850 a 20/2/1857), Ata de 1 de abril de 1854, 140-208, ‘Pretensões atuais dos Estados Unidos em relação ao Amazonas’, 159-208, 176. See also, Eugene Schuyler, ‘The Amazon’, in *American Diplomacy and the Furtherance of Commerce* (London: Sampson Low & Co., 1886), 329-344, 332.

⁶³⁸ For an account of how, after a period of social unrest and repression between 1830 and 1840, the Amazon area became incorporated into Rio de Janeiro’s centralising politics, see Marcio Souza, ‘Amazônia e modernidade’, in Sonia Torres (ed.), *Raízes e Rumos. Perspectivas Interdisciplinares em Estudos Americanos* (R. Janeiro: 7Letras, 2001), 92-97.

⁶³⁹ The U.S. attempt to purchase Cuba was also a negative precedent in the defensive agenda of Brazilian parliamentarians; they deemed annexation to be merely a question of time. Sousa, *Idem.*, 177.

been established in the United States with the aim of seizing the banks of the Amazon'.⁶⁴⁰

As soon as Maury's claims to the Amazon became public, the Brazilian representative in Washington, Sérgio Teixeira de Macedo, also warned that an eventual opening of the Amazon to world navigation would facilitate the penetration of U.S. citizens and their businesses.⁶⁴¹ This fact, Macedo underlined, would altogether affect Brazil's cultural identity negatively. He cautioned against the 'Anglo-Americans' themselves for they were, he asserted, deeply convinced that they had to 'regenerate' the world, even more so, since they did not admit 'the mixing of their race with the Indian or with the coloured peoples':

American emigration [sic] to the Amazon would be a great danger. Our race, our language, our religion, our laws would disappear in the face of it. Our industry would fail to be born and, any that did exist, would be suffocated. [...] Energetic, daring, assisted by their government, and by companies bringing steam engines, machinery and many other improvements, these emigrants would either push aside all competition from our settlers or would make their subjects.⁶⁴²

By the mid-nineteenth century, the average citizen from the United States did not enjoy a good reputation among Brazilians. The U.S. nationals who towards the 1850s

⁶⁴⁰ Pedro Rodrigues Fernandes Chaves (from the province of Rio Grande do Sul). *Brazil. Anais do Senado do Império do Brasil* (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1978), Vol. 3, 'Sessão de 22 de julho de 1854', 438.

⁶⁴¹ Some scholars have argued that Maury's propaganda and campaign for the opening of the Amazon inspired groups of ex-Confederates to seek a new home in the Amazon basin. Katherine E. Manthorne, 'O imaginário brasileiro para o público norte-americano do século XIX', *Revista da Universidade de São Paulo*, 30 (jun. – ago., 1996), 58-71; Horne, *The Deepest South*, 4.

⁶⁴² Sérgio Teixeira de Macedo. Cited by José Paulino Soares de Sousa, Visconde de Uruguai, Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Ata de 1 abril de 1854, 178-179.

looked forward to going abroad were depicted as the offspring of a new class of ‘military adventurers’ born during the U.S.-Mexican War. These people who looked for new opportunities for personal gain, it was argued, found support in the U.S. government. In this way, part of the secret of the U.S. territorial expansionism at this stage was understood to be that ‘the United States has an irresistible means of occupation and annexation: it carries it out through the emigration of adventurers’.⁶⁴³ Therefore, it could be the case, so the reasoning went, that the potential arrival of people of this kind to the Amazon shores might put Brazil’s territorial integrity at risk. This fact was a severe source of anxiety for Brazilian politicians since this type of immigrant ‘is not the farmer from Europe [but] a man of the forest, a ploughman of the backwoods, a navigator of rivers, a drainer of insalubrious swamps’.⁶⁴⁴ Suspicions of the U.S. claims upon the Amazonian region and uncertainties about the potential outcome of an area being populated by these adventurers were further exacerbated by the U.S. policy of promoting and sending out expeditions of explorers and scientists.⁶⁴⁵

In 1851, the U.S. government sent the first official exploration mission to the Amazon. The mission leaders were Herndon and Gibbon, lieutenants of the U.S. Navy. Maury instructed and supplied them with detailed information. Maury’s formal proposal for a research expedition was outlined in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy dated March 1850 in which the scientist strongly outlined the reasons for trade in the Amazon Valley:

⁶⁴³ Sousa, *idem.*, 177-178.

⁶⁴⁴ Macedo, *idem.*, 179.

⁶⁴⁵ Teixeira de Macedo, *idem.*, 179. Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, *História Diplomática do Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1959), 142-144. For an early study of the intermingling of scientific, commercial and colonizing projects by U.S. expeditions, see John P. Harrison, ‘Science and politics: Origins and objectives of mid-nineteenth century government expeditions to Latin America’, *HAHR*, 35:2 (May, 1955), 175-202. For a recent study on the complex interweaving between U.S. business and scientific expeditions to South America, see Salvatore, ‘The enterprise of knowledge’.

If we be the first to secure the right to navigate the Amazon, [Herndon's and Gibbon's] report will give our merchants the information necessary to guide them in shaping their ventures and enterprises up that river. American influences will give the ascendancy there and the valley in a few years will come to be regarded for all commercial purposes as a sort of American Colony.⁶⁴⁶

Maury was the most ardent supporter of extending U.S. trade into the Amazon. While Herndon and Gibbon were still away, he tried to convince public opinion of the advantages of free navigation of the river. The press and the antebellum Southern conventions, meetings where southerners discussed political and commercial issues, were the domains of his lobbying.⁶⁴⁷ U.S. historian Alvin Martin argued that in the Memphis Convention of June 1853 Maury posed the question of liberalising the Amazon to world trade in quasi-fanatical terms. Borrowing phraseology from the U.S. Declaration of Independence, Maury announced the world's rights to the glorious region left inhabited by Divine Providence.⁶⁴⁸ The same year the scientist published a series of letters in two Washington newspapers, and in 1854 he submitted to Congress

⁶⁴⁶ Matthew Fontaine Maury to William Lewis Herndon, 20th Apr. 1850. In Donald Marquand Dozer, 'Matthew Fontaine Maury's letter of instruction to William Lewis Herndon', *HAHR*, 28:2 (May, 1948), 212-228, 218. The 1851-1852 Lieutenants Herndon and Gibbon expedition to the Amazon is analysed in Percy Alvin Martin, 'The influence of the United States on the opening of the Amazon to the world's commerce', *HAHR*, I (May, 1918), 156-162; William Spence Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1923), 330-335; Hill, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil*, 218-222; Bell Jr., *idem*.

⁶⁴⁷ Maury's position strengthened when the U.S. government started to back them. Francisco F. Monteoliva Doratioto, 'O Império do Brasil e as grandes potencias', *Revista de Relações Internacionais* (Universidade Católica de Brasília), 1:1 (abr., 2005), 1-19, 9. Most of the Southern conventions were called during the 1850s. Weymouth T. Jordan, 'Cotton planters' conventions in the Old South', *Journal of Southern History*, 19:3 (Aug., 1953), 321-345.

⁶⁴⁸ According to Alvin Martin, Maury seemed to have lost all perspective whenever he tackled the question of the Amazon. His ideas regarding the size, wealth and climate of the Amazon were also exaggerated. Alvin Martin, 'The influence', 150-151. See also, Vilela Luz, *A Amazônia para os Negros Americanos*, ch. 2, 'O universo de Matthew Fontaine Maury', 49-68.

a document drawn from both the polemic raised during the Memphis Convention and from Herndon's and Gibbon's report. Maury petitioned the U.S. government for a decisive consideration of the 'Amazon question'.⁶⁴⁹ In all these accounts, he first claimed that 'God' left the Amazon region thinly populated in order for it to be colonised by the genius of the U.S. Southern whites along with their slaves—a population which would, in turn, replace the slaves from the Atlantic trade.⁶⁵⁰ The colonisation of the Amazon Valley, furthermore, appeared to Maury as a moral obligation dictated by the ideology of Manifest Destiny.⁶⁵¹ Second, the fertility of the Amazon and its potential for commerce opened up areas 'to the go ahead race that has the energy and enterprise equal to subdue the forest and develop and bring forth the vast resources that lie hidden there'.⁶⁵² Third, on the basis of an analysis of wind directions and ocean currents, Maury claimed:

We want nothing exclusive up the Amazon; but we are nearer to the Amazon, or rather to the mouth of it, than any other nation, not even excepting Brazil herself, if we count the distance in time, and measure

⁶⁴⁹ Maury's articles were published in book format under the pseudonym of 'Inca' with the title *The Amazon and the Atlantic Slopes of South America* (Washington: Franck Taylor, 1853). Herndon and Gibbon's report was published under the title *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon* (Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1854).

⁶⁵⁰ 'That valley is to be the safety valve for our Southern States. When they become overpopulated with slaves the African slave trade will be stopped and they will send these slaves to the Amazon'. Maury to Herndon, 20th Apr. 1850. Dozer, 217.

⁶⁵¹ Harrison, 188. If the original elements of the Manifest Destiny ideology were a sense of superiority of U.S. institutions and culture as well as a feeling of moral obligation to extend this civilisation across the continent, towards the 1840s new arguments for territorial expansion were added. In Maury's case the Manifest Destiny ideology appears particularly functional for evaluating possible exits for the increasing slave population in the United States. On the origins of Manifest Destiny, see Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963). On the racist implications of the U.S. Manifest Destiny ideology as emerged after the confrontation with the Mexican peoples, see Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

⁶⁵² Maury to Herndon, 20th Apr. 1850. In Dozer, 217. Dozer posits that Maury's letter to Herndon is the boldest expression of U.S. contemporary racist theories after the Mexican War and a precursor of French author Arthur de Gobineau. Dozer, 214.

from Rio de Janeiro, and from New York or New Orleans as the centres of the two countries.⁶⁵³

In order to secure the opening of the Amazon fluvial system to the world's merchant ships, the oceanographer went as far as to proclaim that the Amazon River was but a continuation of the Mississippi Valley; therefore, ships sailing from the mouth of the Amazon River would naturally be guided to the Southern ports of the U.S. So, Maury concluded, the United States happened to be the natural outlet for the trade of the Amazon and its tributaries.⁶⁵⁴ Last, he posited that:

the free navigation of the Amazon, and the settlement of its valley, become matters of deep interest to the world, and especial interest to this country [the United States]. Therefore, it is incumbent upon this country to take the initiative of opening the trade and navigation of that river to the world.⁶⁵⁵

After the 'Amazon affair', as embodied in Maury's claims between 1849 and 1855, it became difficult for the Brazilian government and the economic elites to continue ignoring U.S. merchants' pressures to penetrate Brazil's main river.⁶⁵⁶ Predictably, the Brazilian political elite and public opinion did not share Maury's appreciations of the Amazon question. Furthermore, Maury's stance ended up causing a brief wave of

⁶⁵³ Matthew Fontaine Maury, *The Amazon and the Atlantic Slopes of South America* (Washington: Franck Taylor, 1853), 62.

⁶⁵⁴ Maury reasoned that a log floating to the sea from the Amazon River would be carried by the currents into the Caribbean, past the mouth of the Mississippi, through the Florida Channel and into the Gulf Stream. Harrison, 187-188; Hill, *Diplomatic Relations*, 219; Fontaine, *Brazil and the United States*, 13.

⁶⁵⁵ Maury, *The Amazon*, 48.

⁶⁵⁶ For a concise account of the early attempts by U.S. businessmen to promote trade with Latin American countries with an interest in territorial expansion, see O'Brien, *The Century of U.S. Capitalism*, esp. ch. 1 and 2.

patriotic indignation against the United States and perhaps the first anti-U.S. campaign in Brazil.⁶⁵⁷ One of the main consequences in Brazil of the first U.S. official pioneering expedition in 1851 and its repercussion in the United States, was the idea that the Amazon region was susceptible to being not only commercially but even territorially seized by U.S. merchants and settlers.

The question of opening the Amazon to international navigation was debated for the first time in the Brazilian Council of State in April 1854. It was a common idea among Councillors at the time that the United States was exerting diplomatic pressure on the upper Amazon area through the signing of free navigation treaties with the Andean republics of Bolivia and Perú.⁶⁵⁸ The central part of the doctrine proposed by the United States was that the riparian nations had to relinquish the right to regulate, and furthermore the right to monopolise the navigation of the big rivers that cut across their lands. William Trousdale, asked instead for these rivers to be dealt with as if they were ‘the seas, open by natural law to the world’s trade’.⁶⁵⁹ Pointing to the groundlessness of Trousdale’s claim, Councillors agreed that this request could not be granted; they emphasised the lack of international jurisprudence regarding the rights of non-fluvial nations to free transit through the rivers that traverse other nations. In fact, ‘Mr Trousdale did not declare the basis of this new and strange right’.⁶⁶⁰ Unaware of any practical precedents on this specific matter, Councillors’ doubts increased as ‘this aspiration starts to appear on the part of the

⁶⁵⁷ Moniz Bandeira, *Presença dos Estados Unidos no Brasil*, 95.

⁶⁵⁸ For example, the navigation treaty of the Madeira and Mamoré Rivers signed with Bolivia on 27 Jan. 1853, and the navigation treaty of Perú’s Amazonian rivers signed with that country on 15 Apr. 1853. Schuyler, *idem*. See also, ‘*Pretensões atuais dos Estados Unidos em Relação ao Amazonas*’, in ‘Ata de 1 de abril de 1854’, Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. 2, 160-176, 179, 183 and Sousa, Rodrigues, *idem.*, 159-160. For an analysis of the U.S. diplomatic pressures exerted on the Andean republics, see Vilela Luz, *A Amazônia*, ch. 3, ‘A posição dos Estados Unidos’, 69-98.

⁶⁵⁹ Sousa, Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. 2, ‘Ata do 1 de abril de 1854’, 160.

⁶⁶⁰ Sousa, Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. 2, ‘Ata do 1 de abril de 1854’, 160.

Americans with regard to the Amazon'.⁶⁶¹ Furthermore, Councillor Soares de Sousa accused the U.S. government of resorting to political trickery in its attempts to tap into the resources of the Amazon Valley. The Councillor suspected that U.S. politicians and businessmen were promoting a consensual liaison with their Brazilian counterparts in order to persuade them to renounce their protectionist policy. Yet, Sousa declared that the active collaboration of Brazilian policymakers in the promotion of free navigation rights to the Amazon River was encouraged by the United States as a way 'to disguise its ambition' for the area, as well as to distract attention from the economic hegemony that U.S. businessmen were certain they were going to enjoy once there.⁶⁶² According to Alvin Martin, it is no exaggeration to say that the initial impulse in bringing about the opening of the Amazon River came from the publicity given to the Amazon question in the United States.⁶⁶³ In fact, after Maury's claims, the Brazilian government began rapid negotiations with the governments of Bolivia and Perú to secure the exclusion of the United States from navigation and trade along the Amazon shores.⁶⁶⁴

Activities undertaken by shipbuilders in the United States also contributed to the distrust in Brazil of U.S. interest in the free navigation policy for the Amazon River, as had happened with the New York South America Steam Boat Association in 1825. Thirty years later, news that the U.S. legation to Brazil was going to ask the imperial government for the privilege of establishing a company to navigate the Amazon River still alarmed politicians. Councillor Caetano Lopes Gama, from the

⁶⁶¹ Sousa, Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. 2, 'Ata do 1 de abril de 1854', 159-160.

⁶⁶² Sousa, Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. 2, 'Ata do 1 de abril de 1854', 160. See also, Schuyler, 341-342.

⁶⁶³ Alvin Martin, 162 and *passim*.

