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The No-Space Between Brazil and Latin America: Utopia, Democracy, and Solidarity in Brazilian Literature and Culture

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The No-Space Between Brazil and Latin America: Utopia, Democracy, and Solidarity in Brazilian Literature and Culture

By

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requirements for the degree of
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Committee in charge:

Professor Candace Slater, Co-Chair
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Abstract

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This dissertation broadly focuses on Inter-American relations and the concept of political utopia. It argues that Brazilian literary and cultural productions that portray progressive revolutionary pursuits ambivalently produce the no-space, or "*ou-topos*," where Brazil meets Latin America. Brazil's major national essays written by authors such as Eduardo Prado and Sergio Buarque de Holanda developed an argument concerning Brazilian identity and difference by highlighting the positive consequences of its peaceful imperial past compared with Latin America's early tumultuous attempts to implement democracy. Tracing two competing historical narratives, I argue that the Brazilian national essays have overlooked progressive revolutionary events such as the *Revolução Praieira* (1848), the War of Canudos (1897), and the *Intentona Comunista* (1935) and made them secondary/regional to Brazilian identity even though they were portrayed in the work of major Brazilian writers and artists Castro Alves, Euclides da Cunha, Jorge Amado, and Glauber Rocha. While highlighting the efforts to abolish slavery and implement a more egalitarian and democratic system, these writers and artists established a network of solidarity with Latin American intellectuals who shared a similar ideology. These connections contradicted the narrative of difference and isolation in the Brazilian national essay. For the republican and abolitionist poet Castro Alves, this ideological connection with Latin American intellectuals is apparent in his references to the Andean region as a space of desired democracy. In the case of Da Cunha, the same link is observed in his unfulfilled desire to write a book on Latin America, and in the letters he exchanged with Latin American intellectuals. Amado's connection with Spanish-speaking countries led him to build friendships with Pablo Neruda and Diego Rivera. For Rocha, this proximity is visible in *Terra em Transe* (1967). Through the voices of these writers and artists, I follow the thread connecting the abolitionist and republican *condoreiro* Romantic school (to which Castro Alves belonged) to Latin America across time.

In memory of my father, who taught me that
poetry is a political act because it involves telling the truth
with a language at its most distilled and powerful

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I would also like to thank those research institutions that funded several stages of the work which resulted in this thesis. These include the Portuguese Studies Program in the Institute of European Studies at UC Berkeley, which supported my research at the *Torre do Tombo* and the *Biblioteca da Ajuda* in Lisbon. While conducting research in these libraries, I investigated the emergence of *sebastianismo* during the moments of *espanização* in Portugal in the sixteenth century and in Brazil during the nineteenth century. I would also like to thank the Spanish and Portuguese Department for a Research Travel Award, which offered me a field research grant in the city of Salvador in Brazil. During my stay, I visited the *Acervo da Fundação Casa de Jorge Amado*, where I had access to some of Jorge Amado's unpublished works and letters written during his exile in Spanish American countries. This material was of fundamental importance for developing this manuscript's third and fourth chapters. Obviously, all the content gathered through these institutional provisions would not be implemented with success in the body of this manuscript if I couldn't count on the personal support, encouragement, and genuine help of those who offered me the warmth of their friendship, illuminating my heart with wisdom and affection. My dear friends Ariel Wind, Sebastião Macedo, John Mundell, Catarina Gama, Mônica

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Berkeley, April 22, 2022

Introduction

In 2019, on a visit to Jorge Amado's archive in Salvador, I found—hidden in the last pages of an essay on the abolitionist poet Antônio de Castro Alves—the following note:

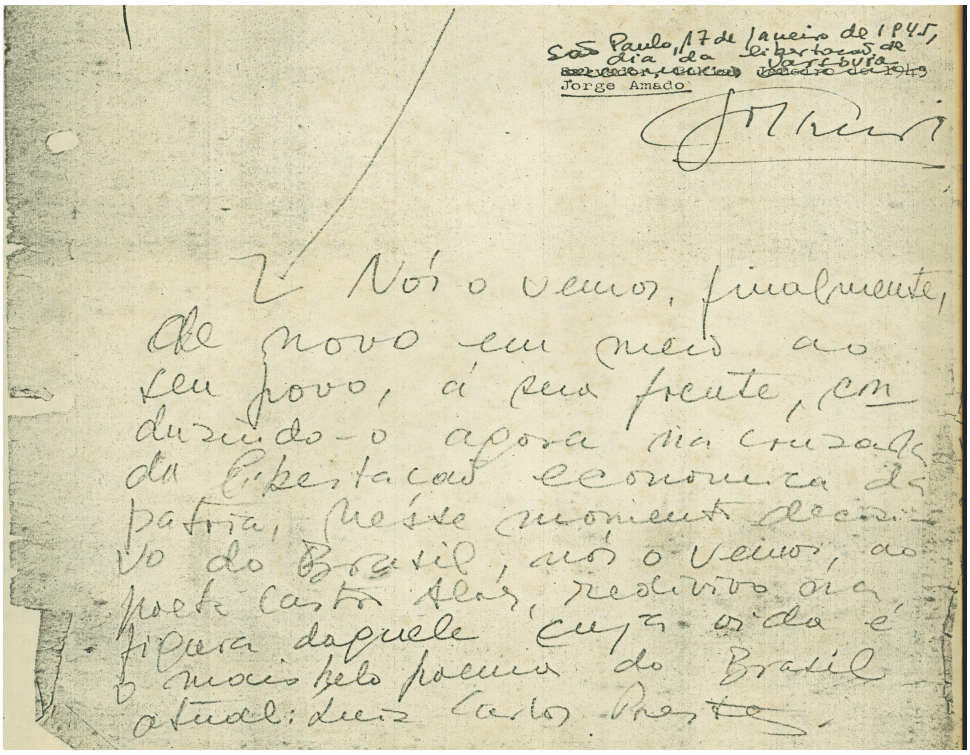
São Paulo, 17 de Janeiro de 1945, dia da libertação de Vargas
Jorge Amado
Nós o vemos, finalmente, de novo em meio ao seu povo, à sua frente, conduzindo-o após na cruzada da libertação econômica da pátria, neste momento decisivo do Brasil, nós o vemos, ao poeta Castro Alves, redivivo na figura daquele cuja vida é o maior belo poema do Brasil atual: Luiz Carlos Prestes.

Figure1. Note written by Jorge Amado in 1945

The text drafted by Amado just below the arrow at the end of the typed essay expresses the writer's attempt to create a parallel between the nineteenth-century Romantic movement to which Castro Alves belonged and the communist ideology that began to emerge within Brazil during the *modernista* period (1922-1945). Along with the poet's image was that of the leader of the *Intentona Comunista* of 1935, Luiz Carlos Prestes. The juxtaposition of these two different characters from two periods sparked my attention. It indicated that Amado understood that the genesis of progressive political thought in the country derived from the Romantic French current to which Castro Alves belonged, *condoreirismo*. This Romantic movement was one of the first in Brazil to instigate the abolition of slavery in 1888 and the beginning of democracy in 1889. Meanwhile, the emphasis on Castro Alves's connection with minorities' causes signaled an attempt of Amado to approximate the two political movements: the struggle of the *condoreiros* to abolish slave labor during the colonial period, and the effort of the communist party to free workers (of color) from the shackles of the modern capital.

Reading that specific note by Amado, I could not help but think of Pablo Neruda's work *Canto General* (1950). A member of the communist party and a close friend of Amado, Neruda was also creating a parallel between the emergence of representative democracy and the growing contemporary leftist ideologies on the continent. The overlapping of these particular temporalities is visible within the section *Los Libertadores*, where he overlaps figures who fought for the implementation of democracy in the continent (Simón Bolívar, José Martí, and Castro Alves) and communist political figures (Luiz Carlos Prestes, Emiliano Zapata, and Augusto César Sandino). Thus, Neruda goes beyond Amado's temporal overlap when

referencing nineteenth and twentieth-century progressive figures from Portuguese and Spanish America under the same section. By doing so, he hints at the possibility of imagining a connection that I explore throughout the development of this manuscript: how Brazilian literary and cultural productions that portray progressive revolutionary pursuits challenged the discourse of difference in national essays by exposing a dialogue between the country and what was happening in Latin America.

Although contested throughout history in the majority of national essays—such as those by Eduardo Prado, Joaquim Nabuco, and Sergio Buarque de Holanda, which emphasized the difference between the colonization of the two Iberian nations on the continent—the inclusion of Brazil in Latin America evoked in the work of Neruda would only be promoted by essayists within the country in the years that followed the Cuban Revolution of 1959, when there was a wave of right-wing military regimes established across the region. A striking case of essayists who changed their perspective of Brazil's relationship with Latin America can be found in the work of anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro, who—in several pieces—sets out to promote the region as one of the continental expressions "mais progressivas, justa e próspera da terra" (204). Like Ribeiro, many intellectuals who contested the military dictatorship of 1964 in Brazil started emphasizing the country's integration into Latin America.

Artists such as Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, and Glauber Rocha gave rise to the new countercultural movement in Brazil and revisited the country's dialogue with Spanish America through references to abolitionists and republican Romantic writers of both regions. This is noticeable in songs like *Soy loco por ti América* (1968) and *Um frevo novo* (1977), in the entirety of the album *Araça Azul* (1973), and in films like *Terra em Transe* (1967). The significant shift in the position of Brazilian essayists regarding the country's place in the region during the right-wing US-backed dictatorship highlighted the faults of national narratives that emphasized the differences between Brazil and Spanish America and the repercussions those differences had in the downfall of progressive politics in the country. Furthermore, this change led me to ask to what extent the dialogues established by Neruda and the counterculture artists between abolitionist and republican Romantic writers of Brazil and Spanish America could be retroactively analyzed as a leftist Latin Americanism that existed in the literature of Brazil and which contradicted the national essayistic tradition since the nineteenth century.

* * *

When I entered the University of California, Berkeley, in 2013, I wanted to work with literary translation. The constant dialogue and classes I took with colleagues from Spanish-speaking countries led me to search for the translation of Brazilian literature in Spanish American countries and vice versa. Then, in an advanced research seminar, I had the opportunity to investigate the translation of one of Jorge Amado's works into Spanish and became fascinated with the possibility of studying the cultural exchange between Brazil and Spanish America. From then on, I started looking for primary sources that addressed Inter-American relations. After reading several canonical works of political and sociological nature, such as *Porque Continuo a Ser Monarquista* (1890), *A Ilusão Americana* (1903), and *Raízes do Brasil* (1936), it seemed to me that public intellectuals had a large role in solidifying a truth about the country: Brazil had never seen itself as part of Latin America.