⁶⁶⁴ Almir Chaiban El-Kareh, 'A companhia de navegação e comercio do Amazonas e a defesa da Amazônia brasileira: O imaginado grande banquete comercial', *RIHGB*, 418:164 (2003), 101-118. For a contemporary assessment of the impact of the U.S. lieutenants' report on Brazilian public opinion as to the free navigation of the Amazon River see, Joaquim Aurelio Nabuco de Araújo, *Um Estadista do Império. Nabuco de Araújo. Sua Vida, Suas Opiniões, Sua Época. Por seu Filho (1813-1878)* (R. Janeiro: Garnier, 1898), 3 Vols.

province of Pernambuco, in the North-Eastern region, warned in 1854 that since the Amazon Valley was virtually deserted, the decision to hand over the navigation of the river to U.S. companies would be tantamount to ‘handing over the region’.⁶⁶⁵ The background of tense negotiations over plans to liberalise Amazon transit forced the Brazilian government to implement a preventative measure: the navigation rights of the Amazon River were granted to local businessman Irineo Evangelista Sousa, Viscount of Mauá. This Brazilian entrepreneur was granted monopoly power of navigation for a period of thirty years; he was also provided with lands on the shores of the river where colonies as well as agricultural and industrial establishments were to be founded.⁶⁶⁶ With this move the Brazilian government sought to populate the Amazon Valley. If a trade agreement with the United States in the near future appeared difficult to avoid, the plan to colonise the Amazon basin was the means by which the Brazilian government could tighten its grip on the area.

The diplomatic/business window presented thus far allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions regarding Brazilian representations of the United States within the circle of high politics and policy-making towards the mid-century. The place of the U.S. expansionist drive into the sphere of Brazilian imaginary constructions provides the ground for analysing whether these representations, if clearly defined, were the result of a process which included differing and contradictory views. The Amazon question allows us to distinguish one aspect of

⁶⁶⁵ Caetano Maria Lopes Gama, Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. 2, ‘Ata do 1 abril de 1854’, 198. See also Hill, *Diplomatic Relations*, 223-224. After the Battle of Caseros (1852), the Argentine internal conflict which led to the opening of the River Plate to international navigation, Brazil’s government felt compelled to harmonise its Amazonian policy with that of the River Plate fluvial system. João Pandia Calógeras, *Formação Histórica do Brasil*, (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1980), 201; Delgado de Carvalho, *História Diplomática*, 136.

⁶⁶⁶ Decree N. 1037, 30 August 1850. In 1852 Mauá set up the Amazon Steam Navigation Company and the following year steam navigation in the Amazon was inaugurated. In 1854 the company was granted an annual subsidy of 120 *contos de réis*—the Brazilian currency of the day. The company was exempted from the colonising duty for three years thus becoming a state-subsidised enterprise. Irineo Evangelista de Sousa, Visconde de Mauá, *Autobiografia. “Exposição aos Credores e ao Público”* (R. Janeiro: Livraria Editôra Zélio Valverde, 1943), 138 and *passim*.

those representations. Whilst this new nation to the North of the hemisphere will soon be noticeable for its reputation of being a civilisation in progress towards universal betterment based on professional expertise—but also on the Protestant ethic and Anglo-Saxonism, as seen in the previous chapters—, towards the 1850s the United States came to be seen in Brazil as a threatening power with a will to establish its pre-eminence and expand its influence across the hemisphere. Concerned with the image of the United States as a political power willing to carry out wars of territorial conquest, Brazilian statesmen in the context of the ‘Amazon affair’ reinforced the advocacy of protectionist policies regarding the navigation of the Amazon River as a means to prevent the United States from exploiting this source of wealth. Sensitised to the U.S. land-based expansionism following the Mexican War, the image of the United States as a threatening power was mainly propagated by Brazilian conservative groups as a reaction against the self-assumed prerogatives of the U.S. government to explore the Amazon region, as vividly expressed in the Maury affair. By the mid-nineteenth century, the image of the United States as a nation that was increasing its power and ambitions in the hemisphere at the expense of its neighbours came to be part and parcel of debates in Brazil regarding foreign affairs. Some of these images depicted the spirit of the United States as diametrically opposed to the alleged moral elevation of the Latin peoples who arguably cultivated the ideal of disinterest, in an early manifestation of culturalist attempts to define Latin American identity in opposition to the U.S. materialistic character during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁶⁶⁷

It was during this period as well that the liberal intellectuals and businessmen started to consider the United States as already representing the *new*, the *advanced*

⁶⁶⁷ The Brazilian exponent of this approach was monarchist intellectual Eduardo Prado.

and the *future*. They began to point to the U.S. growth and economic development as also based on transportation improvements, vector of people, goods and ideas. The transport revolution, they argued, was bound to bring more development in the form of bigger settlements, bigger markets and thus an enlarged production. Brazilian modernising elites extolled the spirit of free initiative and economic liberalism as the driving forces of civilisation as showcased by the United States. These observers, who seemed not to disassociate their idea of modernity *avant la lettre* from their early image of the United States as synonymous of development, advanced the image of the United States as the new vanguard of world progress. This image appears with great clarity in discussions in Brazil about the establishment of regular communications with the United States.

Struggling to get closer to the United States. Early supporters

By the mid-nineteenth century the Amazon question raised by U.S. diplomacy had come to be a delicate affair for Brazilian policymakers. In Brazil, a new current of opinion favouring the opening of the Amazon River and its tributaries to international flags and commerce gathered force to the point that it was increasingly difficult for the government to continue ignoring it. The Emperor himself acknowledged that the opening of the Amazon could ‘not be postponed much longer, it now being convenient to try to colonise appropriately the shores of the river’.⁶⁶⁸ The imperial ministries backed this official avowal.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁸ Recorded in Dom Pedro’s personal diary in April 1862 in reference to a meeting with the then deputy José Maria da Silva Paranhos (later the Viscount of Rio Branco). Bediaga, *Diário do Imperador*, Vol. 9, 2 Apr. 1862. We remember that the colonising project of the Amazon region entrusted to the Viscount of Mauá did not succeed.

⁶⁶⁹ Bediaga, *idem.*, Vol. 9, 3 Jun. 1862.

The most representative exponent in Brazil of the new consensus on the free navigation rights of the Amazon fluvial system, and perhaps the most fervent defender of Maury's opinions in Brazil, was Tavares Bastos. This liberal politician had stated that 'Maury's book is perfectly logic, patriotic, humanitarian, American'—in the sense of the Americas.⁶⁷⁰ Tavares Bastos considered that the free navigation of the Amazon River, combined with a free-trade policy, was the crucial way to secure a rapprochement with the United States, which he saw as a unique, exceptional place. Fascinated with the U.S. post-colonial experience, he wondered:

How can it be that a mere colony, New England, could, all of a sudden, have reinvented itself into the powerful, wealthy, vast, enlightened, free, intelligent, unselfish, brave republic of the United States of America?⁶⁷¹

Tavares Bastos believed that the secret behind the rise of the United States from a colony of loosely organised political entities to a powerful modern nation-state lay in the fact that since its inception a series of virtues had been cultivated by its English colonists. Those qualities seemed to have been understood by Tavares Bastos as rooted in Protestant culture and, furthermore, as associated by definition with the Anglo-Saxon race. Implicitly endorsing the teleological narrative of History as a

⁶⁷⁰ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, Carta XXIII (21 Mar. 1862), 272-283, 274.

⁶⁷¹ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas*, Carta XXVIII (27 Mar. 1862), 321-330, 324. Among the published works that contain Tavares Bastos's political thought are in, *Os Males do Presente*; *Cartas do Solitário*; *O Vale do Amazonas: A Livre Navegação do Amazonas, Estatística, Produções, Comércio, Questões Fiscais do Vale do Amazonas* (1^a ed. 1866—São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1975); *A Província*; *Discursos Parlamentares* (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1977); 'Correspondência ativa', in *Correspondência e Catálogo de Documentos da Coleção da Biblioteca Nacional* (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1977), 9-192. Some of this material is also found in Pinto, *Idéias e Pensamentos de Tavares Bastos* and Moraes Filho, *As Idéias Fundamentais de Tavares Bastos*.

progressive march westwards from the Old to the New World where the ideals of freedom and liberty could be fully put into practice⁶⁷², Tavares Bastos argued:

the liberal spirit of Protestant reform, morality, love of labour, intelligence, perseverance, awareness of human dignity and zeal for personal independence [...] constitute the great characteristics of the races to the North of the globe.⁶⁷³

For Tavares Bastos the United States seemed to have appeared as the ultimate destination in the Western Hemisphere for these qualities to experience full realisation. As such, he saw the United States as the place where the Enlightenment ideal of a free, democratic society was going to be accomplished. This is why Tavares Bastos took that country as a crucial model to be studied for the modernisation of Brazil. We can classify this liberal thinker as the sort of Latin American intellectual who deemed the U.S. unfolding model of social and political organisation as the repository of the signs of New World modernity. An admirer of England but eager to adopt the values of British civilisation second-hand from the United States⁶⁷⁴, Tavares Bastos exhorted Brazilian politicians to study the social and political development of that country. ‘Do we want to get closer to Europe?’ he wondered, then argued: ‘let us draw closer to the United States. This is a nearer point on the curve’.⁶⁷⁵

Tavares Bastos’s desire to develop friendly relationships with the United States might have been rooted in the impact Tocqueville’s account of U.S. political culture

⁶⁷² David W. Noble, ‘The Anglo-Protestant monopolization of “America”’, in Jeffrey Belnap and Raúl Fernández (eds.), *José Martí’s Our America. From National to Hemispheric Cultural Studies* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1998), 253-274.

⁶⁷³ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas*, Carta XXVIII (27 Mar. 1862), 321-330, 324.

⁶⁷⁴ I borrowed the idea of introducing European culture into Latin America second-hand through the United States from Dr Jay Sexton.

⁶⁷⁵ *Cartas*, Carta XXIII (30 Mar. 1862), 157-168, 159.

exerted upon him. Like the French observer, Tavares Bastos pointed out the value bestowed in the United States on the individual, the individual initiative and the principle of association from the time of settlement. He deemed, moreover, that the associative character of U.S. culture was the main force of social transformation.⁶⁷⁶ Tavares Bastos was also among the first Brazilian politicians to indicate the centrality of the United States as the new alternative to European hegemony in the changing international political scenario. He was one of the first in Brazil to notice the nascent, international role of the United States and its potential for replacing traditional British dominance in Brazilian diplomatic and commercial affairs. Notwithstanding Britain's stronghold in Brazil, relations with the United States were the most convenient to Brazil, the liberal thinker sought to persuade his audience, 'especially because, after the present struggle [...] an inestimable role in the destinies of the world is reserved to the great republic of Washington'.⁶⁷⁷ Interestingly, Tavares Bastos appears here as a pioneer in predicting, in 1862, that the United States would emerge from Civil War strengthened. Furthermore, he posited:

it is for the sake of progress, or better, for the moral reform of the country, that I ardently wish for the most rapid communications between Brazil and the United States of North America. The North-American Union is the true rendez-vous [sic] of the civilised world.⁶⁷⁸

Tavares Bastos's writings abounded in allusions of this sort to the United States. Also, in 1862, under the pen name of 'O Solitário' ('the solitary') he published a series of

⁶⁷⁶ Da Silva, 'Tavares Bastos', 75-92; Tavares Bastos, 'Os males do presente e as esperanças do futuro', in *Os Males do Presente*, 42.

⁶⁷⁷ Tavares Bastos, 'Orçamento do Ministério dos Estrangeiros e Assuntos Diplomáticos', Session of 8 Jul. 1862, *Discursos Parlamentares*, 169-192, 190.

⁶⁷⁸ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas*, Carta XXX (30 Mar. 1862), 342-359, 344.

letters in a leading Rio de Janeiro newspaper with which he opened public debate over free navigation of the Amazon River.⁶⁷⁹ First, conforming with his liberal creed, Tavares Bastos was bitterly critical of government subsidies for the Brazilian navigation company or any other form of coastal transport monopoly. In his words: '[b]ut they say, patriotism recommends that national interests be protected. Formidable objection! Patriotism! This is: the interests of the monopolists'.⁶⁸⁰ Second, in order to persuade Brazilians to turn their attention to the United States, Tavares Bastos highlighted, in a fashion similar to Maury a decade earlier, that this country was but a short distance from the Amazon.⁶⁸¹ Third, Tavares Bastos strongly advocated the free navigation of this river because the development of international trade in Brazil's equatorial provinces 'is like air for the lungs'.⁶⁸² Once 'the solitary' managed to bring all these issues to the fore of the national debate, he asserted:

I attempt to show that if the opening of the Amazon is a great measure, it will not be completed without the establishment of a steamship line between New York and Rio de Janeiro.⁶⁸³

Subsidising a channel. Brazil supports the U.S. steamship line

It was clear for Tavares Bastos and other liberal actors that the benefits of liberalising the navigation of the Amazon River and its natural resources, as well as,

⁶⁷⁹ *Cartas do Solitário*, already cited above, is a compilation of the letters that first appeared in the Carioca newspaper *Correio Mercantil* in 1862.

⁶⁸⁰ Tavares Bastos 'Paquetes a vapor entre Brasil e os Estados Unidos', Parte III, *Correio Mercantil*, 24 Nov. 1863; 'Subvenções as empresas de navegação', Session of 17 May 1865, *Discursos Parlamentares*, 315-319; *Cartas*, Carta XXVII (23 Mar. 1862), 307-320, *passim*. See also, Carlos Pontes, *Tavares Bastos (Aureliano Cândido), 1839-1875* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1975).

⁶⁸¹ *Cartas*, Carta XXIX (28 Mar. 1862), 331-341, 332-333 and *passim*.

⁶⁸² *Cartas*, Carta XXVII (23 Mar. 1862), 307-320, 313; also Carta XII (18 Feb. 1862), 137-145, 142.

⁶⁸³ *Cartas*, Carta XXIX (28 Mar. 1862), 331-341, 324.

more generally, deepening the commercial relationships with the United States required direct and regular communications. A steamer line between Brazil and the United States would provide the channel through which to encounter U.S. civilisation. Tavares Bastos pointed out that Brazil's reliance on European transportations was incongruous, noting that 'letters, news and orders between New York to Rio de Janeiro could take 44 days, whereas direct communication would take less than 22 days, stopovers included'.⁶⁸⁴ The lack of a direct means of communication between the United States and Brazil implied that passengers, mail and freight had to be dispatched on British ships with compulsory stops at European ports.⁶⁸⁵ The sense of remoteness with respect to the United States that the dependence on British ships imposed was a key argument in the campaign for the steamer line. The obstacles that liberals had to face before the project of liberalisation of the Amazon waters could progress at first seemed to be insurmountable. The Emperor himself recorded in his personal diary that Tavares Bastos's campaign was raising suspicions among politicians. In fact, Emperor Dom Pedro II confessed that the deputy from the province of Rio de Janeiro and one of his closer collaborators, the Viscount of Rio Branco, 'think that U.S. interests are paying [the Rio's newspaper *O Correio*] *Mercantil* to publish articles written by 'the solitary''.⁶⁸⁶

As early as 1863, before completion of the national railway network which was expected to diminish the port monopoly enjoyed by Rio, the Brazilian representative in Washington expressed the opinion that the establishment of a monthly line of steamers between the ports of New York and Pará would result in a more equitable

⁶⁸⁴ Cartas, Carta XXIX (28 Mar. 1862), 331-341, 333.

⁶⁸⁵ Joseph Smith, *The United States and Latin America. A History of American Diplomacy, 1776-2000* (London & New York: Routledge, 2005), esp. ch. 2, 'Territorial expansionism (1830-79)', 21-41; Paulo Roberto Almeida, 'As relações do Brasil com os Estados Unidos em perspectiva histórica', in Almeida and Barbosa, *Relações Brasil-Estados Unidos*, 13-40, 6-8 and 18; Topik, *Trade and Gunboats*, 54-55.