I started thinking about the discourses of difference I had previously read while traveling through the region before writing my dissertation in 2017. These discourses all had something in common. They made a distinction between Portuguese and Spanish America by noting the difference in these regions' history of independence—the establishment of the Brazilian empire

and the republics of Spanish America in the first and second decade of the nineteenth century. But while passing through Spanish American countries, I could not determine how the weight of these historical differences affected the reality of the population. While strolling through the streets of Lima, Cusco, Santiago, and Montevideo, I observed individuals (often of indigenous or African descent) working on the streets selling typical local foods and trinkets, fixing broken electronics, polishing shoes, and trying to make a living through an informal economy that placed them within a capitalist system while depriving them of labor rights. The needs of these men and women who made their living on the streets of Spanish America's metropolises were no different from those who lived in minimal conditions of survival in Brazil. The observation of this similarity made me increasingly question the discourse of difference promoted and made true by national essayists in Brazil.

The reality is that these speeches carried out a political view that separated the government from the life of the people. They were political writings made for the political purposes of defending borders and governmental agendas/ideas. In them, the social condition of the population, the defense of human rights, and the search for solidarity in this defense were of less concern. From this observation, I started to think about contemporary writers who turned to political issues but with a focus on the people. Having grown up listening to my father reciting poems by Castro Alves—one of them about the leader of the *Revolução Praieira*, Pedro Ivo (my brother's name)—I couldn't help thinking about how they bound the Andes region and the abolition of slavery:

> Ó pátria, desperta... Não curves a fronte
> Que enxuga-te os prantos o Sol do Equador.
> Não miras na fímbria do vasto horizonte
> A luz da alvorada de um dia melhor?
>
> Já falta bem pouco. Sacode a cadêa
> Que chamam riquezas... que nodoas te são!
> Não manches a folha de tua epopéia
> No sangue do escravo, no immundo balcão.
>
> Sê pobre, que importa? Sê livre... és gigante,
> Bem como os condores dos pícaros teus!
> Arranca este peso das costas do Atlante,
> Levanta o madeiro dos ombros de Deus (Castro Alves 53-54).

The poem in question, *América* (1865), is a testament to Castro Alves's search for a continental solidarity that aimed at the common good of the most miserable population in the country, the enslaved men and women. What we find in its lines is a critique of slavery (which still existed in the nation after the independence in 1822) followed by a desire to belong to the different social and political realities on the continent. Freedom is in the image that alludes to the Andean countries, the condor that soars over the sky of the mountain range. It is this freedom that the poet desires for Brazil. Therein lies the effect of Castro Alves's poetry, which denounces the horrendous injustice and crime committed by those who governed Brazil by contrasting this injustice with Brazil's beautiful and vast nature.

In this germ of a connection between Brazil and Spanish America, I saw the discourse contradicting the country's essayistic tradition. In the republican-abolitionist

work of Castro Alves there was a protest against the separation of Brazil from the rest of the continent. This realization led me to believe that I needed to follow the path of this voice, seeking to understand if, in its genealogy, I would find the Brazilian Latin Americanism that became more evident after the Cuban Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. The meetings I had with advisors and colleagues were crucial for developing the methodological framework that would guide me through this work. Conversations with them made it clear that what I was doing when analyzing Brazil's relationship with Spanish America was dealing with an ethical question regarding truth.

* * *

In *Thesis on the Philosophy of History* (1940), Walter Benjamin objects to evoking the past as an instrument to affirm the present. Unlike the authoritative take on the role of history as a gatekeeper of present reality, Benjamin understood the past as an instrument that could redeem the present from its atrocities: "In other words, our image of happiness is indissolubly bound up with the image of redemption. The same applies to our view of the past, which is the concern of history. The past carries with it a temporal index by which it is referred to redemption" (254). This need for redemption is related to the kind of history that Benjamin intended to address: the history of the minority, the vanquished, and those left in the footnotes of political history. In other words, applied to the Brazilian context, Benjamin's conception of history privileges those who remained on the margins of the history told by national essays. Thus, Michael Löwy confesses, in an in-depth and sensible reading, to his gradual realization of the universal dimension of Benjamin's concept of history:

> Pouco a pouco me dei conta da dimensão universal das proposições de Benjamin, de sua importância para compreender—"do ponto de vista dos vencidos"—não só a história das classes oprimidas, mas também das mulheres—a metade da humanidade—, dos índios das Américas, dos curdos, dos negros, das minorias sexuais, isto é, dos párias—no sentido que Hannah Arendt dava a este termo—de todas as épocas e de todos os continentes (Lowy 39).

In Benjamin's conception of history, redemption is an attempt to recognize, honor, and "save" from oblivion each victim of the past, each attempt at emancipation, however humble and small. The concern is to rescue the whole, torn apart by hegemonic history, and often preoccupied with political development. An ethical question—which is to say, a question regarding truth—permeates this dispute over which of the past events should be emphasized in the creation of national narratives.

In *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil* (1993), Alain Badiou identifies three forms of evil: "(a) betrayal, the renunciation of a difficult fidelity; (b) delusion, the confusion of a mere 'simulacrum' of an event with a genuine event; and (c) terror, or the effort to impose the total and unqualified power of a truth" (xii). After identifying them, he explains how all three pervert truth in different manners, one of which is the simulacrum of the truth, or an event that assumes the form of truth while lacking the "immortal", universal, quality of truth. The example given by Badiou is the rise of National Socialism in Germany which—unlike legitimate events such as the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917—promised to bring into being, not that which is universal, but rather that which is highly particular to a community and is rooted in the characteristics of its soil, blood, and race (72-73). Here he lays out the danger of creating myths surrounding a historical truth that reaffirms the present reality of a nation while excluding and diminishing narratives of resistance and disobedience from within the fabric of the national formation. Hence, Baudiou's sees ethics as a regulating component in "resisting the temptation

to impose an absolute, definitive order of truth" (xii). Following this line of thought, this present work is a study concerned with the practice of ethics. It attempts to unbind the imposition of a truth created around the history of Brazil and its difference from Spanish America vis-à-vis the understanding of the intellectual exchanges and political influences that permeated the borders and brought the two regions closer.

The history that had been emphasized in the official national narrative of Brazilian public intellectuals from the formation of the *Instituto Hitórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* in 1838 to the middle of the twentieth century was arguably a history prone to the reaffirmation of the political and cultural ties between Brazil and Portugal. These narratives erased or belittled the disturbances caused by the anti-Imperial uprisings influenced by Spanish America's newly formed Republics.[1] In his posthumously published book, *História de Independência do Brasil* (1916), Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen expresses in various ways his contempt for Spanish America's republicanism and the anti-imperial rebellions that spread in Brazil before Independence (1789-1821) and during the Provisional Regency (1831-1840). As one of the main historians of the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro,* Varnhagen was a friend of Emperor Don Pedro II and indisputably an advocate of the monarchy.[2] Throughout the whole of *História de Independência do Brasil,* he makes a point to criticize the republican system of places such as France and Spanish America through the voice of historical characters while defending the monarchic constitution implemented in Brazil after the independence:

> Em presença do giro que tomava a discussão, reconheceu José Bonifácio o seu erro e imprudência, reclamou contra as tendências demagógicas que poderiam vir a perder o Brasil, citou o exemplo da França e da América Espanhola, protestou contra os que procuravam extrair veneno do puro mel, e concluiu que, até onde chegasse a sua voz, protestava que a Constituição sairia monárquica, não demagógica (Varnhagen 227).

While intentionally describing the ideals of past Brazilian statesman José Bonifácio, Varnhagen gives a negative weight to republicanism. He defines it as a demagogic system that could have put the country at risk. Furthermore, he strengthens his argument in favor of monarchism throughout the narrative by creating a myth surrounding the image of Don Pedro I, painting him as an authentic Brazilian patriot who saved the country from the chaos of the newly formed Spanish American nations by willingly declaring the Brazilian independence and maintaining the (previous) order.

Varnhagen's insistence on promoting the connection between Portugal and Brazil set in place a historiographic tradition of framing the hegemonic political history of the country as a prolongation of the colonial period while also diminishing the historical role of internal disturbances and past revolutions against the system. This tradition was thus rehashed over the years by different national essayists such as Eduardo Prado, Joaquim Nabuco, and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, as explained by historian Lucia Gimarães in an interview given to the magazine *História da historiografia:* "Existe uma tradição brasileira de escrever história

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[1] This is true even in essays written during the beginning of the twentieth century such as Sergio Buarque de Holanda's *Raízes do Brazil*, where—although there is a brief recognition of the connections between Brazil's and Spanish Amarica's Iberian past and separatist revolutions—the focus on the difference between the hegemonic political history of the two is heightened and made seem to surpass any kind of connection.

[2] In one of his most renowned works *História Geral do Brasil* (1877), published by the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro,* Varnhagen ends his acknowledgement with the following words directed to the Emperor Don Pedro II: "Que Deus siga abençoando o reino de Vossa Magestade Imperial, por maior Gloria Sua e felicidade da Patria, são os votos constante que faz, Senhor de Vossa Magestade Imperial, O muito reverente e leal súdito, Visconde de Porto-Seguro" (Varnhagen).

política? [...] Sim. Não tenha dúvida. Essa tradição vem do tempo do Varnhagen. E teve continuidade através de um Nabuco, de um Oliveira Lima, do próprio Pedro Calmon" (Araujo 243). By reiterating the historiography initiated by Varnhagen, the Brazilian essayistic tradition perpetuated the country's hegemonic oligarchic history, while diminishing past events that had—in Benjamin's terms—the revolutionary potential to redeem the present from its colonial past. That is to say, by sedimenting a truth in which the country (since the independence) had never had a significant revolutionary impulse to completely break from its colonial ties with Portugal, the national essayistic tradition diminishes the presence of progressive politics in Brazilian history, affecting the self-image of the nation and of those living in it. This may be the reason that philosopher Sergio Lessa's argues Brazil had been built on a conservative, oligarchical *Weltanschauung*, which he calls "one of the worst sorts of foundation for Marxism… [which] is the basic reason that Marxism in Brazil has been slow to be assimilated" (95).

The literary work of authors who favored the implementation of different representational systems than the ones existing at the time they were writing stood opposed to the canonical national essays that praised the ties between Brazil and the Portuguese crown and dominated the country until the 1960s. That was the case of Castro Alves and others who followed within the genealogy of the French Romantic bent in Brazil. Around the same time Varnhagen was working for the IHGB, Castro Alves, Joquim de Sousândrade, Nísia Floresta, and even Gonçalves Dias wrote poems emphasizing past revolutions against the empire. Along with poems on the *Revolução Praieira, Revolução de Minas,* and *Revolução Farropilha,* ideas regarding the shifts in the political and social zeitgeist of the continent circulated in the media of the time.[3] The confluent existence of these two narratives around the mid-nineteenth century and their opposite opinions regarding the country's monarchic system and ties with the Portuguese crown made it clear that there was an intellectual dispute happening between republican poets and monarchic backed historians of the IHGB. It is the work of this dissertation, thus, to examine how this incipient discussion reverberated over the years, echoing into Brazilian public intellectuals' refusal to accept a Latin American identity.

* * *

Translated through the lenses of Badiou's work, the tension between affirmation of political sovereignty by the government and popular search for international solidarity in manifestations of dissatisfaction with national leadership represents an old dispute in the field of ethics: the tension between particularism and universalism, between the attentiveness for ethnic, cultural, historic, political, and linguistic difference and the consideration of humanist sameness. A proponent of universalism, Badiou sets out to defend and define the contemporary use of ethics right at the beginning of his work:

> According to the way it is generally used today, the term 'ethics' relates above all to the domain of human rights, 'the rights of man'—or, by derivation, the rights of living beings. We are supposed to assume the existence of a universally recognizable human subject possessing 'rights' that are in some sense natural: the right to live, to avoid abusive treatment, to enjoy 'fundamental' liberties (of opinion, of expression, of democratic choice in the election of governments, etc.). These rights are held to be self-

[3] For more information, see: Camilo, Vagner. "Revoltas Provinciais: Testemunhos Poéticos." *Teresa*, no. 17, 2017, p. 135., https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2447-8997.teresa.2016.123337.

> evident, and the result of a wide consensus. 'Ethics' is a matter of busying ourselves with these rights, of making sure that they are respected (Badiou 4).

In many ways, Brazilian Latin Americanism equates to this ethical search for a universal humanistic position, a zeitgeist that manifests itself through shared struggles with other peoples across the continent. Interestingly, this struggle (the search for the same) is often prompted by elements of difference such as race and gender. In this respect, national conflicts set on particularism are instigators for a search for democracy, utopian political thinking, solidarity, and a sense of universality across the region.

Thus, in my dissertation, entitled *The No-Space Between Brazil and Latin America: Utopia, Democracy, and Solidarity in Brazilian Literature and Culture,* I search for this Latin Americanist universality in Brazilian literary and cultural productions that portray progressive revolutionary pursuits. To this end, I explore various Brazilian intellectual struggles in the development of a utopian political imaginary and their connections with and impressions of Spanish America from the nineteenth until the end of the twentieth-century via the analyses of essays, poems, novels, and music. In particular, I examine the Brazilian intellectuals' struggle to resist hegemonic and reactionary political views of national identity, grounded in the history of the country's imperial past, in favor of a vision of Brazil as part of a broader Latin American political progressive utopian ideal, including a revolutionary ideal developed more broadly in neighboring countries such as Mexico and Cuba.

In my first chapter, I address how the increase in the numbers of ports and train stations directly impacted the influence of Spanish America on the abolition of slavery and the development of democracy in Brazil during the late mid-nineteenth century. I do this by analyzing how the maritime circulation of Spanish American newspapers joined the wider production of news sources from economically and culturally hegemonic regions such as France and the United States in critiquing slavery in Brazil. These papers reinforced the internal abolitionist movement headed by the *Condoreiros* from the mid-1860s to the early 1870s. Based on this analysis, I discuss how the least studied and most socially committed Brazilian Romantic schools known as *Condoreiros* used the news to map the relations between Brazilians and Spanish American progressive republicans and abolitionist intellectuals. In doing so, they imagined the region as a utopian space that contrasts with the monarchic sociopolitical structure supported by the narrative of the Brazilian historiography of the time. Therefore, I analyze the contrast and convergence between the way *Condoreiros* and historians from the *Instituto de História e Geografía Brasileiro* (IHGB) approached historical and journalistic accounts in a dispute over the true narrative of Brazil. My paramount object of analysis is the literary production of one of the most prominent voices of the movement, Antônio de Castro Alves. I argue that—due to the utopian abolitionism and republicanism clearly present in his work via his mentions of the current government of Benito Juarez in Mexico and past revolutions in Brazil, such as the *Revolução Praieira* (1848)—Castro Alves used current journalist accounts and past historical events in Brazil to write primarily against the empire and in favor of a continental political union with the other countries in the Americas already living under a different social and political organization.

As for my second chapter, I deconstruct the binary 'civilization and barbarism' used in the creation of a republican Spanish American Other by monarchist intellectuals Eduardo Prado and Joaquim Nabuco. I arrive at my argument through a reading of Machado de Assis's *Canção de Piratas* (1894), where he questions the monarchic political inclination of the *sertanejo* postulated in the work of Euclides da Cunha, *Os sertões* (1902). Through examples, Machado unveils the

shared ideals between monarchists and long-time utopian republicans, who were inspired by French Revolutionary ideals and the significant impact they had in the past on the political and social shifts of Spanish America. Later on, I analyze the changes in da Cunha's view of the *Sertanejo* monarchic inclination through his comparison of the verses produced by those countrymen with the poetry of a long-time republican writer Castro Alves in his essay *Castro Alves e Seu Tempo* (1903). The recognition of this junction between monarchism and long-time republicanism during the 1890s is essential. It demonstrates that a past positive utopian and revolutionary view of Spanish American republicanism was still latent in Brazil at that time, hidden in the rebellious *Sertão* of the country.

In my third chapter, I look into how the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) raised the hopes for a decrease in social inequality and made Portuguese and Spanish America aware of their shared underdevelopment in the continental context. A shared awareness of underdevelopment became even more evident for Brazilian intellectuals with the increasing industrialization of the United States and its presence in the region. However, this Latin Americanist consciousness was affected by the *Modernistas'* pursuit of a national identity after the centenary of independence in 1922. This confluence of thoughts explains the emergence of seemingly disconnected Latin Americanist essays produced by Brazilian intellectuals in the early twentieth century, followed by essays crafted around criticism of the nation. As an example, I use Manoel Bomfim's, *América Latina: males de origem* (1905), and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda's, *Raízes do Brasil* (1936). In my analysis, I demonstrate how both pieces—despite their different cartographic cuts—are crafted around criticism of the elite and consciousness of underdevelopment in the face of growing industrialization. The juxtaposition of these criticisms indicates Latin Americanism existed in the works of national criticism by Brazilian intellectuals of the time. Even though their works were often shrouded by the question of national identity, writers such as Graciliano Ramos, José Linz do Rego, Rachel de Queiroz, and Jorge Amado were primarily critics of the exploitation of proletarians by the elite of the country. Their criticism put them in contact with other writers from the region and—in a way—made them "Latin Americanist writers". Thus, in the second section of this chapter, I argue for a reading of works such as Amado's novel inspired by Castro Alves's poem, *Seara Vermelha* (1945), as a socialist critique of the elite that resonates with a sense of belonging to Latin America.

Lastly, in my fourth chapter, I write about how the "romantismo revolucionário" (Löwy and Sayre 38) that emerged after the Cuban Revolution marked Brazil's progressive utopian political imaginary, dwarfing the attempts of previous poets, journalists, and writers. I explain how this was facilitated by Brazilian artists such as Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil—having the privilege of a historical perspective of the past and the consciousness of common imperialist oppression that gave rise to the dictatorship—they created a more cohesive project of retroactively Latin Americanizing the country. In doing so, they pitted the history of Brazil against that of other Spanish American countries while putting the works of some of the writers studied in the previous chapters in direct dialogue with the present continental context. By clearly abandoning a strictly nationalist project and embracing a larger narrative that favored the overlooking of historical differences, artists of that time influenced a change in perspective in the national essays. This was true in the case of the *América Latina: a pátria grande* written by Darcy Ribeiro and published in 1986, one year after the end of the dictatorship in Brazil.

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As a whole, this dissertation takes into account the development of the national essay as emerging from a historiographic tradition that was founded due to the empire's fear of a

continental political and social zeitgeist, and puts this tradition into dialogue with the progressive Brazilian literature and cultural production that refers to or dialogues with Latin America. In this respect, the present work codifies the national essay as the space where the difference between Brazil and Latin America lies in order to think through literary and cultural productions as doors for a dialogue to come to fruition. In specific ways, this dissertation is a work of crafting a story in which the primary agents are not subscribed to a view of the hegemonic political history present in the national essays but rather living in the space between the lines of poems, novels, and songs. It is imperative to trace this story—which follows the development of a lesser-studied Romantic current in the Brazilian literary criticism—in the years that preceded the Cuban Revolution in 1959 since it is from this date on that most attempts to actively create comparative essays and artistic works start emerging within Brazil as a response to the dictatorship instilled in the country in 1964. With the growth of an extreme right reaching a global level, it is essential to understand how popular mobilizations create cross-country alliances to respond to a new reality. Brazil has always positioned itself as a problem within Latin America. However, the constant assertion of this problem disregards the Brazilian people and their sense of collective struggle with other peoples in Latin America.

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Chapter 1 | On Board the *Condoreiros'* Abolitionist Revolutionary Utopia

It will then be evident that the world has long dreamed of possessing something of which it has only to be conscious in order to possess it in reality.
-Karl Marx, letter written to Arnold Ruge in September 1843

All free movements are guided by utopian aspirations.
-Ernest Bloch, The Principle of Hope

Quanto ao seu fim, a poesia deve ser o arauto da liberdade—esse verbo da redenção moderna—e o brado ardente contra os usurpadores dos direitos do povo.
-Antônio de Castro Alves, Impressões da leitura das poesias do Sr. A. A. de Mendonça

In the late 1860s and early 1870s, steamships from around the world left fleeting drawings of foam on the surface of the coastline of Brazil. Besides their obvious passenger cargo, each one of these vessels transported newspapers, letters, telegrams, and merchandise. From New York, a wave of mail steamships, or *paquetes a vapor*, flooded Brazil with news about republican and abolitionist revolutions happening throughout the continent. Boats from the U.S. and Brazil Mail Steam Ship Company such as the South America (fig. 1), the Havana, and the New York—with stops in Saint Thomas island (fig. 1), Pará, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Argentina[4]—carried North American news about the development of wars such as that of the Cuban Revolution, which had started on October 10th 1868: "[e]ntrou ontem em nosso porto, procedente de Nova Iorque, o paquete Americano South America, trazendo-nos folhas até 23 do passado… Telegramas da ilha de Cuba continuam a relatar diversas escaramuças entre os insurgentes e as forças espanholas" (*Notícias dos Estados Unidos* 2).[5]

Despite the fact that the abolition of slavery did not take place in Cuba until 1886, newspapers of the time were already conjecturing on the possibility that the island would become the next nation in the continent to abolish slavery and to become politically independent, leaving Brazil as one of the last slave-based nations in the Americas along with Puerto Rico. The December 23rd 1868 Anglo-Brazilian Times, for instance, announced that "Europe and the minor states of the Americas are now joined by the United States in their …crusade against slavery, and who can say how much stronger the pressure may not become when the foreshadowed emancipation in Cuba leaves Brazil in isolated darkness as the only slaveholding power" (*The Anglo-Brazilian Times* 2).