⁶⁸⁶ Bediaga, *Diário do Imperador*, Vol. 9, 2 Apr. 1862.

incentive for Brazilian export trade.⁶⁸⁷ In turn, Tavares Bastos affirmed from Parliament that ‘nowadays the North-Americans are everywhere in Brazil, and particularly in Pará where they foster our trade’.⁶⁸⁸ Pointing out that the active commercial intercourse of the Amazon region with the United States was in part the result of geographical proximity, Tavares Bastos accused the imperial government of going against ‘the natural order of things’ for its slowness in establishing direct communications departing from Brazil’s Northern ports.⁶⁸⁹ Tavares Bastos also put forward two other arguments during the parliamentary sessions. First, that the United States was Brazil’s greatest market ‘for our large-scale agriculture’, that is, coffee beans.⁶⁹⁰ In fact, of the whole Brazilian coffee crop nearly one half was exported to the United States, especially after 1865. Certainly, Brazilian coffee furnished a profitable traffic for steamer lines departing from the Brazilian ports heading off to New York and Baltimore. Moreover, Brazilian coffee growers and their political spokesmen wanted direct communications with New Orleans for easy access to the Mississippi Valley which they thought the greatest coffee drinking region in the world.⁶⁹¹ Second but equally important, Tavares Bastos argued that Brazil could be just twenty-four days away from the port of New York counting only two stopovers within Brazil, Pará and Pernambuco, instead of the forty-four days that

⁶⁸⁷ Miguel Maria Lisboa to Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, Marques de Abrantes, Washington, 6 de out. 1863, MDB, AHI, Ofícios, Sessão Central, N. 11.

⁶⁸⁸ *Correio Mercantil*, 2 May 1863; Tavares Bastos, ‘Carta ao Illm. Sr. G. N. Davis, em Rio de Janeiro, Valença, 15 mar. de 1863’, *Correio Mercantil*, 2 May 1863. Also, James B. Bond (U.S. Consul at Pará) to Hamilton Fish, Pará, 3 Nov. 1870, *United States, Dept. of State, Foreign Relations (1870-1871)*, U.S. Legation to Brazil, N. 27, 291-295 (henceforth cited as *U.S. Despatches. Brazil*, with date and number). Available from the University of Wisconsin Digital Collections: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS> (5 November 2008).

⁶⁸⁹ Tavares Bastos, *Cartas*, Carta XXIX (28 Mar. 1862), 331-341, 332.

⁶⁹⁰ Tavares Bastos, ‘Navegação de Cabotagem’, Session of 25 Jul. 1862, *Discursos Parlamentares*, 231-246. Later on, conservative ‘anti-Yankees’ sectors tended to dismiss the stability of the coffee trade cycle. Nationalist leader Eduardo Prado stated eloquently: ‘É absurdo fazer-se deste fato [coffee export to the United States] motivo para uma gratidão sentimental. Os americanos não compram café por amizade, nem por filantropia. Compram porque [...] o país que mais lhe convém é o Brasil’. Prado, *A Ilusão Americana*, 205-206.

⁶⁹¹ New Orleans, however, off the main route, was unable to regain the primacy it had once enjoyed before the Civil War. Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Trade and Investment*, 187, 191.

communications with the cities of the U.S. Eastern seaboard took through the intermediation of the British lines.⁶⁹²

In keeping with the nineteenth-century liberal belief in free trade as one of the fundamental aspects of modern nations, Tavares Bastos wanted to see the ports of the Empire becoming points of export, import and supply for domestic markets. But what particularly strengthened Tavares Bastos's position regarding communications with the United States was an already noticeable inequality in commercial movement between both markets. If the United States was Brazil's best customer, Brazil relied considerably more on British products than on the new range of U.S. products struggling to capture the Brazilian market, as will be shown below. On the basis that Brazilian imports from the United States did not keep pace with the value of goods the United States purchased from Brazil, mostly in coffee, the liberal thinker foresaw a growing trade with this country in the immediate future.⁶⁹³ Sympathising with the U.S. mood of the time which praised speed, promptness and regularity as the masters of commercial opportunity and enterprise, the liberal deputy strove to demonstrate that no Brazilian navigation company was equipped with the necessary capital resources to fulfil these basic requirements—far less the one of comfort—in order to establish the direct service between Brazilian and U.S. ports.⁶⁹⁴ Towards the mid-nineteenth century, the railway system and steamship navigation were celebrated as symbols of progress and modernisation. As with the locomotive, the steam vessel was seen as a supreme manifestation of the worldwide social process of technological

⁶⁹² Tavares Bastos, 'Navegação de Cabotagem', *idem*.

⁶⁹³ *Cartas*, Carta XXIX (28 Mar. 1862), 331-341, 333-334. Also, *Cartas*, Carta XXVII (23 Mar. 1862), 307-320, *passim*.

⁶⁹⁴ Tavares Bastos, 'Paquetes a vapor entre Brasil e os Estados Unidos', Parte VI, *Correio Mercantil*, 14 Dec. 1863; Parte V, 16 Dec. 1863; Parte VI, 17 Dec. 1863.

development which so greatly intrigued nineteenth-century Brazilians.⁶⁹⁵ If these elements of a modern nation were one of the civilising preoccupations of liberal thinkers such as Tavares Bastos, then Tavares's tireless efforts to bring about smooth communications with the United States would make some sense to us. In this context, Tavares Bastos set aside his liberalism to fervently support the awarding of a subsidy by the Brazilian government to any U.S. navigation firm which pledged to replace the old sailing ships between both countries.⁶⁹⁶ Tavares Bastos was in tune with the intellectual climate of the century which by measuring the degree of progress reached by particular societies, endorsed the ideology of technological determinism. He conceived particular societies as embedded in larger social formations and thus his ultimate struggle was for the sake of harmonising Brazil's socio-historical circumstances with the social and technological stage of progress being reached abroad. Yet, the perspective of Brazil subsidising a U.S. enterprise caused controversy in Brazil. A heated debate both in the press and in Parliament soon ensued. The reluctance was sometimes clearly expressed, as, for example, by in *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, on 8 November 1863:

subsidising a foreign company with the serious and manifest harm this would cause to a national company would be an absurdity.⁶⁹⁷

Not only did the idea of the Brazilian government granting a monthly monetary sum to a U.S. enterprise strike certain politicians, newspaper editors and readers alike as

⁶⁹⁵ Peter L. Blasenheim, 'Railroads in nineteenth-century Minas Gerais', *JLAS*, 26:2 (May, 1994), 347-374.

⁶⁹⁶ 'O artigo aditivo, portanto, vem habilitar o governo a conceder uma subvenção ate 200:000\$ a companhia que fizer a navegação direta a vapor entre Nova York e o Rio de Janeiro, tocando em St. Tomas, no Pará e em outros portos'. 'Orçamento do Ministério dos Estrangeiros e Assuntos Diplomáticos', Session of 8 Jul. 1862, *Discursos Parlamentares*, 169-192, 190.

⁶⁹⁷ 'Navegação para os Estados Unidos', *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 8 Nov. 1863.

unreasonable in budgetary terms. Conservative groups also highlighted the eventual cultural impact of establishing a direct, regular line connecting Brazil and the United States. This time the argument addressed the question of how a closer position to a powerful nation, ruled by a republican regime and an entrepreneurial ethos much concerned with marketable productions and consumer markets, would affect the values, mores and culture of a clientelist and patriarchal society more concerned with life on the rural estates (*fazendas*) where more than 80 percent of the Brazilian population resided. As early as the 1860s the conservative depiction rendered the United States exotic for Brazil: the idea was that the closer the communications with the United States, the greater the risks of being affected by this unfamiliar culture so focused on technological innovation and industrial development. A continuous, immediate contact with that country, those sceptics contended, would not only endanger the territorial integrity of the Northern portion of the Empire—so went the fear instilled by Maury’s claims which still reverberated in some Brazilian minds.⁶⁹⁸ It would also mean Brazilian institutions being harmed, altered and/or reshaped in the image of their U.S. counterparts.⁶⁹⁹ For Tavares Bastos, the sceptics of the 1860s were nothing more than flatterers’ of the Monarch who:

in order to show that they are more monarchist than the monarch himself, insinuate that the Americans of the North would bring anarchy to Brazil should we establish intimate relationships, or that they would end up annexing the Northern provinces, if they could.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁸ Tavares Bastos, ‘Carta ao Illm. Sr. G. N. Davis’.

⁶⁹⁹ *Jornal do Comércio*, 22 Nov. 1863. Also, 24, 26, 28 Nov. 1863, 2 Dec. 1863; *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 8, 26 and 28 Nov. 1863, 21 Dec. 1863, 25 May 1865; *Correio Mercantil*, 19 and 23 Nov., 18 Dec. 1863.

⁷⁰⁰ Tavares Bastos, ‘Carta ao Illm. Sr. G. N. Davis’.

On the other hand, those who opposed granting a Brazilian subsidy to a U.S. steamship company furthermore protested against the tendency to consider anything foreign superior to the domestic.⁷⁰¹ In relation to the new trends coming from the United States we read in an anonymous article featuring in the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* on 21 December 1863 the claim that:

As a general rule, we do not believe by any means that an American is better than a Brazilian just for coming from the North. If this rule was accepted, we should employ people from the United States as Ministers of State, Deputies, all kinds of civil servants, for us to be better served.⁷⁰²

Such claims were not uncommon in the context of the debate about granting a subsidy to a U.S. steamer line. Moreover, opponents of the project put forth two further arguments. First, they emphasised the inopportune time for the government to increase public expenditures in the context of pressing financial needs during the Paraguayan War. Second, they brought up the sensitive fact that Brazilian sovereignty had recently been infringed by the U.S. government when a Union warship seized a Confederate steamer in the harbour of Bahia on 7 October 1864. This diplomatic incident had not been pardoned by Brazilians and remained an open wound in national pride at least until 1866.⁷⁰³

What stands out in the debate about bringing Brazil closer to the United States through the development of direct steamship communications, is that for the first time

⁷⁰¹ 'Navegação para os Estados Unidos', *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 8 Nov. 1863.

⁷⁰² Anonymous, 'O Sr. Tavares Bastos e a navegação entre o Brasil e os Estados Unidos', *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 21 Dec. 1863. Also, 'Navegação de cabotagem', *Jornal do Comércio*, 22 May 1865.

⁷⁰³ Fala do Trono na Abertura da Assembléa Geral em 6 de maio 1865, *Falas do Trono*, 358-362. References to this diplomatic conflict also in the *Diário Oficial* and in the Bahian press. For example, 'Traição, insulto e cobardia', *Jornal da Bahia* (Bahia), 8 Oct. 1864.

our sources make explicit the appeal to the imagined antinomies between Anglo-Saxon and Latin cultures, which came to be one of the *fin-de-siècle* tropes of the discourse on Latin American identity, as embodied in the so-called ‘Arielist’ genre—after the canonical essay by the Uruguayan essayist José Enrique Rodó.⁷⁰⁴ Nonetheless, if for some members of the Brazilian elite a closer encounter with the United States could mean a blow to Brazil’s cultural distinctiveness rooted in Lusitanian and Catholic origins and slave workforce, for others it offered the chance to debate the general virtues and defects of the models supplied by Old Europe and New America and, in the end, to bring about a true encounter with modernity. Furthermore, for Brazilian liberal thinkers closer communications with the United States would also mean the very chance to apprehend the U.S. phenomenon of technological and material improvement as conveyed the latest agricultural machinery as well as in a new range of manufactures already available for consumption in Brazil’s major urban markets. In addition to locomotives and agricultural equipment, novelties that were widely advertised included domestic appliances such as sewing machines and ovens for baking cakes, as well as goods such as ornaments for the home, chairs, perfumes, medicines, or shoes. The new range of goods coming from the United States opened up a new universe of consumption that was felt to be advancing in a way that could not be avoided for much longer.

Although controversial, Tavares Bastos’s campaign to subsidise a steam line gained official approval. In 1864, Brazilian representative in Washington, Miguel Maria Lisboa, informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs that James Watson Webb, the plenipotentiary Minister of Washington to the court of Dom Pedro II sent in 1861 by

⁷⁰⁴ For a recent study on Latin American literary modernism see, Oscar Terán, ‘El espiritualismo y la creación del anti-modernismo latinoamericano’, in Salvatore (ed.), *Culturas Imperiales*, 301-314 and Julio Ramos, ‘Culturalism and *Latinoamericanismo*’, in *Divergent Modernities. Culture and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2001), 219-250.

the Lincoln administration, was trying to organize a line of steamers with Brazil.⁷⁰⁵ Webb was another observer who pointed out that Britain had an advantage in communications with the South American countries. More specifically, Webb observed that Britain had doubled the trade between British ports and Rio de Janeiro after the inauguration, in 1850, of the steamboat navigation, whereas the United States still relied on the already obsolete clipper ships, if not on British vessels, for their export trade to Brazil.⁷⁰⁶ The U.S. Minister had asked for the monopoly concession of a line of steamers to Pará for his New York firm. However, Webb's time in office in Rio de Janeiro occurred simultaneously with the U.S. Civil War and represented the era of the most unpleasant diplomatic relations between both countries.⁷⁰⁷ The strains between the U.S. representative and the Brazilian authorities grew out of Brazil's official stance as regards the activities of the Confederate warships navigating in Brazil's territorial waters and their use of the Brazilian ports. All in all, while Webb embodied Washington's view of the Confederate vessels as pirates, Brazilian authorities granted them belligerent status and treated them as legitimate ships from a nation at war.⁷⁰⁸ Webb's main argument against the Brazilian government was that in

⁷⁰⁵ Miguel Maria Lisboa to Marques de Abrantes, Washington, 2 Jan. 1864, MDB, AHI, Ofícios, Sessão Central, N. 1; Luiz Augusto de Padua Henry to João Pedro Dias Vieira, Washington, 4 Mar. 1864, Ofícios, Sessão Central, N. 3. On Webb's contentious role as a diplomat to Brazil, see Hill, *Diplomatic Relations between Brazil and The United States*, 146-176; 'The United States', in Lawrence F. Hill (ed.), *Brazil* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1947), 344-366, 346-348; Nathan L. Ferris, 'The relations of the United States with South America during the American Civil War', *HAHR*, 21:1 (Feb., 1941), 51-78, 54 ff.; Bradford Burns, *The Unwritten Alliance*, 58-59; Moniz Bandeira, *Presença dos Estados Unidos no Brasil*, 114; Antônia F. P. de Almeida Wright, 'Brasil e os Estados Unidos, 1831-1889', in Sergio Buarque de Holanda (ed.), *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira* (R. Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1997), t. II, 'O Brasil monárquico', Vol. 6, 'Declínio e queda do Império', Part II, ch. 3, 202-238.

⁷⁰⁶ James Watson Webb [U.S. Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1862 and 1873] to Carlos Carneiro de Campos, 23 Sept. 1864, MDB, AHI, Notas, 280, 1-8. A large corpus of letters by Webb addressed to different members of the Brazilian government is held in the Manuscript Section of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro. They were written between April 1863 and September 1864 while negotiating the establishment of the steamship line administered by him.

⁷⁰⁷ Hill, 'The United States', 345.

⁷⁰⁸ Brazil was the only country in South America that declared neutrality in the U.S. Civil War (1 Aug. 1861). Miguel Maria Lisboa a João Lins Vieira Cansansão de Sinimbú, Washington, 1 May 1861, MDB, AHI, Ofícios, 1ª Seção, N. 15, 233/3/10; correspondence between Lisboa (from Washington) and Marques de Abrantes, (from Rio de Janeiro) between 2 Jun. and 26 Dec. 1861, in MDB, AHI,

assisting them with coal and provisions, it was merely fostering the Civil War in the United States.⁷⁰⁹ The diplomatic strains between the two countries was exacerbated after the Paraguayan War and began to assume undue proportions.⁷¹⁰ The conflicts ended in a monetary-claim case which, by favouring Webb's claim, forced the Brazilian government to pay reparations to the United States. What is relevant for the purpose of the present argument is that Webb was deeply concerned with promoting private business ends and did not hesitate to take advantage of the diplomatic incidents with the Brazilian government.⁷¹¹

Shortly after this incident the name of another U.S. businessman eager to develop the export trade with Brazil came to the fore among Brazilian politicians. He was shipbuilder Cornelius K. Garrison from New York. Garrison, an entrepreneur experienced in steamboat operations between the state of New York and the Caribbean basin, bought the New York and Brazil Mail Steam Company along with

Ofícios, 233/3/13. Also, Joaquim Maria Nascentes d'Azambuja a José Antônio Saraiva, New York, 3 Nov. 1865, MDB, AHI, Ofícios, 1ª Seção, N. 19, 233/4/1.