[4] For more information, see: Heyl, Erik. *Early American Steamers*. E. Heyl, 1953.
[5] Through the acquisition of steamships used during the civil war, U.S. steamship companies expanded their control over the international mailing system. According to Paul Gottheil, the traffic of U.S. steamship companies can be logically divided into three distinct groups: a trans-Atlantic trade, which covered all ports in Europe as well as Asia and Mediterranean and Black Sea; the long-voyage trade, which evolved Africa, Asia, South America and Australia; and the Caribbean trade, which included Bermuda, the West Indies, Central America, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and the Guianas (48). Gottheil's division of the steamship routes makes visible the lack of a direct connection between Brazil and the island of Cuba, which explains why news regarding the war in the island had to go through U.S. and European ports in order to arrive in Brazil.

Figure 2. Images of the steamship South America and one of its destinations, Saint Thomas island. The image of the Caribbean island was taken from *Novo mundo*, the Brazilian newspaper in New York. The inscription on the image reads "A ilha de S. Thomaz, escala dos paquetes do Brazil e Estados Unidos".

Around the same time, a young abolitionist poet from the northern province of Brazil, Antônio de Castro Alves, was riding on the bow of the news-carrying *paquetes a vapor* like the South America, as can be seen from a list of passengers in the *Diário de Pernambuco*: "[p]assageiros do vapor americano South America, vindo dos portos do sul: William Powell, Antonio de Castro Alves e 1 criado, Antonio Pinto dos Santos, Karl Ernest Elibárdt" (1).[6] Although he never directly referred to the event of the Cuban Revolution in his writings, Castro Alves would have been aware of the insurrection coordinated by a small *criollo* elite.[7]

In his open letter addressed to the *Senhoras baianas* (1871), Castro Alves attempts to convince elite women to donate money to the abolitionist cause in his plea to free slaves. In order to convince his readership, Castro Alves appeals to their vanity and Christian charity while instilling in them a sense of historical responsibility with the events happening in their time by writing:

> A terra que realizou a emancipação dos homens, ha de realizar a emancipação da mulher. A terra que fez o sufrágio universal, não tem o direito de recusar o voto de metade da América. E esse voto é vosso. (…) Enoja-te! Hoje a matrona leva o filho ao ergástulo da escravidão. – O escravo aviltado tem porém a significação de um verso bíblico: Compadece-te! (472).

As Castro Alves directs himself to readers of his letters, he imagines them to feel uneasy after reading the last words in José de Alencar's satirical romance *A pata da gazela* (1870). He implies that perhaps they would feel better if they played *Ojos criollos,* a syncopated tango inspired by Afro-Cuban rhythms and written by Louis Moreau Gottschalk,[8] a Jewish American composer who spent most of his life travelling between France and Cuba and had recently died in Brazil, in 1869.[9] In this argument, Castro Alves suggests that—instead of being inspired by

[6] Around the time, the colonial politics regarding the slave trade were already being revised in Cuba, especially after the neighboring North American civil war (1861-1865).

[7] Unfortunately, Castro Alves died in 1871, so he did not get to live through the development of the Ten Years' War in Cuba (1868-1878). His early death, thus, might explain the few accounts regarding the neighboring nation among his work as well as some optimism regarding the post abolitionist United States.

[8] For more information on Louis Moreau Gottschalk's presence in Brazil and his relation to Cuba, see: Romero Pereira, Avelino. "As notas de um pianista na Corte Imperial: mercado e mediação cultural em Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1969)." Debates-Cadernos do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Música, n. 14, 2015. http://www.seer.unirio.br/index.php/revistadebates/article/view/5147. Accessed 27 Jun. 2018.

[9] Castro Alves praised the Jewish American composer. In a different letter addressed to his friend Regueira Costa, Castro Alves once again refers to the Gottschalk as "gênio" (436). Perhaps this admiration came from the common shared history they had. As the American composer, Castro Alves was an abolitionist who spent most of his life in

the gaze of women from Havana—Gottschalk wrote *Ojos criollos* "adivinhando os…olhos [das senhoras bahianas]" (475). Though apparently casual, Castro Alves's comparison between Brazilian and Cuban women emphasizes that in the late 1860s and early 1870s there was already an eye for the inclusion of Brazil in the Inter-American dialogue. This facet of Castro Alves's thought and that of other writers from his generation remains to be analyzed, as I propose to do in this chapter.

As with most intellectuals concerned with Brazil's political and social development at the time, Castro Alves was part of a new wave of Romantic writers later known as *condoreiros*. With their name deriving from the word *condor*—a native bird that soars high above the elevated heights of the Andean region—the *condoreiros* perceived the Andes as a synecdoche of America. In their republican and abolitionist struggles, writers from this generation expressed their desire to truly join a hemispherical context from which Brazil's hegemonic political thinkers were drifting away. Different from the *indianistas* writing around the same time, the *condoreiros* view of nature as a unifying force of the continent had to take into account the abolition of slavery that was already taking place in different countries of the region. This unification was also fostering political republicanism as its platform.

According to historian Ori Preuss, the years that followed the 1870s were marked by the publication of the Republican Manifesto, "which challenged the *isolationism* pursued by the monarchy" (40) and fomented the resurgence of "American-spirited republicanism in Brazil" (40). By American, Brazilian republicans were not necessarily "referring only to the United States" (Preuss 98), but also to Spanish American countries. This "American-spirited republicanism" reveals that the *condoreiros*' perception of the region's political future differed from the hegemonic isolationism of the monarchy. Instead, it included Brazil in a southern hemispheric unity reverberating through the supranational essays of Spanish American intellectuals of the time such as Venezuelan revolutionary Simón Bolívar, and Cuban writer José Martí.[10]

In Brazil, the division of Spanish and Portuguese America was initially promoted by supporters of the imperial family such as Brazilian historian Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, also known as Visconde de Porto Seguro, whose 1857 *História Geral do Brasil* defended the separation of the country from Spanish America by commenting on the "different political conceptions about the political regime and internal organization [of both regions]" (Ruíz and Puntigliano xiii). This historic argument about the political and social difference between Brazil and the rest of the continent is part of a larger tradition found in the "ensaios de interpretação histórica que caracterizou as primeiras décadas do período republicano" (Nicolazzi 89). This tradition included writings by intellectuals like Oliveira Lima, Joaquim Nabuco, and Eduardo Prado, who argued that "nem o Brasil físico, nem o Brasil moral forma um sistema com aquelas nações [hispano-americanas]… Brasil, ilha imensa, era por sim mesmo um continente" (9-10).

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unstable grounds, traveling on boats back and forth from the northern states of Bahia and Sergipe, to the southern states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

[10] Although José Martí was imprisoned on the Island of Pines during the time Castro Alves was writing, there are some similarities in the interests of both poets. For instance, it is interesting to notice that Martí was also intrigued by the figure of Gottschalk. In a letter to his friend Miguel F. Viondi (1846-1919), the Cuban revolutionary requests three books and a newspaper. Among one of the books requested is the biography of the North American composer. The letter dated April 24th, 1880, reads: "Yo le pedí diarios—y me vienen—y siento que me vengan por otras manos que por las de Ud.—Yo supongo que Ud. comprará los libros que allí vayan saliendo;— y no sé si me querrá aún bastante para enviarme o para hacer que Ladó me envíe, luego que Ud. los lea—*Gottschalk*—Los versos de Tejera,—'Arpas Amigas'—y 'La Revista de Cuba'" (Martí 285).

In contrast with this segregationist narrative, Castro Alves's letters, plays, and poems invited his readers to be part of a larger and less defined continental reality while maintaining national and regional aspects in his work.[11] The metaphor of the vast ocean allowed for the imagining of a broader continental unity. Evoked in the title of his book, *Espumas flutuantes* (1870), or floating foam, the image of the ocean seeped into a great number of Castro Alves's works, emphasizing the importance that this particular space of circulation had in fomenting dreams of political and social shifts throughout Brazil. Lapping against the shorelines of countries that have undergone and were going through revolutions, the ocean becomes the surface on which Castro Alves attempts to write Brazil as part of a larger hemispheric context. In the poem *O vidente* (1869), after describing the engulfing of the "tardes brasileiras" (Castro Alves 72) by the shadow of the Andean Mountains, Castro Alves equates the vastness of Brazil's nature to maritime amplitude: "Ouço o cantar dos astros no mar do firmamento;/No mar das matas virgens ouço o cantar do vento" (Castro Alves 72). This ocean that overlaps with the vastness of nature that connects Brazil to the continental reality also carries the news murmured in the poet's ears about "as loiras utopias… [dos] povos, das idades" (Castro Alves 73).

The association between seafaring stories and utopianism began with Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), the first landfall in an archipelago of ideal societies. In his book, More describes a new civilization based on the accounts of Portuguese sailor Raphael Hythlodaeus, which completely contrasts with the contemporary English reality.[12] As in *Utopia,* the nautical element in Castro Alves's work represents the arrival of news of foreign lands, which prompt reflection about the future of the nation as part of a continental context. These components in Castro Alves's poetry highlight an important aspect in the development of Brazilian political thinking: the connection between the rupturing of Brazil's official idiosyncratic narrative that separates the country from the Spanish American context, and the promotion of utopian political thinking within national boundaries.

In this chapter, I address how the increasing number of contact zones between Brazil and the surrounding region had a direct impact on the influence of Spanish America in the abolition of slavery and development of democracy in Brazil during the late mid nineteenth century. In order to do this, I focus on how the maritime circulation of Spanish American newspapers joined the production of news sources from economically and culturally hegemonic regions such as France and the United States in the critique of slavery in Brazil and reinforced the internal abolitionist movement headed by the *condoreiros* from the mid 1860s to the early 1870s. Based on this analysis, I discuss how the *condoreiros* used news to map the relations between Brazilians and Spanish American progressive republicans and abolitionist intellectuals. In doing so, they imagined the region as a utopian space that contrasts with the monarchic sociopolitical structure supported by the narrative of the Brazilian historiography of the time. I will therefore analyze the contrast and convergence between the way in which *condoreiros* and historians from the *Instituto de História e Geografía Brasileiro* (IHGB) approached historical and journalistic accounts in a dispute for the true narrative of Brazil.

Harboring Desire for Change in the Contact Zone

[11] As Martí, Castro Alves references in many instances of his poetry to the regional and the universal. Growing up in the countryside of Bahia, Castro Alves often brings back the image of the *sertão* and its inhabitants, while inserting them in a universal context.