⁷⁰⁹ In October 1861 the Confederate vessel *Sumter* visited the Amazon port of Maranhão where it remained for 9 days taking coal and provisions. In April 1863 the Confederate vessel *Alabama* stayed in the harbour of Fernando de Noronha (province of Pernambuco) for 6 days. During these days it sailed out and captured the Union warships *Kate Corry*, *La Fayette* and *Louisa Hatch* within Brazilian waters. Other Confederate ships that frequented Brazilian waters during the Civil War were the *Georgia* and the *Florida*. Violating Brazil's sovereignty, the Union warship *Wachusett* captured the latter in the port of Bahia on 7 Sept. 1864. Miguel Maria Lisboa a Benvenuto Augusto de Magalhães Taques, Washington, 19 Nov. 1861, MDB, AHI, Ofícios, Sessão Central, Confidencial, N. 5; Lisboa a Marques de Abrantes, Washington, 3 Sept. 1863, MDB, AHI, Ofícios, Sessão Central, N. 8; *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 19 Oct. 1864, 1, 27 Oct. 1865, 1; Ferris, 54-56; Monteoliva Doratioto, 'O Império do Brasil e as grandes potencias', 12-13; Hill, *Diplomatic Relations*, 146-176; Bradford Burns, *The Unwritten Alliance*, 59.

⁷¹⁰ Luiz Augusto de Pádua Fleury a João Lustosa da Cunha Paranaguá, Washington, 19 May 1868, MDB, AHI, 2ª Seção, N. 3, 233/4/3; Domingo José Gonsalves de Magalhães a João Silveira de Souza, Washington, 17 Aug. 1868, MDB, AHI, 2ª Seção, Reservado, N. 1; Enrique Cavalcanti de Albuquerque a Coelho de Sá e Albuquerque, New York, 21 Jun. 1868, MDB, AHI, Sessão Central, N. 3; and several despatches from Gonsalves de Magalhães to José Maria da Silva Paranhos, Visconde de Rio Branco, MDB, AHI, Ofícios, 1869, 233/4/4.

⁷¹¹ The diplomatic incident between both countries was settled by monetary payment of \$70,000 by the Brazilian government of which \$45,000 remained in the personal possession of Webb. Antônio P. de Carvalho Borges a João Maurício Wanderlei, Barão de Cotegipe, New York, 14 Apr. 1876, MDB, AHI, Particular, 233/4/6; Washington, 27 May 1876, 2ª Seção, N. 6, MDB, AHI, Ofícios. In 1869, Webb's departure from the post brought an end to an era of diplomatic relations 'punctuated too frequently by misunderstanding and buffoonery'. Hill, 'The United States', 346.

his son William, and received an annual subsidy from the U.S. government.⁷¹² Building on Webb's knowledge of Brazil's business environment, Garrison learnt that the Brazilian government was considering granting an annual subsidy to a U.S. company for the sake of direct communications between both countries.⁷¹³ Moreover, in 1865 the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made it known that the imperial government was willing to tighten existing relationships with the United States and made it public that a subsidy to the U.S. company in charge of the steamboat service had already been approved by the Lower Chamber and that it would not take long to receive approval from the Higher Chamber.⁷¹⁴ In February 1866 the Brazilian government signed a contract with the Garrisons' firm granting it an annual subsidy of \$100,000.⁷¹⁵ The Garrison line began operations on 29 September 1865. It was the first steamship line operating monthly between Rio de Janeiro and New York and was considered the major U.S. accomplishment of the decade of the 1860s in Brazil.⁷¹⁶ Shortly thereafter, in September 1866, the Brazilian Council of State eventually stipulated that in one year's time the Amazon would be free to the merchant vessels of all nations.⁷¹⁷ Unsurprisingly, it was the United States that, after some failed attempts, took the lead in gaining access to the Amazon fluvial system. Moreover, the U.S.

⁷¹² Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Trade and Investment*, 192.

⁷¹³ Luiz Augusto de Padua Henry to João Pedro Dias Vieira, Washington, 4 Mar. 1864, MDB, AHI, Ofícios, Sessão Central, N. 3, 8 ff.

⁷¹⁴ João Batista Calogeras [member of the Minister of Foreign Affairs], 30 May 1865, AHI, Instruções, Minutas (1823-1878), Folder N. 2 (C/I), 317/4/16.

⁷¹⁵ Decree N. 3614, 17 February 1866. Antônio Francisco de Paula Sousa, *Relatório Apresentado a Assembléa Geral Legislativa na Quarta Sessão da Décima Segunda Legislatura pelo Ministro e Secretario de Estado dos Negócios da Agricultura, Commércio e Obras Publicas* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1866), Anexo T, 'Contracto para a navegação por vapor entre o Rio de Janeiro e os Estados Unidos', 1-4.

⁷¹⁶ Henry W. Hilliard to William M. Evarts, Rio de Janeiro, 14 Nov. 1877, *U.S. Despatches. Brazil (1878-1879)*, N. 52, 61-62.

⁷¹⁷ The decree was drawn up by Minister of Justice Joaquim Nabuco de Araújo. *Leis do Brasil*, Decree N. 3749, 7 September 1866, 362. See also, 'Fala do trono na abertura da Assembléa Geral em 22 de maio 1867', *Falas do Trono*, 374; Nascentes de Azambuja to William H. Seward, New York, 22 Jan. 1867, *U.S. Despatches. Brazil (1867-1868)*, unnumbered, 256. The free navigation rights to the Amazon system, however, were limited to the Tabatinga River, on the Amazon; the Cameta River, on the Tocantins; the Santarém River, on the Tapajós; the Borba River, on the Madeira; and the Manaus River, on the Negro River. The decree took effect on 7 September 1867.

shipyards came to be the leaders in building steamers specifically adapted for navigating the Amazon River. The innovation met expectations in the United States of challenging British supremacy in Brazil. The U.S. consul at Pará reported to the Department of State about the successful improvement:

I am happy to say they have given great satisfaction on account of [the boats'] small consumption of coal and general adaptation to river navigation, in which they are far superior to boats built in Great Britain.⁷¹⁸

The campaign for the liberalisation of the Amazon River, the ports and market, was a leading embodiment of this new political mood. What most interests us is that by the mid-1860s Brazilian images of the United States had begun to take a new, positive twist. Now that the era of the diplomacy of territorial annexation was over, a more favourable depiction of the United States was easier to celebrate. The United States began gradually to appear as a source of a new identity alternative to European cultural patterns which, if followed, could help to put Brazil on the road towards modernisation. In fact, the idea of the United States as the *avant-garde* of progress was in place among Brazilians as early as the 1870s. By that time Brazilian liberal thinkers glorified the United States as the materialisation of the scientific ethos, technological innovation, industrial development and the ideology of free trade. Moreover, during the immediate aftermath of the U.S. Civil War, growing interest among liberal elites in modernising the archaic structures of Brazilian society was united around the idea of a closer relationship with the United States for its distinctive, more democratic contribution to modern civilisation. Accordingly, an

⁷¹⁸ James B. Bond to Hamilton Fish, Pará, 3 Nov. 1870, *U.S. Despatches. Brazil (1870-1871)* N. 27, 291-295, 295.

increasing number of politicians and liberal thinkers began to draw attention to, and represent the United States as a potential field for a more active relationship in which commercial engagement was a key element. This determination would be materialised with the opening up of the Amazon waters to international navigation, the establishment of direct steamship communication between both countries and the growing presence of U.S. goods and infrastructure in Brazil. It is to this that we now turn our attention.

Consuming the United States

The second half of the century was a time of worldwide communications and transport innovations in the context of which the development of the steamer lines in the United States sparked great attraction in Brazil. Among the transport novelties introduced to this country in this period, steamboat navigation and the initiation of a national railway system aroused the greatest expectations among Brazilian liberal thinkers. Along with steam navigation, the U.S. railway system likewise provoked admiration among liberal elites. By the mid-1860s, the mood in Brazil was that:

even though the [U.S.] railway industry never enjoyed official protection, it represents nonetheless the major achievement of the Americans over the other peoples of the world.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁹ Joaquim Murinho, 'Política brasileira. Um estadista da República. Introdução ao Relatório apresentado ao Sr. Presidente da República pelo Ministro da Industria, Viação e obras Publicas, Dr. Joaquim Murinho', *RIHGB*, Vol. 219 (abr. – jun., 1953), 239-265, 243.

The correlation between the ideology of *laissez faire*, the transforming power of the new technology and the development of heavy industry, and the idea of the United States as the new fountain of novelties began to grow among liberal thinkers as early as the mid-1860s. They pointed to the fact that after the Civil War the United States began the manufacture of goods such as steel, iron and machinery, which provided the basis for spectacular economic growth, without disregarding agricultural and textile productions.

Despite the fact that the imperial, and then the republican government played the major role in building Brazil's railway systems, and despite the fact that the British were the prominent foreign investors in railway construction and rolling stock throughout the period, the major projects in railway building and steam navigation in Brazil after the 1860s were being undertaken by U.S. entrepreneurs.⁷²⁰ The influence of liberal thinkers was stronger in the cities of the Empire; yet, the modernising thrust did not restrict itself to the urban framework: provincial administrations also took part in the propaganda and drive for renewing the traditional structures of imperial Brazil. In 1866 André Augusto de Pádua Fleury, governor of the province of Paraná, commissioned the German engineers Joseph and Francisco Keller to find a route to transport rubber from the wild forest of the neighbouring province of Mato Grosso in the Amazon jungle to the Atlantic seaboard. Fluvial communications and a railway line were to be established.⁷²¹ But when this first attempt failed the government turned to U.S. expertise in railway building. In April 1870 a decree was issued by the Brazilian government authorising Colonel George Earl Church from Massachusetts to

⁷²⁰ Ridings, 'Interest groups', 241; 'Business, Nationality and Dependency', 91; 'Business Interest Groups and Communications: The Brazilian Experience in the Nineteenth Century', *LBR*, 20:2 (Winter, 1983), 241-257; Steven Topik, 'State autonomy in economic policy: Brazil's experience 1822-1930', *JISWA*, 26:4 (Nov., 1984), 449-476, 460; 'The state's contribution to the development of Brazil's internal economy, 1850-1930', *HAHR*, 65:2 (May, 1985), 203-228, 220.

⁷²¹ Romário Martins, *História do Paraná* (Curitiba, Paraná: Travessa dos Editores, 1995).

lay a railway in the Madeira and Mamoré River area with a view to the exportation of rubber production.⁷²² But what stands out in this early phase of U.S. economic penetration into the Brazilian market is that the U.S. investment projects took place in situations where there was no alternative investor. The Viscount of Mauá, who was also the local pioneer in railway investment, could not afford to build the entire transport infrastructure that Brazil needed; he, like other entrepreneurs, was credit constrained. To fill this gap Charles B. Greenough, from New York, founded the Companhia de Ferro Carril do Jardim Botânico in 1866 which began operations in 1868. The design of the railways and the improved comfort of the new transport innovation introduced by the U.S. businessman were lauded in a leading Rio de Janeiro newspaper: ‘Wagons are comfortable and long’ and ‘the passenger [...] barely feels the movement’.⁷²³

The incorporation of technological improvements into transport systems conveying the idea of comfort as implied in the note above, redounded in the daily lifestyle of the people. For radical liberals, the improvements in people’s daily life as such were one of the forms that the U.S. experience of social emancipation adopted. These liberals, furthermore, were keen to associate the idea of the U.S. as the place where the ideal of equality was being achieved, with the example that material betterment such as comfortable urban or inter-urban journeying could actually be democratically enjoyed. André Rebouças, for example, pointed out that railways in

⁷²² This concession actually gave the U.S. entrepreneur exclusive rights to construct and operate a railway around the Madeira River area. Bernardo de Sousa Franco [Senator from Pará and Councillor], Rodrigues, *Atas do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. 8, ‘Ata do 4 de janeiro de 1871’, 169. On the cultural impact that the arrival of a railway line in the Amazon jungle had for the native people, see Francisco Foot Hardman, *Trem Fantasma: A Modernidade na Selva* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1988). On the misfortunes during construction of the Madeira-Mamoré railway (1878/9-1907/12), see Neville B. Craig, *Estrada de Ferro Madeira-Mamoré: História Trágica de uma Expedição* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1947) and Manoel Rodrigues Ferreira, *A Ferrovia do Diabo* (São Paulo: Ed. Melhoramentos, 1960).

⁷²³ *Jornal do Comércio*, 10 Oct. 1868. See also, Elisabeth von der Weid, ‘O bonde como elemento de expansão urbana no Rio de Janeiro’, FCRB, 8. Available from: www.casaruibarbosa.gov.br (9 November 2007).

the United States did not impose the class subdivision that European wagons did. Rather than having designed different carriages for different social classes, ‘Americans with aristocratic pretensions distinguished themselves by the dress code’.⁷²⁴ Fact or folklore, the idea that the generic principle of equality as manifested in the idea of comfort was taking concrete meaning in the daily lives of the U.S. people and that this was a cultural process unfolding in the United States, was part of the representations of that country and culture elaborated towards the 1870s by Brazilian liberal thinkers.

Along with the railways, the modernising creed similarly involved the renewal of the urban and inter-urban transport systems along the lines drawn by the new cultural reference as represented by the United States. Accordingly, along with fresh investments in new railways coming from the United States, the other important technological novelty introduced by the U.S. transport technology was the steam tramway system, the form of urban transport which was to appear in Brazil earlier than in any other Latin American or even European cities. The trams were manufactured by John Stephenson, also from New York. The U.S.-based Brazilian journals studied in chapter 3, namely *O Novo Mundo*, *Revista Industrial* and *A Aurora Brasileira*, were the main loci for publicity for the U.S. locomotives and wagons, railway material and heavy machinery targeting the Brazilian market. The place Stephenson chose to advertise his equipment was *O Novo Mundo* which carried his advertisements between 1870 and 1879, that is from the first to the very last issue of the journal.⁷²⁵ The high standards of urban transportation set by Stephenson’s new steam tramway system adopted in Rio’s Zona Sul, the neighbourhood to the South of the city, were soon adopted in other areas of the capital city as well as in different

⁷²⁴ Rebouças, *Diário*, 16 Jun. 1873. We remember that André Rebouças was a member of the editorial board of the *O Novo Mundo*.

⁷²⁵ This has also been noticed by Boehrer in ‘José Carlos Rodrigues’, 137.

cities of the Empire.⁷²⁶ The U.S. John Stephenson Company also supplied most of these new developments with railway material. We read in *O Novo Mundo*:

The horse cars by Mr Stephenson are here in every city of New York [state], and generally in all the cities of the North of the Union. In Brazil they are already in use in Pará, Maranhão, Pernambuco, Bahia e Rio de Janeiro, and we reveal that São Paulo will shortly be blessed with a line. On the last month's steamship [the Garrison line operating from New York to Rio de Janeiro] we saw three big and beautiful wagons on board destined for the Companhia [Urbana de Estrada de Ferro] Paraense [from the state of Pará].⁷²⁷

As reported in *O Novo Mundo*'s editorial of October 1870, the city of Bahia was among the places in Brazil 'blessed' with U.S. investment in the urban steam tram system. It was in 1866 that a U.S. entrepreneur opened a tramway along the city's waterfront using cars bought second-hand from Boston. In Rio's case, U.S. industrialist Albert H. Hager founded in 1869 both the Rio de Janeiro Street Railway and the tram system in Rio's Zona Norte, the neighbourhood to the North of the city.⁷²⁸ Another example comes from the U.S. industrialist and Consul at Pará, James B. Bond. In October 1868 Bond received from the Brazilian government the concession for thirty years of the exclusive privilege of running the tramway service

⁷²⁶ On Rio de Janeiro's urban transformation at the turn of the century, see Needell, 'Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the century'.

⁷²⁷ *O Novo Mundo*, I:1, 24 Oct. 1870, 14.

⁷²⁸ Allen Morrison, *The Tramways of Brazil - A 130-Year Survey* (New York: Bonde Press, 1989). Available from: <http://www.tramz.com/br/tto/01.html> (22 June 2007). See also, *The Tramways of Belém, Capital of Pará State, Brazil*. Available from: <http://www.tramz.com/br/be/be.html> (21 May 2007).

of the city of Pará and Belém by Law No. 585.⁷²⁹ In 1870, after organising the Companhia Urbana de Estrada de Ferro Paraense, the transport network of the state of Pará, and despite the time-span of the concession, Bond sold the company to the president of the Associação Comercial do Pará (Commercial Association of Pará), Manoel Antônio Pimenta Bueno. The new owner kept relying on the United States for the importation of cars and rolling stock; the John Stephenson Company and the J. G. Brill Company from Philadelphia were the ones which supplied the Paraense tramway line with them.

Apart from the transport novelties, other technological innovations which had appeared in the United States began to be introduced in Brazil. Two of the most salient to be mentioned in this chapter were the electric light for industrial and domestic use and the telephone. The image of Thomas A. Edison as an inventive genius and exponent of the North American scientific ethos, as he was portrayed in Brazil, made great waves among enlightened circles in Brazil. Despite being avid consumers of French cultural artefacts, the Brazilian elites were dazzled by ‘the deeds of Edison, which seemed fantastic’.⁷³⁰ Emperor Dom Pedro II, who met the scientist on his first trip to the United States in 1876 for the Centennial Exhibition, first projected this image. Along with Edison, Dom Pedro also met Ralph Waldo Emerson and Alexander Graham Bell among others scientists whilst in the United States. These contacts were part of the ongoing correspondence he had maintained since the 1850s

⁷²⁹ Ernesto Cruz, *História do Pará* (Belém: Governo do Estado do Pará, 1973), 2 Vols., Vol. 2, 573. Cited in, Chélen Fischer de Lemos, ‘O Processo Sociotécnico de Eletrificação na Amazônia: Articulações e Contradições entre Estado, Capital e Território (1890 a 1990)’, PhD thesis, Instituto de Pesquisa e Planejamento Urbano e Regional, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2007, 143.

⁷³⁰ The expression comes from a female scion of a wealthy planter family from São Paulo, Antônia Lins Vieira de Melo. Freyre, *Order and Progress*, 97. Similarly, news about the electric telegraph as developed in the United States by Samuel F. B. Morse generated much excitement among Brazilian intellectuals. See for example, André Pinto Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas* (R. Janeiro: Ed. José Olympio, 1938). Entry of 19 June 1873.

with New England writers and scientists.⁷³¹ In 1876 Bell himself showed the Emperor his most recent invention, the telephone. The Emperor tried it: It ‘did in fact speak’, he marvelled, and assured: ‘When your invention is put on the market, Brazil will be your first customer’.⁷³² What interests us is the impact the Emperor’s positive images of U.S. technological developments and material progress had on Brazil’s importation policy. Dom Pedro’s trip to the United States and the contacts he made there acted as a powerful form of propaganda among Brazilian elites for the appropriation of technological novelties emerging from the social process there.⁷³³ In fact, along with innovations in transport machinery and wagons, improvements such as electrical lighting or the telephone also underpinned the shift towards greater urban comfort. In 1877 the first electric telephones were installed in Rio de Janeiro and in 1879 the electric light was first introduced to illuminate the Estradas de Ferro Dom Pedro II in the same city. Also in 1879 the Companhia de Ferro Carril do Jardim Botânico established electric telephone communication between its five stations. Two years later, Edison’s incandescent lamps were imported to illuminate an industrial fair at the Campo de Santana in the capital city. And in 1883 the city of Campos in the province of Rio de Janeiro installed the first electric street lighting system of South America.⁷³⁴ All in all, the electric light, the phonograph, the telephone, the microphone or the telegraph started to be considered in Brazilian enlightened circles as the crystallisation of Yankee inventiveness. For radical liberals, these technical devices were the result of the emancipating potential generated by the study of the technical arts and applied

⁷³¹ Skidmore, ‘Brazil’s American illusion’, 73. Scientist Louis Agassiz, poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson were also among the intellectuals that Dom Pedro met in the United States.

⁷³² Schwarcz, *The Emperor’s Beard*, 275.

⁷³³ For example, ‘O fonógrafo’, *O Novo Mundo*, III:90, Jun., 1878, 126; ‘A luz elétrica’, *O Novo Mundo*, IX:102, Jun., 1879, 147.

⁷³⁴ Morrison, *The Tramways of Brazil*.

sciences in the United States, so longed for by Brazilian students of engineering, as shown in the previous chapter.⁷³⁵

Until the new era of U.S.-Latin American relations inaugurated with the appointment of James G. Blaine as U.S. Secretary of State by President Benjamin Harrison, the conditions for the emergence of a smooth commercial intercourse seemed, nonetheless, not to be sufficiently developed.⁷³⁶ It is granted that part of the unfavourable conditions for the unfolding of those relations was caused by the fact that U.S. diplomatic envoys used to be less versed in diplomatic skills and conduct than in business affairs, as the case of General James W. Webb illustrated well. This fact did not go unnoticed by U.S. statesmanship and diplomacy. In the 1880s, the U.S. scholar and diplomat Eugene Schuyler already regretted the partially exploited potential of Latin America for the dynamics of U.S. business expansion:

If we had had everywhere in South America competent and energetic ministers, we should probably have acquired a commercial influence on

⁷³⁵ An excellent work on Rebouças's battles for social emancipation from the point of view of urban improvements is, Alexandro Dantas Trindade, 'André Rebouças: Da Engenharia Civil a Engenharia Social', PhD thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas (São Paulo), 2004.

⁷³⁶ The bibliography on James G. Blaine, the Washington Conference of 1889-1890, U.S. Pan-American politics and the idea of hemisphericism is extensive. The most relevant works are, A. Curtis Wilgus, 'James G. Blaine and the Pan American movement', *HAHR*, 5:4 (Nov., 1922), 662-708; Russell H. Bastert, 'Diplomatic reversal: Frelinghuysen's opposition to Blaine's Pan-American policy in 1882', *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 42:4 (Mar., 1956), 653-671; Pletcher, 'Reciprocity and Latin America'; Allan Peskin, 'Blaine, Garfield and Latin America: A new look', *The Americas*, 36:1 (Jul., 1979), 79-89; John D. Martz, 'Economic relationships and the early debate over free trade', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 526, Free trade in the Western Hemisphere (Mar., 1993), 25-35; Teresa Maya Sotomayor, 'Estados Unidos y el Panamericanismo: El caso de la I Conferencia Internacional Americana (1889-1890)', *Historia Mexicana* (México), Vol. XLV, 4 (1996), 759-782. Available from: http://historiamexicana.colmex.mx/pdf/13/art_13_2002_16639.pdf (4 August 2008); Javier Corrales and Richard E. Feinberg, 'Regimes of cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Power, interests, and intellectual traditions', *International Studies Quarterly*, 43:1 (Mar., 1999), 1-36; David Healy, *James G. Blaine and Latin America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001).

that continent, at a time when we had a large commercial marine, before the war, so great that it would still remain to us.⁷³⁷

Even though complaints about the mistakes made at the beginning of the process of commercial relations and the opportunities lost at the hand of unsuitable diplomatic candidates are not infrequent in our corpus of documents from Brazil, in general Brazilian policymakers and businessmen in Brazil welcomed the U.S. initiatives in trade and urban investment from as early as the mid-1860s. It is worth mentioning that urban developments in Brazil were an integral part of the broader process of beautification and sanitisation, two pillars of the idea of modernity being preached at the time. The period between 1870 and 1914 was, in fact, marked by the national elites' drive to embrace 'civilisation' and to modernise the country. It was in the context of the crusade for urban 'regeneration' that the national elites looked abroad for the importation of models of city planning and improvement.⁷³⁸

Steam navigation, railway tracks, urban trams and a new concept in urban lighting and communications were being introduced in Brazil from the 1860s onwards. Along with such innovations, the domestic market for consumer goods was also expanding. According to the historiography, Brazilian elites had inherited a penchant for display and ostentation from the Portuguese, which made them devote

⁷³⁷ Schuyler, 341.

⁷³⁸ The sanitation campaigns launched throughout Brazil were the government's most ambitious measure of the turn of the century. See Thomas Flory, 'Race and social control in independent Brazil', *JLAS*, 9:2 (Nov., 1977), 199-224; Dain Borges, 'The revolta contra vacina of 1904: The revolt against "Modernization" in Belle-Époque Rio de Janeiro', *HAHR*, 67:2 (May, 1987), 233-269; "Puffy, ugly, slothful and inert": Degeneration in Brazilian social thought, 1880-1940', *JLAS*, 25:2 (May, 1993), 235-256; Sidney Chalhoub, 'The politics of disease control: Yellow fever and race in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro', *JLAS*, 25:3 (Oct., 1993), 441-463; and Julyan G. Peard, 'Tropical disorders and the forging of a Brazilian medical identity, 1860-1890', *HAHR*, 77:1 (Feb., 1997), 1-44. See also, Jeffrey Needell, 'Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires: Public spaces and public consciousness in *fin-de-siècle* Latin America', *CSSH*, 37:3 (Jul., 1995), 519-540.

domestic expenditure to an aristocratic way of life.⁷³⁹ It is against this backdrop that another aspect of U.S. culture drew the attention of liberal thinkers in Brazil. As with the example of comfort, the United States was there to show that a market for affordable commodities allowed the consumption of new objects to percolate down to broader social sectors. And the emergence of new urban centres in the second half of the century, along with the growth of some of the old ones, finally fuelled the market for a new range of consumer goods.⁷⁴⁰ Let us now focus on topic and on the new sensibilities sparked by the new range of products available for Brazilians.

Consumer goods

As U.S. trade with Brazil grew stronger following the 1860s, Brazilian liberal thinkers began to turn their attention from Europe to the United States. They were attracted by U.S. political ideas and institutions as much as by its society and culture.⁷⁴¹ Furthermore, the accelerating economic growth and the increasing material prosperity of the United States and the new objects of consumption available from there were facts which caught the attention of Brazilian liberal elites. This did not only happen in the sphere of representations. Since the 1860s Brazil had been

⁷³⁹ For a study of the marks left by Portuguese culture on Brazilian society, see Jorge Dias, 'Os elementos fundamentais da cultura portuguesa', *Estudos de Antropologia* (Lisboa), Vol. 1, 1990, 136-157 and Stuart B. Schwartz, 'The uncounted menina: Brazil's Portuguese heritage', *LBR*, 2:1 (Summer, 1965), 67-80.

⁷⁴⁰ A detailed account of each of the provinces of the Empire can be found in William Scully, *Brazil, Its Provinces and Chief Cities; The Manners and Customs of The People; Agriculture, Commercial and Other Statistics, Taken from the Latest Official Documents; With a Variety of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, both for The Merchant and The Emigrant* (London: Murray & Co., 1866), 149-369. The physiognomy of the urban centres also began to change as a result of government-sponsored and subsidised immigration programmes carried out from the 1870s onwards. Even though by the early 1870s Brazil was an eminently rural country, subsidised immigration implied the arrival of massive numbers of immigrants to the cities. The rationale behind the immigration programmes was to promote the modernisation of the country. The intellectual debates at the time centred on the idea of civilisation. The immigration of white workers would be responsible for the 'whitening' of the predominant mixed-blood Brazilian population.

⁷⁴¹ Skidmore, 'Brazil's American illusion', 73.

gradually integrating its economy into the commodity circuit of U.S. products.⁷⁴² A detailed analysis of the advertisement sections in the national press from the mid-1860s onwards indicates that well before the era of advertising properly began, Brazilian newspapers were already the home for a new terrain of U.S. intervention: advertisements of goods.⁷⁴³ Some of the largest imports from the United States from the beginning of our period involved machinery, furniture and foodstuffs. As early as 1863, Tavares Bastos noticed:

Nowadays nobody is ignorant of the fact that the North-Americans are taking possession of our markets where they are already able to compete for certain products with the English. They are the main suppliers of wheat flour. During the years of scarcity, they sold us cereals. Wooden articles and many other goods of domestic comfort are, preferably, bought from the Americans. Here, in these mountains [Valença Town, Rio de Janeiro state], I have seen many pieces of furniture already known as “American” [author’s emphasis].⁷⁴⁴

While the United States mainly purchased coffee and sugar from Brazil, the new range of goods arriving from there from the 1860s onwards also involved

⁷⁴² Following the aftermath of the Civil War consular despatches are eloquent about businessmen and policymakers’ determination to tap into the Latin American market which had been seized by European powers, as referred to above. South America at large was already a commercial battleground between the United States and Europe. Frederick R. Clow, ‘South American trade’, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 7:2 (Jan., 1893), 193-204.

⁷⁴³ Our sources for the advertisement sections included the leading national newspapers from Rio de Janeiro and the main capital cities of the Empire such as *Jornal do Comércio*, *Correio Mercantil*, *A Nação*, *Jornal Político e Comercial*, *Publicação da Tarde*, *O Paíz*, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* from Rio de Janeiro; *Folha do São Paulo*, *Correio Paulistano*, *Gazeta do Povo* from São Paulo; *A Província do Pará*, *Gazeta da Tarde*, *Folha Ilustrada e Noticiosa* and *Gazeta de Notícias* (Belém) from Pará; and *Diário da Bahia* (Bahia), *Gazeta do Norte* (Fortaleza, Ceará), *Gazeta de Sergipe*, *O Norte* (Fortaleza, Ceará), *Jornal do Comércio* (Porto Alegre). For the arrival of the ‘advertisement era’ in *porteño* homes (Buenos Aires, Argentina) see Salvatore, ‘Yankee advertising in Buenos Aires’.

⁷⁴⁴ Tavares Bastos, ‘Carta ao Illm. Sr. G. N. Davis’.

locomotives, wagons, rolling stock and agricultural machinery, equipment and tools, as previously mentioned. Brazil also imported raw food material and food products from the United States. As for the foodstuffs, the main imports as appeared in our sources included flour, butter, cheese, corn, lard, beans, fish, tea and dry goods. U.S. cotton goods also had their share in Brazil's purchase orders. They were particularly popular among lower-class Brazilians. Interestingly, even though British manufacturers produced cheaper cotton textiles, they sometimes had to turn to a retail device to maintain Brazilian consumers in their market: they began adding fake Yankee labels to the cotton garments they produced in Britain.⁷⁴⁵ Yet, an important part of the purchase orders from Brazil included home-ware goods such as chairs, domestic ovens, ornaments, glassware as well as other items such as shoes, toys, textiles, sewing machines, dental supplies, medicines and toiletries. This set of items in particular offers an intriguing case to glimpse into Brazilian views of the United States and its culture through the lenses of the new objects available for consumption. Some of them, such as the new gadgets for domestic use, also conveyed a new idea of material comfort. The Emperor already lamented the tendency to substitute 'novelties of dubious value and questionable taste for the lovely old pieces decorated with leather and Portuguese silver which had dignified many of the better Brazilian homes'.⁷⁴⁶ It could be said that as early as the 1860s parts of the consumer taste of some sectors of the Brazilian society were experiencing a process of 'Americanisation', with this being one of the foundations of Tavares Bastos's argument in the quotation above.