[12] For more information, see: Jameson, Fredric. *Archaeologies of the Future: the Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions*. W. Ross MacDonald School Resource Services Library, 2012.

Through the mid-nineteenth century, most countries in the continent were already promoting social and political changes while the Brazilian monarchical state was still rested on the backs of slaves.[13] At the time, there was an absolute consensus among the landowning class about the necessity of slavery for maintaining good development and governance in Brazil. Scarcely two decades after the implementation of the *Eusébio de Queirós* law—which would halt the international slave-trade sanctioned by England in 1850—national capital started to be redirected from the institution of slavery to activities that stimulated the growth of a *petit bourgeois* whose newly established enterprises challenged the economic order of the country.

No longer able to buy slaves coming from African ports, Brazilian landowners saw themselves "with the devil to pay and no pitch hot"; in other words, obligated to invest in the internal slave trade to maintain their system of subjugation. Those with the most need for slave labor at the time were the landowners located in the states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, where coffee plantations were developing.[14] While still preserving aspects of the colonial past—such as monoculture and slavery—the growth of these plantations stimulated national modernization of the country through the construction of new railroads and ports. These contact zones favored conditions for the emergence of urban organizations such as banks and newspaper presses, as well as a range of initiatives in education, immigration, and international relations. Ironically, it was due to this economic diversification towards the end of the 1860s that non-slave-based geographic pockets started appearing in the growing urban centers.[15] It was here that a small group of Brazilian and foreign abolitionist intellectuals joined forces in the struggle for a different national discourse.[16]

Newspapers of the time often published a list of steamships docking with immigrants from countries such as North America, Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, where the official rejection of slaveholding was promoted through a direct association between abolitionism and industrial development.[17] Accounts of diplomatic visits of ministers from Spanish American nations that—akin to the economic centers—immediately established the link between slavery, backwardness, and barbarism were also featured heavily in the news sources of the time. This increasing number of foreigners visiting Brazilian urban centers of the time inevitably gave rise to the demand of newspapers that would echo North American, European, and Spanish American critical opinion regarding the situation of slavery in Brazil.

The English-language *Anglo-Brazilian Times, The Rio News, Political, Literary*, and

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[13] Most countries in Spanish America were abolishing slavery during the 1850s. This was the case of countries such as Uruguay (1814), Bolivia (1831), Ecuador (1851), Argentina (1853), Peru (1854), and Venezuela (1854). Perhaps one of the biggest exceptions would be Cuba, which only abolish slavery in 1886. However, the revolution of 1868 raised speculation that Cuba would become independent and abolish slavery as the other Spanish-speaking nations had already. For liberal Brazilian intellectuals seeing these social shifts across the neighboring nations of the continent, there was a feeling that the country was being left behind in time.

[14] According to André Barreto Campello, before the end of the slave trade it is estimated that "cerca de 646.315 africanos tenham sido contrabandeados como escravos para o Brasil" (Barreto Campello). After the event, in order to fill the coffee plantations in the south of the country, 100 to 200 thousand slaves were exported from the north and the urban centers to "os centros cafeicultores" (Barreto Campello).

[15] For more information, see: Maestri Filho Mário, José. *A segunda morte de Castro Alves: genealogia crítica de um revisionismo*. UPF Editora, Editora Da Universidade De Passo Fundo, 2011.

[16] After 1871, when Barão do Rio Branco signed the Law of the Free Birth that would free all newborn children of slaves, members of the government actively promoted European immigration that would later be associated with racist eugenic practices.

[17] For more information on immigrants in Brazil, see: Lesser, Jeff. *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Commercial, and the French-language *Ba-Ta-Clan,* were among some of the foreign oppositional sources that floated through Brazil at the time. According to Monica Pimenta Velloso, within the Franco-Brazilian magazine *Ba-Ta-Clan* there can be identified "une double origine mythique: l'âge d'or des peuples indiens préibériques en communion avec une nature idyllique rousseauiste, et le modèle illuministe de la Révolution française" (6), which indicated the ideological association between this foreign magazine and a revolutionary force within Brazil. The same can be said about the English-language *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, *The Rio News, Political, Literary*, and *Commercial* that—in the words of Natalia Bas—were "sympathetic to the cause of abolition and served as another important link to a forum for the 'Anglo-Saxon' abolitionist world" (107).

Although not always recognized, Spanish-language newspapers also circulated within Brazil. These were limitedly sold in ports, or sent as correspondence to Brazilian journalists who evaluated their content in order to report on them. This was the case of Paraguayan newspapers such as *El Centinella,* which vehemently condemned the Brazilian Emperor during the War of the Triple Alliance, highlighting the incongruity between his criticism of Solano Lopez's autocratic government in Paraguay and his persistence in maintaining the slave order in Brazil: "Precisamente el Monarca que con cetro de hierro gobierna un miserable rebaño de abyectos negros... Allá donde las leyes canonizan la vil mercancía de la dignidad humana, y donde la triste condición del negro es inferior à la de la bestia, no debe profanarse la sacramental palabra libertad" (*Pedro Peseador* 1).

These newspapers made their way into Brazilian shores affecting the abolition of slavery in the country. A key example can be found in the May 28th, 1869, *Jornal do Commercio*'s announcement of the arrival of a copy of *El Centinella* sent by diplomat José Maria da Silva Paranhos Junior: "Dito do Sr. Dr. José Maria da Silva Paranhos Junior, remetendo as seguintes obras (…) Revista de los Estados del Plata sobre legislacion, jurisprudencia, economia politica, scienicas naturales y litterarias, 1854, 2 vol; El Centinela, periodico serio jocoso, impresso em Assumpção em 1867" (*Gazetilha* 1). Also known as Barão do Rio Branco, Paranho Junior was the son of the politician who would later sign the *Lei do ventre livre* in 1871 freeing all newborn children of slaves. Another example is the description of the content of *El Centinella* in newspapers such as *O Itabira* of September 22nd, 1867: "Os jornais ilustrados não são impressos em Assunção, porem no acampamento de Lopez em Humaitá; um é *El Centinella*, outro *El Cabichuy* ou a *Vespa*. Os desenhos são burlescos e os assuntos são os brasileiros, alguns espirituosos, e outros muito grosseiros" (*Jornaes da Assumpção e Humaitá* 3).[18]

It is uncertain whether the similarity between Portuguese and Spanish languages factored into the relative restricted circulation of Spanish American newspapers in Brazil during the Triple Alliance War, especially when considering the regulations for the "free press" in the Criminal Code legislation at the time that condemned the use of confrontational language to

[18] This second handed information was not only restricted to the Paraguayan newspapers since the information coming from ally countries during the war were treated in the same way. Instead of circulating freely through Brazil, newspapers such as *Nación Argentina* were cited in the *Correio Mercantil,* the *Diário de Pernambuco*, the *Diário de S. Paulo*, the *Jornal de Recife*, and the *Correio Paulista.* According to Ori Preuss, the exchanges between Brazil and Spanish American countries were intensified due to the docking of boats in the ports of Rio de Janeiro and Santos going from Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina to Europe and the United States: "Direct encounters took place aboard the growing number of ships connecting Valparaíso, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo with Europe and the United States, which passed through Brazilian ports. These boats also carried the latest editions of Chilean, Argentine, and Uruguayan newspapers that were reproduced occasionally by Rio de Janeiro's pro-regime and most respected daily, the *Jornal do Comércio*" (45).

write about the emperor Dom Pedro II.[19] Although there was a disparity in how English and French-language newspapers navigated within Brazil in comparison to Spanish-language newspapers, a small but active intellectual group involved in the journalism of the time clearly had access to news sources produced in the neighboring countries. In light of this circulation, Brazilian intellectuals were aware of the Spanish American criticism of the Brazilian government's attempt to push forward a discourse of national freedom while swimming against the hemispheric zeitgeist, living under "backward" political and social organizations.

According to Humberto Fernandes Machado, up until 1860 there were no debates regarding the "atuação de uma *imprensa livre* e um espaço para uma discussão mais profunda a respeito das ideias antiescravistas" (247). In fact, most news sources were financed by "os interesses agrícolas e comerciais" (Fernandes Machado 247), explaining the press's lack of support for abolitionist movements in their initial phase. However, with the promises of change nurtured by an embryonic urban industrial setting and the increasing number of immigrants and foreign news sources during the mid 1860s and early 1870s, other more radical liberal Brazilian newspapers slowly emerged, enabling the rickety national intellectual opposition to loudly voice their point of view in hopes of truly achieving political and social freedom.[20]

There is perhaps no better way of demonstrating the importance that newly arrived foreign voices had in terms of increasing the volume of the Brazilian abolitionist movement than with the following images found in the newspaper *A Vida Flumience*, illustrated by the Italian-born Brazilian cartoonist Angelo Agostini.

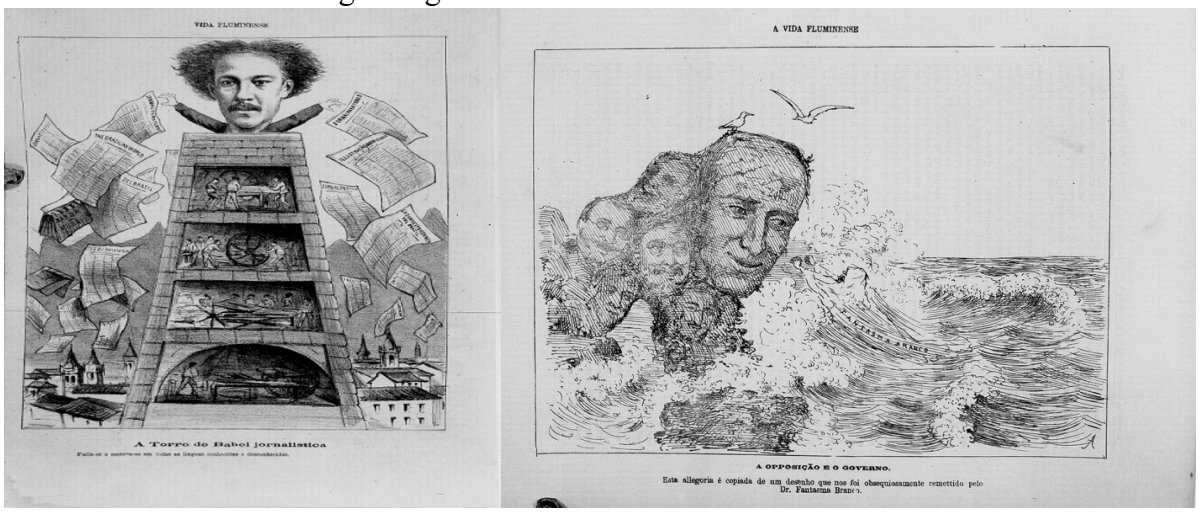

Figure 3. Image taken from the newspaper *A Vida Fluminense*. The first image, titled "A Torre de Babel jornalística," is followed by the comment, "Fala-se e escreve-se em todas as línguas conhecidas e desconhecidas". The second image, titled "A oposição e o governo," is followed by the comment, "Esta alegoria é uma cópia de um desenho que nos foi obsequiamente remetido pelo Dr. Fantasma Branco".