In Rio de Janeiro the newest goods and latest trends coming from abroad arrived in the first instance to shops in the Rua do Ouvidor. Rio was the capital of the

⁷⁴⁵ Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Trade and Investment*, 189.

⁷⁴⁶ Cited in, Freyre, *Order and Progress*, 66.

Empire where the royal court, the Ministers of State and other high functionaries resided; it was the most important and most populous urban centre of the country. Rua do Ouvidor was one of the oldest high streets of the city and was a fashionable place where all things novel and ‘civilised’ made their first appearance.⁷⁴⁷ The shops there were furnished with every foreign article of luxury and utility; Ouvidor was the symbol of the elites’ cosmopolitanism.⁷⁴⁸ Coffeehouses, bookshops, newspaper offices and the trendiest stores attracted elite customers. It was the setting *par excellence* of what Jeffrey Needell has called the elites’ ‘fantasy of civilisation’, or the fantasy of being part of a culture considered modern located in Europe, despite the contradiction of location. This identity seemed secured in the Rua do Ouvidor where everything was shipped over from the centres of modern ‘civilisation’.⁷⁴⁹

However, for some Brazilians beginning with the Emperor himself the United States could already supply *everything* Brazil needed from abroad. By the mid-1860s trade with this country began to gain pace. Despite being a minority compared to European imports until at least the turn of the century, U.S. manufacturing already radiated an image of the United States as a fountain of novelties and new material possibilities. Captivated by the new array of goods and innovations, ‘of which the Yankee seems to have the secret’⁷⁵⁰, Brazilian liberal thinkers began to present them as a satisfactory path to attaining the meaning of modernity as being developed in the United States. In this regard, the U.S. commodities allowed liberal thinkers to

⁷⁴⁷ Christopher Columbus Andrews, *Brazil: Its Conditions and Prospects* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1891), 32-33; Francisco Ferreira da Rosa, *Rio de Janeiro. Notícia Histórica e Descritiva da Capital do Brasil* (R. Janeiro: Schmidt, 1905); Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque*, ch. 5, ‘The rise of consumer fetishism’, 156-177, 164.

⁷⁴⁸ Ferreira da Rosa, 71 and 204, N. 126. ‘A rua do Ouvidor, a mais passeiada e concorrida, e mais leviana, indiscreta, bisbilhoteira, esbanjadora, fútil, novelleira, polyglotta e encyclopedica de todas as ruas da cidade de Rio de Janeiro, falla, occupa-se de tudo’. Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, *Memórias da Rua do Ouvidor (Publicadas em Folhetins Semanaes no Jornal do Comércio* (R. Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1878), 5-6.

⁷⁴⁹ Da Rosa, 71 and 204, N. 126; Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque*, 164-165 and ‘Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires’, *passim*.

⁷⁵⁰ ‘Exposição Internacional de Londres de 1863’, *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 26 set. 1864, 2.

campaign for an alternative model of ‘civilisation’ to the one conveyed in goods traditionally consumed from Europe. Ideas of the United States as the new place where new concepts in consumption and comfort were being developed appear in our archival record throughout the period. But whether the new Brazilian penchant for certain U.S. manufactured goods and the latest domestic gadgets already available in Brazil’s storehouses meant an actual shift towards higher patterns of material comfort and consumerism remains an unanswered question for the present study.

One of the outstanding aspects of U.S. production, already remarkable in the eyes of Brazilian liberal thinkers, was the combination of competitive prices and high quality. José Carlos Rodrigues, from the office of *O Novo Mundo* in New York dedicated an article in 1878 to explaining the reasons for the high quality and low cost of U.S. production. The secret lay in the substitution of manual labour for mechanical and automatic devices and the constant effort to renew machinery.⁷⁵¹ Brazilian students of civil and mechanical engineering at Cornell University, whose political crusade was to draw public attention to the U.S. process of technical development as studied in chapter 3, complained against the common reticence by Brazilian planters and consumers towards U.S. production based on price as an indicator of quality:

Thus far, people refuse to understand why American machines can be sold at so low a price. Many of those who are ignorant of U.S. conditions of improvements in production and wages want to conclude, absurdly, that because American instruments are cheap, they do not last long.⁷⁵²

⁷⁵¹ ‘A exportação de produtos americanos’, *O Novo Mundo*, VIII:91, Jul., 1878, 150-151.

⁷⁵² *A Aurora Brasileira*, 2:1, Mar., 1877.

This note might lead us to assume that the early U.S. commercial penetration in Brazil offered arguments to liberal elites for their appeal to buy goods from the United States presenting it as convenient for Brazil's own future. By the early 1870s the foundations for the new terms of the commercial relationship with the United States were already in place. The U.S. minister to Brazil stated it unambiguously: 'Our portion of the work is to prepare for selling Brazil everything she requires from abroad as cheap or cheaper than other nations'.⁷⁵³ Liberal policymakers in Brazil were prepared for the challenge.

We have seen thus far that already in the late 1860s and early 1870s liberal Brazilians began to draw positive images of the United States. The path from negative to positive images was not, however, an abrupt transition; on the contrary, frictions between liberal elites who looked to the United States as a new source of model of social organisation and conservatives who rejected challenging Brazil's traditional cultural and social models emerged all the way through. The controversies over granting a subsidy to a foreign steamship company serves by way of example. In 1874 the Brazilian government stopped subsidising the Garrison line and the following year the company went out of business. Those who had opposed the government's policy pointed out that the line did not reach the levels of efficiency required for sustainable business. Despite having received a subsidy for nine years, the Garrison Company did not manage to cut rates sufficiently to accommodate bulky, cheap U.S. products. The Garrison line was also blamed by those determined to develop a closer relationship with U.S. business. Having been advertised and defended as the bridge to the United

⁷⁵³ Henry T. Blow to Hamilton Fish, Petrópolis, 20th Oct. 1870, *U.S. Despatches. Brazil (1870-1871)*, N. 207, 283-287, 285.

States, it failed to develop integration with that country at a sufficiently fast pace.⁷⁵⁴

Yet, interrupting the service was only lamented by the liberals and their media organs, for Brazil ‘had everything to gain from the contact with our American brothers’.⁷⁵⁵

Two years after the Garrison line stopped operations in Brazil, the world’s attention turned to the U.S. Centennial Exhibition. This was the first time the United States had organised a fair aimed at showcasing the achievements and promises of its industrial development.⁷⁵⁶ Not only did Dom Pedro timed his first visit to that country so as to coincide with the opening of the Exhibition but he, furthermore, inaugurated the exhibition along with President Ulysses Grant.⁷⁵⁷ The Emperor was an admirer of the U.S. success in the technological and cultural fields.⁷⁵⁸ Interestingly, this visit provides a new angle from which to assess the Brazilian process of self-definition in a period in which the United States started to appear as the modern geo-cultural identity for Brazilian political thinkers and policymakers.⁷⁵⁹ As Thomas Skidmore has argued, even though the Emperor presented himself at the Exhibition without official protocol, the very act of his trip warned Brazilian elites that the United States could

⁷⁵⁴ Alves de Lima, *Estados Unidos e Norte-Americanos*, 12-13. See also, *Lecture on Brazil: Its Social, Political and Commercial Relations with the United States, Etc.* (Syracuse: Standard Publishing Co., 1877).

⁷⁵⁵ ‘Brasil na America’, 27 Nov., *Brazil Americano*, N. 20 (1875).

⁷⁵⁶ Bennett has called attention to the fact that the transfer of objects from the private to public sphere meant that they became vehicles for inscribing the messages of power throughout society. Tony Bennett, ‘Exhibitionary complex’, *New Formation*, N. 4 (Spring, 1988), 73-102. On the U.S. universal fairs at the turn of the twentieth century and the pedagogy of progress and ideas of ‘white supremacy’ conveyed within them, see Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). See also, Salvatore, *Imágenes de un Imperio*, esp. ch. 2, ‘Exhibiciones’, 39-56. For a study on the impact of the universal fairs’ ethic of modernisation on the specific field of Brazilian education, see Kuhlmann Jr., *As Grandes Festas Didáticas*.

⁷⁵⁷ According to Barman, the fact that Dom Pedro went first to the United States and then to Europe would symbolically indicate that he did not consider the maintenance of the imperial regime in Brazil to be of utmost importance. Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 273.

⁷⁵⁸ The Emperor recorded in his personal diary the impressions left on him by the Machinery Hall. Bediaga, *Diário do Imperador*, Vol. 17, ‘2º viagem ao exterior. 1ª parte: América do Norte’ (29 Apr. – 24 Jun., 1876), 20-21 Jun. 1876. On Dom Pedro’s first trip to the United States, see; Antônia F. P. de Almeida Wright, ‘Um turista coroadado viaja para a América: D. Pedro II nos Estados Unidos’, *Anuário do Museu Imperial* (Petrópolis, 1984), Vol. 34, 31-45; Schwarcz, *The Emperor’s Beard*, 267-294.

⁷⁵⁹ For a general perspective of nineteenth-century Latin American images of the United States, see Jack Ray Thomas, ‘Latin American views of United States politics in the nineteenth century’, *Journal of the Early Republic*, 12:3 (Autumn, 1992), 357-380.

not be ignored any longer, either in political or cultural terms.⁷⁶⁰ The Emperor's visit to the United States was eventually considered an historical landmark in the development of relations with that country. Once back in Brazil, Dom Pedro emphasised the importance of expanding commercial intercourse with this country and deemed that the increased facilities for rapid communications afforded by a new line of steamers would greatly encourage that end. In 1878 the Emperor authorised, by imperial decree, the signing of a contract with Willard P. Tisdell, representative in Rio de Janeiro of one of the major U.S. ship constructors of the post-Civil War era, John Roach & Sons from Pennsylvania.⁷⁶¹ Councillor of State, João Lins Vieira Cansansão de Sinimbu, had envisioned the situation:

The International Exhibition at Philadelphia [...] will mark an era in the history of relations between Brazil and the United States which will be remembered fondly [...] awakening the creation of reciprocal interests between the two great nations of the Americas.⁷⁶²

Sinimbu's efforts to enhance the relationship with the United States did not pass unnoticed. William Scully, the Rio-based Irish editor of *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* introduced in chapter 1, refers to the Councillor as '[the one] to whom Brazil is so largely indebted for her progress'. Scully's appraisal of Sinimbu's endeavour to enhance relationships with the United States is relevant for the active part the

⁷⁶⁰ Skidmore, 'Brazil's American illusion', 72-73.

⁷⁶¹ On Tisdell's assignments, see Leonard A. Swann, Jr., *John Roach, Maritime Entrepreneur: The Years of Naval Contractor, 1862-1886* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1965), 96, 98.

⁷⁶² João Lins Vieira Cansansão de Sinimbu, *Relatório Apresentado a Assembléa Geral Legislativa na Primeira Sessão da Décima Sétima Legislatura pelo Ministro e Secretario de Estado dos Negócios da Agricultura, Comércio e Obras Publicas* (R. Janeiro: Imprensa Industrial, 1878), 150. See also, Floriano de Godoy, *A Província de São Paulo* and *The Empire of Brazil at the Universal Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia* (R. Janeiro: Typographia e Lithographia do Imperial Instituto Artístico, 1876).

journalist played in Brazil's politics after the 1860s. In 1866, he, along with Tavares Bastos and Quintino Bocaiúva among others, was a founding member of the Sociedade Internacional de Imigração (International Immigration Society); from there he took an active role in assisting the North-American ex-Confederate émigrés to settle in Brazil and hence, indirectly, in giving material support to the official immigration policies of the imperial government.⁷⁶³ As with the Garrison Company before, the Roach line received an annual subsidy by the Brazilian government.⁷⁶⁴ Roach set up the United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company and in 1878 began servicing Brazil. The contractors undertook to provide a monthly cargo service between New York and Rio de Janeiro, calling at St. Thomas (Danish West Indies, in the Caribbean), Pará, Pernambuco and Bahia.⁷⁶⁵ The advent of the Roach line not only meant the replacement of the old steamship service supplied by the Garrison Company, but the first enduring challenge to the British monopoly on steamship communications with Brazil.⁷⁶⁶

The Exhibition in Philadelphia had left the Brazilian commission with the impression that the United States 'more than the Europeans, can supply everything Brazil requires from abroad' and the Roach line then appeared to be the channel.⁷⁶⁷

The arrival on 29 May 1878 of the *City of Rio de Janeiro*, the first Roach steamer to

⁷⁶³ See, for example, 'American immigration', *The Anglo-Brazilian Times. Political, Literary and Commercial*, 8 Oct. 1867; 'The great immigration', 23 Jan. 1868; 'Immigrant labour', 23 Jun. 1868; and 'The great immigration question', 7 Aug. 1868. On the political role played by Scully and his journal in Brazil between the 1860s until the 1880s, see Miguel Alexandre de Araujo Neto, 'Great Britain, the Paraguayan War and free immigration in Brazil, 1862-1875', *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* (Society for Irish Latin American Studies), 4:3 (July, 2006), 115-143 and Marshall, *English, Irish and Irish-American*. See also, Penalves Rocha, 'The Rio News'.

⁷⁶⁴ Decree N. 6729, 10 November 1877. Cansansão de Sinimbu, *Relatório*. Also, Henry W. Hilliard to William M. Evarts, Rio de Janeiro, 6 Nov. 1877, *U.S. Despatches. Brazil (1878-1879)*, N. 51, 60-61, and Henry W. Hilliard to William M. Evarts, Rio de Janeiro, 31 Dec. 1877, *U.S. Despatches. Brazil (1878-1879)*, N. 53, 62-63; 'Brasil e os Estados Unidos', *O Novo Mundo*, VIII:85, Jan. 1878, 2; 'Linhas de vapor hacia Brasil', *idem.*, 21; 'A linha Roach', *O Novo Mundo*, IX:101, May, 1879, 106. Strauss, 'Rise of American growth in Brazil', 441.

⁷⁶⁵ Swann, ch. 5, 'Steamship to Brazil', 95-125, *passim*.

⁷⁶⁶ Roach's silent conflict with the British is described in Swann, 97-99.

⁷⁶⁷ 'Brasil e os Estados Unidos', *A Aurora Brasileira*, 23 Apr. 1876, N. 5 and 7. Also, 'Quando vamos ter vapores?', *idem.*, May 1877, N. 3 and 31.

the capital of the Empire, was celebrated as a national event which marked the beginning of a new era in the commercial relations between both countries. The press warmly commented on the contract with the Roach Company presenting it as the harbinger of prosperity and the forerunner of other great undertakings such as the attraction of skilled U.S. farm workers to Brazil.⁷⁶⁸ Figure 1 shows the celebration of the arrival of this first steamer as it appeared in the *Revista Illustrada* two months after the event.

⁷⁶⁸ Tavares Bastos, 'Memoria sobre a immigração', in *Os Males do Presente* (ed. 1939), 68-72. Also, despatches by Brazilian representatives in the United States, MDB, AHI, Ofícios.

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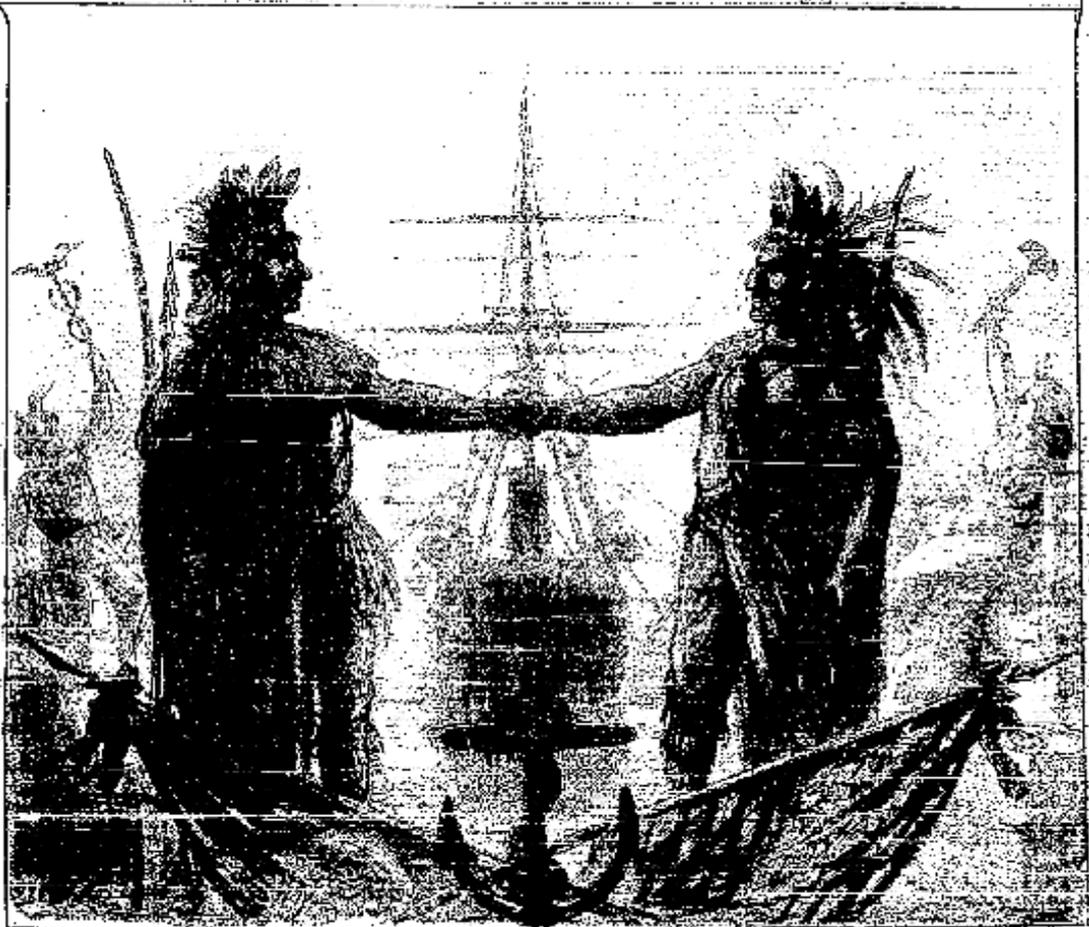
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*Chegada do paquete City of Rio de Janeiro.
 Um novo e esplendido horizonte que se abre ao commercio e a industria entre duas grandes nações
 americanas. Consiçoes e nova compozição de paquetes americanos.*

'Chegada do paquete City of Rio de Janeiro',
 1 Jul. 1878, *Revista Illustrada* (R. Janeiro), 3:114, 1⁷⁶⁹

It has been often been argued that in Latin America literature played a crucial role in
 construing an allegorical image for the nation.⁷⁷⁰ By the mid-nineteenth century,

⁷⁶⁹ The journal was founded in 1876 in Rio de Janeiro by Italian cartoonist Angelo Agostini.

Brazilian literary Romanticism had turned the Indian into the prototype and symbol of the country's most authentic representation. It consecrated his figure as the content of the signifier 'nation'—despite having little connection with his actual role in politics.⁷⁷¹ The representation of Brazil as an Indian became common under the Empire, a graphic convention unanimously adopted by the illustrated press. Moreover, as Murilo de Carvalho has pointed out, only rarely were the Emperor or the Crown depicted as national symbols. On the contrary, 'Brazil was Indian and male'.⁷⁷² The cartoon above celebrating the arrival of the first Roach steamboat does justice with this artistic convention. Yet, what may intrigue the reader is the Brazilian graphic convention being projected onto the United States. Brazil, represented as a vigorous Indian man, stood alongside another equally powerful native male figure representing the other great American power. If the language of the image is completed by its caption, then in this case it would come to be redundant, for it says: 'A new and splendid horizon opens up to commerce and industry between the two great American nations. We greet the new American company of steamers'.⁷⁷³ The composition of both American countries shaking hands would suggest first a symbolic break with the traditional bond with Europe and the prospect of a prosperous trade and cultural relationship between Brazil and the United States, considered the last example of modernisation of the day. Yet, if the place one is from and the place one is in are part and parcel of what one imagines and constructs, as Argentine semiotician

⁷⁷⁰ Jean Franco, 'The nation as imagined community', in Aram Veesser (ed.), *The New Historicism* (New York & London: Routledge, 1989), 201-212, 204-205.

⁷⁷¹ Martin, 'Literature, music and the visual arts', 26-27. For the most comprehensive study of the relationship between race and national identity, see Skidmore, *Black into White*, esp. ch. 3, 'Politics, literature, and the Brazilian sense of nationality before 1910', 78-123; on the Indian of Brazilian Romanticism, 6-7.

⁷⁷² Murilo de Carvalho, *Pontos e Bordados*, 243-244.

⁷⁷³ 'Um novo e esplendido horizonte se abre ao Commercio e a Industria entre duas grandes nações americanas. Saudamos a nova companhia de paquetes americanos'. *Revista Illustrada*, 3:114 (1 Jul., 1878), 1.

Walter Mignolo has pointed out, the illustration would also unveil one of the early Brazilian pretensions to being the South American version of the U.S. model of society.⁷⁷⁴ This aspiration had been one of Brazil's ambitions since the mid-nineteenth century and was fed in part by certain historical similarities.⁷⁷⁵ But the Brazilian desire to reinvent itself as the Southern counterpart to the United States had its roots in the debates regarding the modernisation of the country.

Conclusion

From the outset, the insertion of the South American region within the U.S. sphere of influence adopted the form of a 'collective enterprise' which embraced numerous dimensions and different modes of interventions, as Ricardo Salvatore has observed.⁷⁷⁶ It was a venture carried out by people with diverse skills and institutional affiliations. The tensions emanating from this heterogeneity of approaches to the South American region fostered, up until the turn of the century, a plural, unsystematic approach to U.S. commercial expansion, as Pletcher has demonstrated.⁷⁷⁷ This non-monolithic facet of U.S. engagement with the Latin American region as a whole was also projected onto Brazil. As we have seen, the strengthening of Brazilian commercial ties with the United States was a complex process which also involved the interaction of multiple actors in Brazil: Brazilian

⁷⁷⁴ Walter D. Mignolo, 'Afterword: Human understanding and (Latin) American interests –The politics and sensibilities of geocultural locations', *Poetics Today*, 16:1, Loci of Enunciation and Imaginary Constructions: The Case of (Latin) America, II (Spring, 1995), 171-214, 171.

⁷⁷⁵ Among them, are the continental-size of the country, the colonial experience, the displacement of the native peoples and the welcoming of European immigrants to populate the land, racial slavery and the fact of being surrounded by Latin American Spanish-speaking countries. The latter topic has recently been studied by Villafañe G. Santos, *O Brasil entre a América e a Europa*.

⁷⁷⁶ The notion of 'collective enterprise' is taken from Salvatore, *Imágenes de un Imperio*, esp. ch. 4, 'Comerciantes, exploraciones, conocimiento', 77-100.

⁷⁷⁷ Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Trade and Investment*, *passim*.

politicians, consular representatives, businessmen, merchants and, last but not least, Brazilian consumers.

We have uncovered a sequence of events that suggests a transition from negative to positive representations of the United States in Brazil during the late nineteenth century: the arrival in the first half of the century of U.S. representatives to Brazil in search of business opportunities; the Brazilian campaigns to capitalise on the commercial opportunities opened up with them as well as the resistance it generated; the early attempts by the United States to displace the British commercial and diplomatic stronghold in Brazil; the increasing presence of U.S. communication technologies and urban infrastructure; the elites' discovery of a novel range of consumer goods coming from the United States; and the feature of modernity associated with the gesture of consuming U.S. goods and technologies. The evolving representations of the United States as sparked by the material presence of the U.S. in Brazil converged into the reification of Brazil's national character in a constant process of comparison with the United States. Traditionally Britain and France were the societies which provided, at various times and for various motives, the Brazilian elites with the latest pattern of modern civilisation. Nevertheless, towards the 1870s, the United States came to undermine the privileged position enjoyed by both European societies as beacons of modern civilisation. We might assert that if identity is construed as a fluid relation across multiple levels, then the United States gradually came to function as much as a mirror image for Brazil's own depiction as both Britain and France had done since independence from Portugal. Moreover, the concern that had preoccupied the liberal elites since at least the early 1870s, namely that Brazil's potential for development was lagging behind the new pioneers of modern civilisation

in the Western Hemisphere, intensified in similar proportion to what they observed as an ever-increasing movement towards progress in the United States.

Nonetheless, a consensus emerged among Brazilian liberal elites that a dynamic relation with the U.S. culture based on closer and regular contact by virtue of improved means of communication would help Brazil find its path towards a similar modern development. The sense was that the qualities of industriousness, practicality and, ultimately, modernity granted to the United States through U.S. goods and the latest technologies available in Brazil, could be adopted wholesale in Brazil via their consumption in the local markets. The very act of consuming/appropriating from the United States opened up new opportunities which played to Brazil's advantage, so the liberal argument ran. The introduction of U.S. goods and technologies onto the Brazilian markets would not only move her closer to acquiring the attributes of dynamism, competitiveness and entrepreneurship as enshrined in the U.S. material culture. Along with it, the new range of U.S. industrial and consumption goods unlocked new spaces for a re-configuration of national identity that could help resist the force of tradition and its entrenched social arrangements.

Conclusion

The core concern of my dissertation was the Brazilian production and reception of images of the United States as a rising model of modern society during the second half of the nineteenth century. Based on the analysis of parliamentary debates, newspaper articles, diplomatic correspondence, books, students' journals and textual and pictorial advertisements in newspapers, among other historical documents, my findings indicate that the United States emerged as a new axis of reflection on the meaning of modernity for Brazilians well before the historical break traditionally chosen by historians as a milestone in the development of the United States as a modern world power, the so-called Spanish-American War of 1898. By doing so, a lacuna in historiography has been identified: the lack of systematic study of the influence of the United States in Brazil prior to that historical watershed as well as prior to the open friendship with the U.S. government of Brazil's first republican regime. My findings also challenge and complement the received view that Britain and France were the dominant paradigms of modern civilisation in the Brazilian imaginary by showing that as early as the 1860s the United States became at least as important as them, if not more so, as an emblem of how to become modern not only in the political arena but also in the economic, social and educational spheres. Whereas these were my contributions to the historiography of nineteenth-century Brazil, the main conclusion regarding the analytical framework was the need to reformulate the concept of 'Americanisation'.

The Introduction to the thesis has outlined the concept of 'Americanisation' and acknowledged some apparent limitations, the sense of uniformity in the direction of influence (as even imprinted in its name) being the most evident. Therefore, the

choice of this concept to investigate how a specific culture produced images of (North) America may seem at first glance paradoxical. Furthermore, this choice may seem even more puzzling when, whilst analysing the primary sources, I increasingly discovered that Brazilians themselves were actively engaged in the reception and consumption in their own ways of images of the United States created by themselves for their own purposes. The apparent disregard of the paradigm of ‘Americanisation’ for any plural dimension contained in the (most commonly imbalanced although most probably mutually permeable) relationship between the United States and the societies it encountered in its ventures abroad, may even be seen as denoting threat or conspiracy. Such a unitary vision of the process of ‘Americanisation’, however, may be a residue of an approach to the study of U.S. imperialism which focused attention on different types of U.S. interventions abroad. Recent research on ‘Americanisation’, and my own research on the Brazilian images of the United States, has enriched my understanding of this highly controversial concept and suggested that it may be possible to employ it more creatively.

A growing field of studies on ‘Americanisation’ and on the actual usefulness of this conceptual device deals, for example, with the exportation of the ‘American way of life’ to various European societies. This body of historiography currently in progress focuses mainly on how the economic, political and social crisis of the European nations following the two World Wars opened a fertile field for the United States to spread specifically U.S. patterns and standards of living. Some of this recent literature I consulted to further my understanding of the unfixed boundaries of the concept of ‘Americanisation’ include Victoria de Grazia’s *Irresistible Empire*, Richard F. Kuisel’s *Seducing the French* and Mary Nolan’s *Visions of Modernity*, all concerned with the European reception of the (North-)‘American’ modernisation.

What I gather from these works, the references of which have been given in the Introduction, is that the Europeans of the first part of the twentieth century identified the U.S. civilisation with the new and firmly established pattern of development based on the mechanisation and standardisation of production, the rationalisation of working methods, the modernisation of industry based on technological innovation and the creation of a consumer society and a mass culture. More importantly, current debates on ‘Americanisation’/modernisation which deal with the exportation of U.S. domestic social and cultural values to the post-war European landscape, also suggest that the aspiration of the United States to influence or, at least, inspire at a global scale posed (and poses) cultural and identity dilemmas to the societies it encountered, part of the dilemma consisting of what elements of the social model in question were to be picked and chosen, to use Mary Nolan’s wording.⁷⁷⁸ In the process of conducting this research I discovered that the concept of ‘Americanisation’ can be applied flexibly, in recognition of indefinite boundaries, thereby rendering it useful for the topic of my dissertation.

Certainly, this thesis has studied the United States not as an entity in its own right but as a Brazilian representation, as one discursive formation among others elaborated by a specific social actor of Brazil in the second half of the nineteenth century. The four Brazilian images of the United States around which this thesis has been organised are as follows: the immediate abolition of slavery with no compensation to slaveholders (chapter 1), the granting of political and civil citizenship rights to all social sectors (chapter 2), the democratic access to scientific and applied training and education (chapter 3) and the general access to goods of consumption which included the idea of comfort as distinct from luxury consumption

⁷⁷⁸ Nolan, *Visions of Modernity*, 9.

(chapter 4). Considered together, these representations projected the image of the United States as the new archetype of modern social organisation. Overall, this study constitutes another historical case study alongside others on how people at different times and in different places struggled (and struggle) to accommodate themselves to the demands of ‘modern’ civilisation. In view of the general positive picture that the Brazilian liberal elites of the second half of the nineteenth century had regarding the organisation of U.S. life and society, and more specifically, due to their active endeavour for Brazil to adopt elements of U.S. social organisation, the concept of ‘Americanisation’ proved useful for understanding Brazilian images of the emerging U.S. civilisation.

Far from suggesting that Brazil was (North)-‘Americanised’ by voluntary or involuntary action initiated in and by the United States, we now know that Brazilians did not accept passively the actions and/or models of the United States. Moreover, the contrary could be said, that the Brazilians of the second half of the nineteenth century were active agents of their own (North)-‘Americanisation’. Notwithstanding that the concept of ‘Americanisation’ entails the idea of a monolithic, unidirectional process of influence from the United States towards *the* outside world, after having studied the nineteenth-century Brazilian images of the United States this thesis argues that not all the U.S. expansion abroad results in processes of ‘Americanisation’—as the example of the U.S. involvement in the Amazon region has demonstrated (chapter 4)—and that not all the examples of ‘Americanisation’ can be attributed to a U.S. expansionist drive. On the contrary, (North)-‘Americanising’ elements of particular societies is a complex process in which local societies resisted, modified, negotiated or, to use cutting-edge nomenclature, ‘hybridised’ the imported or imposed U.S.

elements, giving, as a result, unique and locally produced blends of (North)-‘Americanisation’.⁷⁷⁹

We have shown that Brazilians themselves actively participated in the process of selecting and disseminating in their own society certain aspect of the U.S. patterns of civilisation in a bid to modernise the traditional structures of Brazil. Each chapter of this thesis has dealt with different examples of the Brazilian images of the United States as a modern nation and, by extension each of them has also focused on a different component of the debate about modernisation in nineteenth-century Brazil. Let us compose a brief summary of the relationship between their perception of modernisation and how it related to the paradigm of ‘Americanisation’. The chapter which studied the Brazilian process of abolishing slavery in light of the U.S. experience (chapter 1), has shown that the Brazilian idea of U.S. modern society in the context of abolition related to free labour ideology. The chapter which dealt with the Brazilian representations of the United States as the place where modern freedoms could thrive (chapter 2), the U.S. modernisation is associated with a democratic administration of political power and a democratic distribution of civil freedoms across the society, increasing gender equality and religious tolerance being the most conspicuous examples. In chapter 3 the Brazilian representation of U.S. modern society is associated with the fundamental place that the study of the sciences and its applied character had in the U.S. organisation of knowledge, whereas chapter 4 dealt with the association Brazilians made between U.S. modernisation and the democratisation of the consumer goods among all sectors of society.