[19] In the mid-nineteenth century, amendments from the 1830s' law that established punitive measures for editors, authors, and printers who publicly manifested opinions against the government were "incorporados ao Código Criminal… enquadrados na seção sobre *calúnias* e *injúrias*" (Fernandes Machado 246). The argument used by conservative politician who defended the enforcement of these measures such as Liberato Barroso was that "'a liberdade de pensamento é um direito, porém o seu exercício deve ficar contido nos limites racionais do justo, e não atacar outros direitos'" (qtd. in Fernandes Machado 246).

[20] Among some of the liberal newspapers, there was *O Novo Mundo, O Ypiranga*, *Correio Paulista*, *Diário de S. Paulo, Diário do Povo*, *O Myosote, O Radical Paulistano,* and *O Futuro*.

Arriving in Brazil in 1859, at the beginning of an industrial change headed by the entrepreneurial figure of the Barão de Mauá, Agostini soon became involved in the abolitionist movement, befriending writers such as Luis Gama and Castro Alves.[21] In the first image, published on May 22nd, 1869, a portrait of Agostini throwing newspapers with titles in Portuguese and other languages out of the Tower of Babel highlights how the tempestuous debates over slavery between liberal and conservative parties took part in an international war of words. The writer of the piece accompanying the image suggests that a North American minister, whom he refers to as Mr. Webb, condemned the Brazilian conservative party for perpetuating slavery in the country: "vi o ministro Americano (…) declarar *coram populo* que no Brasil era o partido conservador que se opunha à extinção do elemento servil, e que o outro partido (…) a pedia em altas vozes!" (*A Vida Fluminense* 850).

Meanwhile, in the second image on June 13th, 1868, the opinions of those against the Brazilian government is portrayed as waves hitting the amalgamate faces of conservative politicians of the Empire such as Joaquim José Rodrigues Torres, or the Visconde de Itaboraí. The image suggests the foreignness of the oppositional discourse, as well as its liberal political affiliation. Hence, the comment of the Brazilian writer, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, in the article that accompanies the image: "o mar é a oposição, as pedras o governo" (*A Vida Fluminense* 278).[22] The representation of this transoceanic opposition reinforces the idea that the internal liberal opposition in Brazil did not carry as much weight as that of foreign newspapers arriving in the *paquetes a vapor*—a condition that only changed in the late 1870s and early 1880s with the intensification of abolitionist propaganda by journalist José do Patrocínio. By accessing foreign news that criticized slavery in Brazil, the *condoreiros* began to use a utopian language in their work in order to express their ability to foresee glimpses of a future like that of other countries on the continent.

The dispute between internal and external narratives regarding republicanism and abolitionism emerging in Brazil during the late 1860s lays the groundwork for the fundamental dynamic of political utopianism, as it addresses questions regarding the binomials subject and object, identity and difference, present and future.[23] Based on the combination of the Greek words *ou* "not" and *topos "*place", or the *no-place*, utopia can be defined as a desired alternate reality that completely opposes itself to the present context. For literary critic Fredric Jameson "even in our wildest imaginations [Utopias] are all collages of experience, construct made up of bits and pieces of the here and now" (xiii). Like a collage, utopian society can only be imagined as an objective radical difference so long as it brings together various seemingly scattered elements known by its creator. It is not a surprise, then, that utopia as a concept first emerged as a subjective account of travel narrative—a genre derived from the contact zone*,* "the space and time where subjects previously separated by geography and history are co-present" (Pratt 8).

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[21] Angelo Agostini was friends with Gama and Castro Alves. Accoring to historian Natalia Bas, by the mid-1860s, Gama was "already helping Italian cartoonist Ângelo Agostini… to establish the two first anti-slavery and anti-monarchic *Paulista* illustrated journals" (116). Furthermore, it is Agostini who gave us the last known portrayal of Castro Alves.

[22] It is worth mentioning that in the text, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo makes his case in favor of the government since he was a liberal monarchist. This would explain the moderate tone of his abolitionist novels such as *A moreninha* (1844).

[23] According to Fedric Jameson, the fundamental dynamic of any "Utopian politics (or of any political Utopianism) will (…) always lie in the dialectic of Identity and Difference, to the degree to which such a politics aims at imagining, and sometimes even at realizing, a system radically different from this one" (xii).

In the same way, socially engaged intellectuals such as the *condoreiros* drew from a scattered assembly of news about the wave of social and political changes in different countries and gave that amorphous body of information a defined shape. In doing so, they relied on different accounts of existing political and social representations to describe encounters between Brazilians and foreigners in an imaginary contact zone*,* which reflected the very meeting between immigrants and Brazilian abolitionist intellectuals in the urban centers of the country. This thought exercise allowed them to imagine the possible utopian future of Brazil via the development of a present historical thinking in which "[t]he occasional flash of historical understanding that may strike the 'current situation' will thus happen by…mode of the recombination of separate columns in the newspaper" (Jameson 374).

Antônio Cândido, Brazilian literary critic, stated that for writers from this generation, "[a] realidade presente era um alimento muito forte para os seus tacteios, voltados para o pitoresco e a reminiscência idealizada" (Cânidido 250). In the tenth *canto* of Joaquim de Sousa Andrade's (Sousândrade) epic poem *O Guessa*,[24] for instance, the poet utilizes as base journalistic chronicles from newspapers such as *Sun*, *New York Herold*, and *O Novo Mondo*[25] in order to create an imaginary contact zone where a pidgin language emerges and Portuguese is rhymed with Spanish, Tupi-Guarani, Quechua, English, French, German and even Greek. Such is the case of the portrayal of the arrival of Dom Pedro II in the United States that in *O Guessa* " é documentado ao vivo, com sabor das reportagens dos principais jornais de Nova Iorque, sobre o prisma da característica 'redução poética' sousândradiana" (De Campos 63). The situation is presented in the poem as such: "—Agora o Brasil é República;/ O trono no Hevilius caiu.../ *But we picked it up!*/— Em farrapo/ 'Bandeira Estrelada' se viu" (Sousândrade 238).[26]

In the same manner, in *A mulher no século XIX*, Narcisa Amália*,* the first Brazilian woman to become a professional journalist, writes about the expectations of the emancipation of Brazilian women through a panoramic view of feminist movements in the United States and Europe, where men sent their "filhas as portas das academias de Direito e de Medicina" (qut. in Ramalho 130). Although not belonging to the *condoreiro* movement per se, Amália's work clearly "dialogava com a geração condoeira, sobretudo com Castro Alves, por quem mantinha profunda admiração" (Faedrich 241). For Amália, only the newspaper can touch the "mais endurecidas camadas intelectuais (...) [a] sua ação é lenta, mas contínua e, por isso mesmo, irresistível, avassaladora" (qut. in Ramalho 120). Ergo, in Amália's and Sousândrades' writings, snapshots of the present are compiled into a collage and introduced as a radical difference of the

[24] Due to his stay in New York during the late nineteenth century—where he met Cuban intellectuals such as José Martí—Sousândrade is known for being one of the only bridges in the relations between Brazil and Spanish America at that time. However, the lack of knowledge about his work until the 1960s, creates a historic gap in the development of an intellectual connection between Spanish America and Brazil. This gap, however, disappears when we study Sousândrade's work along with the work of writers from the same literary school: the *condoreiros*.

[25] For more information, see: Lobo, Luiza, and Joaquim De Sousa Andrade. *O Guesa*. Ponteiro, 2012.

[26] In his well-known *Revisão de Sousândrade*, Haroldo de Campos comments on how these multiple references from different news sources gave the style writers from this generation a *barroquista* character: "Uma das grandes linhas que se pode discerner nessa linguagem é o *barroquismo*. Não se cogita, aqui, do conceito de Barroco como 'estilo histórico', que deve ser limitado no tempo entre os fins do século XVI e o século XVII, e no Brasil, segundo Alfrânio Coutinho, penetraria no século XVIII e atingiria mesmo 'o começo do XIX, sob um mimetismo de decadência'. A obra sousandradina, que se constituiu a partir de 1857, no bojo da '2ª geração Romântica' portanto, está obviamente fora desses limites históricos. Emprega-se-á aqui um conceito de Barroco, ou melhor, de *barroquismo*, como 'estilo abstrato', por meio do qual se podem distinguir elementos tipológicos dessa natureza em obras de períodos que lhe são posteriores" (27).

reality lived by Brazilians.[27] This collage of multiple international realities also appears in Castro Alves's poems.[28] However, as the most iconic figure among the *condoreiros*, Castro Alves's works have to be understood within the historic context of the developing utopian political imaginary of the country—especially considering Sousândrade and Amália were left aside by literary criticism until the mid-twentieth century.

In *O século* (1865),[29] Castro Alves describes—through a contrast between "treva e luz" (5)—the political situation of countries such as Hungary, Greece, Poland, France, the United States, and Mexico in order to call the Brazilian "mocidade" (10) to politically engage themselves. The choice of considering a Spanish-American country such as Mexico as part of a collage that contrasts with the Brazilian reality of the time extends Mary Louise Pratt's understanding of the "highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (7) in the contact zone as it includes a third axis of interaction that is horizontal in terms of power, across state borders. It is in a horizontal plane that we can situate the relationship between Brazilian and Spanish American progressive intellectual communities during the nineteenth century. In this type of relation, where interactions with economic international centers are so similar, present and alternate realities run parallel to each other as if separated only by a sliding door moment, which briefly differentiates them in their abolitionist and democratic development. However, according to Castro Alves's poem, while time separates Brazil from its neighboring countries, space connects it:

> Ante esse escuro problema/Há muito irônico rir. /P'ra nós o vento da esperança/ Traz o pólen do porvir./ E enquanto o ceticismo/ Mergulha os olhos do abismo,/ Que a seus pés raivando tem,/ Rasga o moço os nevoeiros,/ P'ra dos morros altaneiros/ Ver o sol que irrompe além (...)/Aqui—o México ardente,/ -Vasto filho independente/ Da Liberdade e do sol—/ Jaz por terra...e lá soluça/ Juarez, que se debruça/ E diz-lhe: Espera o arrebol! (Castro Alves 6-8).