All in all, the documentary corpus upon which this study has been built showed that there was no uni-directional process of influence of the United States on

⁷⁷⁹ Néstor García Canclini, *Culturas Híbridas. Estrategias para Entrar y Salir de la Modernidad* (México, D.F.: Grijalbo, 1989).

nineteenth-century Brazil. On the contrary, this thesis suggests a more complex picture, namely that (North)-‘Americanisation’ can entail as much the idea of intrusion, imposition or even threat as the idea of desire, wonder and fascination with the U.S. model of society. That is why I posited that the process of adopting elements of the U.S. patterns of civilisation in Brazil could be labelled ‘North-Americanisation from the South’ or ‘North-Americanisation from within’ insofar as what I found is that Brazilian themselves were actively engaged in interpreting, translating and advertising the U.S. modernisation for a specific audience, thus serving as intermediaries between this modernity and Brazil.

In light of this finding, this research concludes that for the generation of Brazilian liberal thinkers of the last quarter of the century, the United States constituted a discourse which organised the relationship between (North-)‘Americanisation’ and their idea of modern civilisation and, more importantly, that (North-)‘Americanisation’ constituted a radical means by which they could overcome resilient traditions. I have shown that the general positive attitude that Brazilian thinkers showed *vis-à-vis* the U.S. civilisation is only subsumable to the narrative of ‘Americanisation’ on the condition that the considerable autonomy retained by the Brazilian elites in this fluid and mutually permeable relationship, is recognised. With this caveat borne in mind, I argue that the positive Brazilian representations of the United States are closely related to a process of (North-)‘Americanisation’ that could be identified throughout the four themes which together form the core of this thesis.

As the evidence analysed throughout this piece of research has demonstrated, Brazilians did not passively wait for the United States to export to Brazil its own representation of a model society in which the idea of a modernity was being reinvented. Irrespective of whether U.S. *agents* of any formal or informal empire did

or did not work in this Southern region to insert it in the expanding orbit of the U.S. economic and cultural dominion over the Western Hemisphere, my sources have shown that Brazilian liberal thinkers actively turned to the United States as a mirror onto which to project their imagination and desires. Ever since the early nineteenth century Brazilians had assumed an active, participatory role in the process of familiarising themselves with various aspects of that society. As the theories of reception and cultural appropriation explain, the act of relying on, in this case, the U.S. model of society and producing representations of it did not occur arbitrarily. On the contrary, the discursive abstractions that Brazilians produced and consumed were, in turn, shaped by and articulated with both political and social debates at home and developments on both sides of the Atlantic. As such, the content, form and uses of the Brazilian images of the United States changed both synchronically and diachronically. Let us briefly summarise how the idea of the United States evolved in the imagination of the Brazilian elites throughout the nineteenth century.

Ever since colonial times certain actors of the Portuguese American colony rebelled against Lisbon and tried to establish an independent federal state. In their crusade, the colonial rebels turned to the U.S. republic for ideological guidelines. This example, dated 1789, was the first reference I found whilst researching this topic for the later decades in which Brazilians look at the United States rather than France as a source of political model. Since the 1820s, when Brazil already was a sovereign nation, U.S. businessmen had tried to persuade the Brazilian monarchy to liberalise the navigation of the Amazon River and its natural resources. In this context an image of the United States as a nation with imperial ambitions which was targeting Brazil for the first time began to be spread among the Brazilian political elite. Negative representations of the United States were increasingly fostered by the reception of

news of certain key events in the development of U.S. foreign policy in Central America, namely the annexation of Texas (1845), the U.S.-Mexican War (1846-1848) and the leaking of the U.S. plans to obtain Cuba from Spain without regard for the means to attain it. In the 1850s further developments in the U.S. interest over access to the Amazon waters fuelled disapproving images of that nation across the Empire. Diplomatic, parliamentary and press sources indicate that by the middle of the century Brazilians portrayed that society as a growing hemispheric power with territorial and commercial ambitions which could compromise Brazil's sovereignty. The fact that, at the time, a string of research expeditions sent out by the U.S. government began to arrive in the territory of the Empire raised further doubts among some elite members about the goals of this kind of hemispheric involvement. To summarise, up to the middle of the nineteenth century the elites of Brazil propagated an overall disapproving image of the United States as a threatening imperialist power with embryonic commercial and territorial ambitions over the Brazilian Empire and beyond.

Early in the second part of the century, the first signs of the unfixed nature of the Brazilian images of the U.S. society began to be noticeable in the archival sources. Now that the old uncertainties about territorial integrity stemming from both external (early fears of U.S. expansion over the Amazon region) and internal threats (the cycle of federalist revolts of the 1830s), were a distant memory and that and that disputes over the distribution of political power between the central and provincial governments were resolved with the centralising reforms of 1840, new lines of political conflict emerged. A new generation of intellectuals and politicians less committed to the oligarchic lifestyle of the slavocrat elites of Brazil and more disposed to bring Brazilian society closer in tune with transnational realities, began to

produce new representations of the United States and the facts of that society, the abolition of slavery being the main question around which images mutated and revolved. Chapter 1 has shown that before the Paraguayan War was over, images of the U.S.'s radical path towards abolition was seen as a negative example. The suddenness of the measure and the violence involved made it for the advocates of gradual reforms a model to be avoided. Yet, towards the latter phase of the long and slow process of ending slavery in Brazil, images of U.S. abolition came once again to the fore of the Brazilian political debates, now as a positive example in terms of a radical commitment, no matter the costs, with the modern ideal of free labour.

Therefore, already by the mid-1860s the liberal elites of Brazil began to circulate the first depictions of the United States as a progressive nation which was achieving the first steps in the process of modernising such crucial social institutions as the labour market. Likewise, the first Brazilians who pointed to the post-war United States as a positive example argued that a promising future of material prosperity and democratising institutions was expected for the United States, the freedoms of the civil society and the character of its institution of education at three levels being some of the perceived secrets of its success (chapters 2 and 3). Brazilian pioneers in arguing that the forming U.S. society already was a model example for Brazil, pointed out (and praised) the industriousness of its people and their spirit of initiative and innovation, which they saw as animating the whole of the U.S. economy and society. Such depictions, which gradually began to fill with wonder a relatively increasing number of liberal thinkers, appeared with great clarity in the discussions about the establishment of regular steamship communications with that country, one of the topics covered in chapter 4.

France and Britain had traditionally represented modern progress and civilisation in the form of both intellectual and material achievements. Materially, the bulk of the Brazilian imports throughout the nineteenth century, both machinery and consumer goods, was manufactured in Europe. However, we have shown that since the decade of the 1870s the U.S. commercial presence in Brazil began to gather pace as a result of the activity of statesmen and merchants from both countries. Politically, towards the 1870s, the example of the U.S. republicanism fired the imagination of disgruntled politicians and intellectuals who did not believe any longer in the capacity of the monarchical frame of government to catch up with modern times. Those converted to the republican creed relied on the example of the U.S. federal republic in their crusade for political power against the centralising monarchy. Basically, the United States provided detractors of the monarchy with a powerful argument to overthrow it, namely that republicanism was the indisputably defining characteristic organisation of political power in the New World. Also, as new interests and constituencies were being formed in the urban centres of the Empire, new wording inspired in the U.S. example appeared in the liberal discursive landscape: references to the ‘people’—buried since the rebellions of the 1830s and 1840s—, ‘civil society’ or ‘progress’ were borrowed now from this new source of political models. All in all, since the 1870s, the United States increasingly appeared as a source of models which not only could no longer be ignored but which for some increasing numbers of Brazilians were worthy of being adopted and adapted to Brazil.

Besides internal and external historical developments, the contents of the images were also deeply embedded in the socio-political background of the observer. In the 1890s, under the republican regime, politicians and diplomatic personnel who sought a political realignment of Brazil’s First Republic with the United States tended

to emphasise the idea that certain similarities between both countries meant that Brazil's fate was similar to that of the United States, namely a future of progress and prosperity. This idea had been circulating in Brazil since the mid-century, that is, since the liberal elites began to turn their attention to the United States. The main historical and geographical foundations for this argument were the former colonial experiences of both countries, the displacement of the native population, the immigration of European colonists and the continental size of the country. These comparisons were interpreted by some at home as indications that Brazil's future was to become the Southern version of the U.S. nascent civilisation, namely a nation based on industrial development, scientific education, technological advance and social and political democratic institutions. In general, the administrators of the Republic considered that the alignment of Brazil's foreign policy with the United States would strengthen their political position in the Southern hemisphere. The new relationship that republican Brazil sought to develop with the United States was based on the assumptions that, for example, Brazil could monopolise the U.S. market for coffee and sugar, that the Monroe Doctrine would serve as a guarantee against any potential European interference against the Republic or that the United States would back politically and, if necessary, militarily the new regime against potential monarchist attacks at home—an expected support which materialised in 1894 when U.S. warships intervened to stop the monarchist naval blockade to Rio de Janeiro's harbour.

On the other hand, monarchists of the 1890s, the champions of negative images of the United States in the last decade of the century (or, rather, in the first decade of the First Republic), turned to negative depictions of the U.S. republic as a device to criticise the government of the openly pro-United States Brazilian republican

government. Comparisons between both societies, peoples and cultural traits were conspicuously drawn in the most famous anti-U.S. work ever published in Brazil, *Ilusão Americana*, written in 1893 by high-profile conservative Catholic monarchist Eduardo Prado, discussed in earlier chapters. In this book the cultural differences between the Brazilian and the U.S. society were emphasised to the point that a fundamental irreconcilability at any level dictated a radical opposition between both nations, the basic axis of contrast being, in Prado's argument, the essentially materialist ethos of the U.S. peoples and the alleged spirituality of the 'Latin race' which populated Latin America.

Positive and negative representations of the United States coexisted, clashed and changed in the *courte durée*. For all the overall positive character of the Brazilian representations of the United States after the mid-century, this new foreign example did not stand uncriticised by Brazilian observers. Whilst conducting this research, I learnt that admiration for that society was not the only possible reaction in face of its innovative developments at many levels. Although not prominent in relative terms, it was not unusual to find alongside the predominantly positive depictions of U.S. society, other representations with a more negative undertone. For example, we found that the U.S. entrepreneurial ethos characteristically associated by liberal thinkers with the people of the United States, occasionally acquired a negative aspect in the sense of a materialistic, greedy, money-making ethos. A few other examples of opposite extremes of a continuum in the Brazilian representation of the United States appeared in the primary sources, the most recurrent of them being democracy and electoral corruption or the idea of the U.S. West and savagery. Other negative images of many features of U.S. society included racism and the 'Lynch law', the Brazilian businesses of James Watson Webb, the 'Carpet-baggers', daily-life violence and

crimes related to the use of the 'revolver', the smuggling of food and goods in the West frontier's fortresses (as embodied by William Bellnap), polygamy (as represented by the practices in the state Utah), 'eccentricity' or alcoholism and drunkenness which affected all social sectors.

Nevertheless, the general tendency was an overall shift from negative (especially in the 1840s) to increasingly positive representations of the United States (beginning in the 1860s and unfolding until the end of our chronological framework); moreover, the increasingly positive image that the Brazilians of the second part of the nineteenth century had of that society was not fundamentally challenged. This more established image pointed to the more structural aspects of the U.S. society as the new beacon of modern civilisation based on the combination of economic growth and political stability in a democratic environment of civil and political freedoms, the aspects which more preoccupied Brazilian liberal thinkers. Furthermore, not only did positive images of the United States grow increasingly stronger among the republican circles of Brazil towards the end of our timeframe but they also began to acquire concrete form in the form of trade agreements or foreign policies.

The Baron of Rio Branco, son of the famous liberal politician of the Second Empire, the Viscount of Rio Branco, and Minister of Foreign Affairs under the presidency of *Paulista* candidate Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alves (1902-1906), along with Ambassador to Washington since 1905, Joaquim Nabuco, were two of the visible faces who towards the end of the century actively worked to give concrete meaning to the long process of challenging and subverting Brazil's traditional intellectual, political and economic European frames of reference. These two emblematic figures of the First Republic were among those who took active part in the (North-) 'Americanisation' of Brazil's foreign policy. A strategy of diplomatic

friendliness and alignment with the United States was the form their positive views about that country adopted. This policy meant redirecting (from Europe towards the United States) or, at the very least, diversifying the foreign interlocutors of the Brazilian republic (the United States as a balance *against* the European powers). The newly established pro-‘American’ foreign diplomacy of republican Brazil experienced a climactic moment in 1905 when Rio de Janeiro won the bid to be the host city of the Third Pan American Conference to be held in August-July 1906. This was the occasion for the erection of a lasting monument to the way in which Brazilians shaped their images of the United States for their own purposes and on their own ways, namely the inauguration in Rio de Janeiro of the *Palácio Monroe*. This structure had been built to represent Brazil in the Louisiana Exhibition at St. Louis in 1904; two years later it was sent back to Brazil to serve as the location of the third Pan-American gathering, as requested by the Baron of Rio Branco. Having housed the Chamber of Deputies and later the High Chamber of Brazil, this built-to-last structure became an enduring symbol of the positive *fin-de-siècle* image that republican Brazil had of the United States.

To recapitulate, the Brazilian encounters with U.S. society were mediated by representational practices upon which specific interests were projected. Indeed, one of the most important insights taken from the reception theory as well as from the concepts of ‘representations’ and ‘cultural appropriation’, was that they enabled me to keep sight of the fact that the dynamics of reading/consuming foreign information, political models or cultural patterns, of translating them into locally intelligible forms and of creating new meanings and representations did not occur arbitrarily. On the contrary, the social praxis of representation is shaped and conditioned by specific interests, historical trajectories and cultural traits which are brought to the object of

observation in the process of interpretation. These representations, which as a consequence are the product of specific social relations and imagination thus historically contingent, constituted the means by which I was able to explore what the liberal elites from the second half of nineteenth-century Brazil dreamed themselves and their country might be.

A main conclusion of this research is that the generation of liberal thinkers and politicians of the final quarter of the nineteenth century committed to the modernisation of Brazil, began to produce representations of U.S. society which pointed to the fact that in the United States a new and, more importantly, specifically North-American way of engaging with the elements associated with European modernity was underway. As a consequence, the images of the United States that these elites produced, deployed and circulated came to undermine, if not the centrality, at least the exclusivity enjoyed thus far by Europe as the unequivocal locus of Western modern civilisation. In other words, Brazilian representations of the United States produced by the generation of the 1870s came to indirectly question the universality of the European experience of modernity. This research therefore concludes that the process of engagement with the new model of social organisation showcased in the United States as experienced by these liberal thinkers brought about the emergence of a new way of thinking about modernity: they began to interpret and represent a variety of elements regarding the novel ways in which U.S. society was being organised as inseparable elements of the new experience of modernity now seen to be thriving on New World soil. However, as I sought to study images and discourses, I focused on their function as discursive instruments, as speech acts in the political and social debates at home. Therefore, the material effects of the Brazilian representations of U.S. society, depictions of real life in the United States as well as

the articulation between 'Americanisation from inside' and 'Americanisation from outside' are all topics which remain to be studied.

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