The use of night and day to describe the reality of Brazil and Mexico respectively, marks the distance in time in the political and social development of the two countries during the nineteenth century. Feeling surrounded by so much "obscuridade…cativeiro, ignorância, opressão…[Castro Alves] faz um consumo desusado de luz" (Cândido 268) that often comes from an outside source. In this particular poem, which deals with the political shifts of the century, the sun that bursts beyond the dark fog that covers Brazil is the Mexican nation.[30] With the end of Maximilian Habsburg's empire and the beginning of a democratic government headed by a president of indigenous origin, Benito Juarez, Mexico represented the utopian future of the country for Castro Alves and other *condoreiros*, who lived under the reality of a monarchy

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[27] After Castro Alves's death, Amália writes the poem *Castro Alves* where she resents the poet's death, but recognizes the immortality of his verses: "Mas… não morreste, não condor brasileiro/ Que nunca morrerão teus puros versos!" (111).

[28] According to Frederic Jameson, "utopia is philosophically analogous to the [historic] trace," (xv) which means that it operates in a dialectics between past and present, or present and future. Its ambivalent nature can only be landed in the present with a variant desire envisioned in the past or future. In any of these cases, however, its eye is always set in the horizon of what is "coming to be" (Badiou 27) from the present, being that a reality that replicates a distant past, or imagines a not-yet-existing future.

[29] In the critical edition of Castro Alves's complete works, Alfranio Peixoto writes regarding *O século* "[p]arece que esteve esta poesia para ser publicada nas *Espumas Flutuantes*, edição original, porque entre os autógrafos do Poeta... estão as laudas que pôs no seu livro" (Castro Alves 10).

[30] The association between darkness and lack of freedom is established in the previous verses where the author writes: "[t]reme a terra hirta e sombria…/[s]ão as vacas da agonia/[d]a liberdade no chão?..." (Castro Alves 6).

carried on the backs of subaltern black men and women.[31] Nevertheless, Castro Alves's choice to use the pronoun *aqui* in order to refer to Mexico's geographic position transforms distance into shared space between both countries, favoring a continental horizontal alliance between intellectuals such as the *condoreiros* and a progressive political current in Spanish American countries. Such an alliance can be read in other poems such as *Adeus meu canto* (1865): "Canta, filho da luz da zona ardente/ Destes serros soberbos, altaneados!/ Em que aprendeste a rebramir teus brados./ Levanta dos sepulcros—o passado,/ Voz de ferro! Desperta as almas grandes/ Do Sul ao Norte... do Oceano aos Andes!!" (132).

This connection between Brazilian and Spanish American progressive political currents was possible due to the increasing communication between the different nations of the region, aided by the advance of the steamship and the opening of new ports where a great number of immigrants, news, and literary works circulated. In the context of the expansion of contact zones and international pressure for the abolition of slavery, Castro Alves fuses the image of the ocean with the description of nature in order to critically map Brazil's social and political situation onto the *indianistas'* romantic frame of the American continent as a great wilderness untouched by the whip in the invisible hand of capital.

Mapping Castro Alves's America

Antônio Frederico de Castro Alves or Cecéu, as he was known, was born on March 14th, 1847, in the town of Nossa Senhora de Conceição de Curralinho in the state of Bahia. His parents were Antônio José Alves, a physician and owner of a small hospital where he attended the poor and "escravos, nada recebendo" (Da Costa e Silva 9), and Clélia Brasília da Silva Castro, a woman of poor health who was the daughter of a "cigana espanhola" (Da Costa e Silva 9). Castro Alves spent a good part of his childhood and adulthood moving from one place to the other. Scarcely four years before the death of his mother in 1859, Castro Alves moved with his family from Curralinho to Salvador, where his father opened a small hospital. There, Castro Alves also started attending school. He studied with figures such as Rui Barbosa under Abílio César Borges, who owned one of the first schools to abolish the use of *palmatória* in the punishment of students. At that time, Alves was already showing a great interest in literature, especially in poetry, a passion that made him relegate his other studies to the background. Castro Alves's first writings date from the time he was a student in Salvador, which causes most biographers to associate Castro Alves's support of abolitionist and republican causes to the progressive education he received in Abílio's school and the close contact with the treatment of slaves in his fathers' hospital.

Although famous for his poems, Castro Alves became known in the Brazilian literary scene after writing a historical play about the republican revolution of 1789 in Minas Gerais: *Gonzaga, ou a revolução de Minas* (1866). The play was made to be performed by Eugênia Infante da Câmara, an older Portuguese actress who was Castro Alves's romantic partner throughout most of his life. The play's radical abolitionist and republican plot shocked the conservative society of Salvador at the time. Although it became more and more acceptable to publish on the abolition of slavery during the 1870s, it is important to keep in mind that—as Xavier Marques explains—in the early years of Castro Alves's writing "abolição [ainda]…era

[31] The difference in democratic development can be noticed if we compare the Mexican constitution of 1853, created by Benito Juarez, and the Brazilian constitutions of 1930 and 1988. While the Mexican constitution of 1853 gave the right for illiterate men and natives to vote, these rights were only added in the Brazilian constitutions of 1930 and 1988.

palavra execrada, incendiária, sacrílega, que ninguém se animava proferir em voz alta" (179). The critical acclaim of his *Gonzaga* made him sail to São Paulo, where it would be performed several times, especially after the reviews posted on *Correio mercantil* by José de Alencar and Machado de Assis, during the passage of Castro Alves in Rio de Janeiro.[32] In São Paulo, Castro Alves started attending a different law school, becoming involved in theater and journalism, and meeting Brazilian and foreign progressive intellectuals from various European and Spanish American countries. Situated in the midst of these international connections, Castro Alves's view of Brazil's context could not escape the political and social shifts happening in the American continent.

Castro Alves lived in a time of technological growth in the region, when the social oppression of slavery was slowly becoming denaturalized and associated with backward or barbaric practices. Above all, slavery was a sign of an outdated economic system based on monoculture. The Civil War in the United States prompted by the technological development of the northern states and the Paraguayan War initiated due to the incipient industrialization of the country, were both supported by anti-slavery narratives associating national freedom with the freedom of the subaltern body. These bodies also served as a potential consumer and producer of newly manufactured goods. While the northern provinces of the United States maintained the idea that slavery segregated and weakened the country's economy during the Civil war, Paraguay used an anti-slavery narrative to attack the Brazilian empire during the Paraguayan War—further highlighting economic, political, and social division in the continent. In both cases, abolitionism and republicanism became entangled movements coopted by the flood of progress that promised to unite continents and nations in times of political conflicts. On one side, the supporters of dying archaic labor and political practices, on the other, a new generation of thinkers who sought political and social shifts vis-à-vis the plea for continental and national alliances. Ocean and wilderness thus were poetic elements used by Brazilian Romantic writers such as Castro Alves to represent the desire for political and social freedom across the continent.

Relying on the theories of European Romantic revolutionary thinkers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau, Castro Alves and writers of his generation mixed representations of natural spaces with images of places that evoked democracy such as the plaza and the press.[33] For Rousseau, the opinion of other individuals living in a social setting had hindered freedom and authenticity of the self. Only in the state of nature, humans were truly free from social constraints. Rousseau's quest thus becomes that of understanding how one can find freedom within an established society. Rousseau's answer is compiled in his well-studied work *The Social Contract* (1762) where the idea of general will is explored. Only through access to the truth about public interest, men can transpose the freedom of the state of nature to a social context. This understanding of Rousseau's theory thus becomes key to understand Castro Alves's juxtaposition of natural spaces and places of public opinion such as the plaza and the press in his representation of the American continent. As in the work of *indianista* writers such as José de Alencar, Castro Alves represents natural spaces as continental unifying forces. This metaphoric geography features in many of his poems and powered his interest in translating Spanish American writers such as Chilean poet Guillermo Blest Gana.

Known for his admiration for French and English writers such as Victor Hugo and Lord Byron, Castro Alves's view of the importance of Spanish America to the Brazilian context is

[32] For more information, see: De Assis, Machado. "Literatura." *Correio Mercantil*, 1 Dec. 1868, p. 2.
[33] Castro Alves's knowledge of the French Romantic philosopher is observed in poems such as *No meeting du comité du pain* (1871).

under-examined by scholars of his work. Castro Alves's translations of poems written by Blest Gana thus open the possibility of reading his political and social project more broadly as an attempt to also put Brazil in true dialogue with Spanish America.[34] In Gana's poems translated by Castro Alves, as in Rousseau's theory, the search for the ideal of freedom is often depicted as a lonely experience of men in the state of nature. The same literary frame is observed in the work of Brazilian *indianistas* whose abundant natural canvas highlights the freedom of the noble savage from social constrains. Castro Alves's translation of Gana's poems thus renders visible a desire for a freedom that was already portrayed in the work of *indianistas,* but that did not exist in the Brazilian social and political reality of the time. In this respect, Castro Alves's juxtaposition of natural and social spaces in his poems called for a true integration of the American continent that considered questions of society concerning the abolition of slavery and the implementation of democracy. Castro Alves's portrayal of the plaza and the press demonstrate that the public will was not being heard by the Brazilian empire, and in doing so, his view of continental freedom complemented that of the *indianistas*. Meanwhile, his translations of Spanish American poets such as Gana pushed forward true cultural and political integration between Spanish and Portuguese America.

In Gana's *El pájaro viájero* (1848), the drama of the lonely and meditative traveler is transposed to the figure of a bird: "Pelo infinito errante/ Sem norte, sem roteiro,/ Que buscas, pobre passaro viajeiro?(...) Levas tantos pesares/ E vais só, a chorar,.../ Ai! Também vago longe de meu lar./ Errante pelos mares…/ Sem norte, sem roteiro/ Como tu, pobre passaro viajeiro!" (Gana in Castro Alves 372-373). In creating a simile between human and animal experiences, cultural and natural worlds, Gana makes use of the common Romantic artifice in which the subject is able to access the inner life of animals and, along with it, the natural world as a whole.[35] The pathway into the universe of the Other is created by the overarching theme of the self-reflective traveler, who universalizes his subjectivity by projecting his feeling of a lonely idealist in the world onto the image of a bird. For Michael Ferber, instead of directing their emotions vertically to a transcendental God, "the Romantics typically directed it horizontally, either outward towards the depths of nature, or inward towards the depths of the soul" (66). That is to say, the Romantic obsession with the description of nature reveals their utopian desire to map mystery, ecstasy, and freedom stretching into infinity. In Gana's poetry then, the image of the traveling bird represents an ontological search that opens a window to the meaningless and calm persistence of being, as if—for a moment—it were possible to see the whole landscape before a fog created by conventionality and a "system of artificial 'values' come[s] to obscure it again" (Jameson 238).

The same impulse that drove the *indianistas* and Gana to project their feelings outwards towards the natural world becomes more apparently related to intellectuals' need to find a way to solve contemporary issues such as the abolition of slavery, democratic representability, and

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[34] Although Gana's work was produced under a different context, *Semana Ilustrada*'s (September 19th, 1869) content was perceived by Brazilian literary critics of the time as resonating with the literary production of Brazilian intellectuals who were contemporaries of Castro Alves, such as Fagundes Varela, Bernardo Guimarães, and Joaquim Manuel de Macedo: "O atual ministro do Chile nessa corte e no Rio da Prata, Sr. Guillermo Blest Gana, é um distinto poeta (...) Grande e reciproca vantagem seria, se houvesse relações intimas entre as duas literaturas. Blest Gana, Matta, Palma, Cortes, Cisneros apertariam gostosamente as mãos a... B. Guimarães, Macedo, Varella" (Dr. Semana 3662).

[35] This concept is well explored by the literary critic Northrop Frye. For Frye, the Romantics perceived nature as a better teacher than books since "one finds one's lost identity with nature in moments of feeling in which one is penetrated by the sense of nature's 'huge and mighty forms'" (104).

freedom of speech in the poetry of the *condoreiros*.[36] Much like Rousseaus' concern with freedom of men in a social environment, Castro Alves's portrayal of the American continent as wilderness is clearly guided by social questions as if to hamper capital's tendency to naturalize inequality and jeopardize the call of intellectuals for racial and gender equality. In this respect, he brings a social context to the representation of nature as space of freedom present in work of Gana and that of the *inidanistas*:

> À trepida sombra das matas gigantes,/ Da América ardente nos pampas do Sul,/ Ao canto dos ventos nas palmas brilhantes,/ À luz transparente de um céu todo azul,/A filha das matas—cabocla morena—/Se inclina indolente sonhando talvez!/ A fronte nos Andes reclina serena,/ E o Atlântico humilde se estende a seus pés./(...) Já falta bem pouco. Sacode a cadeia/ Que chamam de riqueza… que nodoas te são!/ Não manches a filha de tua epopeia/ No sangue do escravo, no imundo balcão/ Se pobre, que importa? Se livre... es gigante,/ Bem como os condores dos pícaros teus!/ Arranca este peso das costas do Atlante,/ Levanta a madeira dos ombros de Deus (Castro Alves 53-4).

In *América* (1865), Castro Alves—as an utopian intellectual—grapples with an attempt to make the determinants of the national context visible while also continuing a "commitment to abstraction and the universal" (Jameson 171) envisioned in the construction of supranational discourses. Akin to Alexander von Humboldt's view, the American continent is defined by Castro Alves as a great wilderness: the *pampas, matas gigantes*, and *palmas brilhantes* are all illuminated by the same light of the *céu todo azul*.[37] As an element that extends beyond the national frontier, erasing cultural and political differences, the natural space is a unifying force of the continent across which Castro Alves maps the Romantic desire for freedom. Wandering in this space is the daughter of nature, who resembles José de Alencar's iconic Iracema in her incorporation of freedom and beauty of the environment. The seemingly fluid relation between nature and man, subject and object, highlights traces of the *indianista* school in Castro Alves's poetry, as it also dialogs with Rousseau's bridging of the chasm between the laws of freedom and the laws of nature that had influenced this generation of Romantic writers.[38]

Different from the description of the American continent in Alencar's *Iracema* (1865), however, the representation of natural spaces and its relation to freedom in Castro Alves's poem is followed by a clear correspondence between freedom and abolition of slavery. In *America,* the capital made with slave labor is portrayed as *nodoas*, stains on the natural continental canvas—an image also used in other poems such as *Ao romper d'alva* (1865): "Senhor, não deixes que se manche a tela/ Onde traçaste a creação mais bela/ De tua inspiração./ O sol de tua glória foi toldado…/ Teu poema da América manchado,/ Manchou-o a escravidão" (Castro Alves 14-15). For this reason, Castro Alves questions the importance of money: "Se pobre, que importa? Se livre... es gigante" (Castro Alves 54). By asking this, the poet defines man's freedom as liberation from the pursuit of money made with slave labor. Only under these conditions is the state of nature transposed to a social context; the literary representation of men as *condores*

[36] According to Walter Benjamin, the combination between nature and history, which it is so apparent in the writing of the *condoreiros*, is characteristic of an allegorical mode of writing common in baroque: "[i]t is by virtue of a strange combination of nature and history that the allegorical mode of expression is born" (167).

[37] For more information, see: Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Routledge, 1992.

[38] For more information on Jean Jacques Rousseau's influence on Romantic movements in Brazil, see: Torres-Rioseco, Arturo. *The Epic of Latin American Literature*. University of California Press, 1970.

wandering in nature—or *passaros viajeiros,* as in Blest Gana's poem—corresponded to the social reality.[39]

For Ramiro Lagos, the image of the condor "se pasea por la literatura hispanoamericana…[y] su misión simbólica, a nivel continental, ha sido recogido épicamente por las plumas más conspicuas" (65). Present in the writing of Spanish American intellectuals such as in *El nido de cóndores* (1877) by Olegário Victor Andrade, in *El alma inmóvil* (1900) by José Santos Chocano, in *La marcha triunfal* (1905) by Rubén Darío, and in *A los Andes* (1910) by Leopoldo Lugones, the condor is a recurrent theme throughout Castro Alves's poems.[40] As the symbol of the imagined inhabitants of a free and democratic American continent, the *condor* in Castro Alves's poetry incorporates the mobility of the body, awoken to the world and to itself. In this respect, the *condor* represents the freedom of man in the state of nature. While distant from the Brazilian context, the idyllic quality of the *condor* encapsulated the revolutionary utopic nature of the movement it represented. Its relation to nature and explicit contrast with the urban surroundings called for a mobilization of political and social freedom, as it drew attention to the lack of correlation between the freedom of men in the state of nature and in the Brazilian society of the time. Although present in various works of Castro Alves, nowhere else is the use of this poetic imagery clearer than in *O povo ao poder* (1864):

> Quando nas praças se eleva/ Do povo a sublime voz.../ Um raio ilumina a treva/ O Cristo assombra o algoz.../(...) A praça! A praça é do povo/ Como o céu é do condor/ É o antro onde a Liberdade/ Cria águias em seu calor!/ (...) Da plebe doem os membros/ No chicote do poder,/ E o momento é malfado/ Quando o povo ensanguentado/ Diz: já não posso sofrer/ (...) Pois bem! Nós que caminhamos/ Do futuro para a luz,/ Nós que o calvário escalamos/ Levando nos ombro as cruz,/ Que do presente no escuro/ Só temos fé no futuro,/ Como alvorada do bem,/ Como Laocoonte esmagado/ Morreremos coroados/ Erguendo os olhos além./ Irmãos da terra da América,/ Filhos do solo da cruz,/ Erguei as frontes altivas,/ Bebei torrentes de luz./ Ai! Soberba populaça,/ Dos nossos velhos Catões,/ Lançai um protesto, ó povo,/ Protesto que o mundo novo/ Manda aos tronos e às nações (Castro Alves 72-75).

Here nature dialogues directly with the social sphere of the plaza, a space that has been associated with freedom and where the popular voice has historically gained volume during revolutions. In other terms, the plaza embodies characteristics of the natural space on which the Romantic desire for freedom, fraternity, and equality are projected. The distance that the noise of protests travels is transposed on to the image of the condor that flies in the skies, covering the whole region. Hence, the simile between *o povo* and *o condor, a praça* and *o céu*, calls for a dislocation from the social to the natural, from local to the universal, from the sensible to the ideal, from the present to the future, and from the real to the utopic. This dislocation is also present in the title of the poem *O povo ao poder*, which clearly demands the implementation of a direct democratic republic, the general will that gives men the freedom they find in the state of nature. The plaza-the-sky, thus, represents this space where democracy is forged.

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[39] Like those in the work of writers such as Clorinda Matto de Turner, the social aspects in the Romanticism of Castro Alves seems to be associated with a journalistic element.

[40] The first mention of the term *condoreiro* was made by Machado de Assis in a text titled *A nova geração* (1879). In the document, De Assis comments on the origins of the term and its direct link with the influence of the French writer Victor Hugo: "V. Hugo produziu já entre nós, principalmente no norte, certo movimento de imitação, que começou em Pernambuco, a escola hugoísta, como dizem alguns, ou a escola *Condoreira*" (Assis).

Just as in the noisy plaza, Castro Alves's poetry is loud. His use of the oratory, followed by multiple exclamation marks and uses of hyperbole, mimics the chorus of the people he attempts to portray. Meanwhile, his call for a fraternal alliance against tyranny between the inhabitants of the American continent, the *irmãos da terra de America*, elevates the small spaces where the people call for their right to exercise democracy to a continental plane. Hence, in his play *Gonzaga, ou revolução de minas,* Castro Alves evokes a corresponding simile to write about the continent: "A América é dos americanos, como o céu é da ave" (200). However, for this democratic bottom-up movement to leave the space of the plaza and enter into a continental context, it had to work within communication vehicles such as the press to spread liberal republican and abolitionist propaganda in the country while forging alliances abroad. We see this spread clearly in an issue of a Spanish newspaper of the time: "Las últimas noticias llegadas de la América del Sur dicen que iban tomando en el Brasil extraordinario incremento las ideas republicanas, y, según se deduce de los periódicos de New-York, quizá a estas horas haya estallado ya la revolución que há de concluir el império brasileño" (*Noticias Generales* 3).

Although filtered through the voice of *letrados*, the press was another sphere where the general will of the population started to circulate during the beginning of the republican and abolitionist movements in the mid 1860s. Previously controlled by plantation owners, this was the first time in the history of the country that there was a heavy investment in newspapers that supported the causes of a minority group. Before this time, the censorship of the empire had hindered the circulation of any revolutionary document, considered controversial and subjected to fines until 1865. In Brazil, books and newspapers were only allowed to be published after the arrival of the royal family in 1808, two hundred years after the settlement. In comparison to Spanish American countries such as Mexico—whose press was established in 1540—the delay in the Brazilian press is unique in the Americas.[41] The late implementation of schools and universities in Brazil accompanied this tardy arrival of the press. According to Laurence Hallewell, in the first years of the arrival of the royal family, the priority was directed "almost exclusively…[to] higher education" (105), accessible only to a few families who attended the court. It wasn't until almost two decades after the independence of the country in 1822, that popular and technical school systems were formed. When compared with the Spanish American nations such as Peru, whose first university was established in 1551, it's clear that there is a drastic difference in the development of the educational system in Brazil. This lag in the development of a universal school system combined with educational concentration in urban centers added to the progressive press' lack of efficacy contesting the government and slavery.

For writers such as Castro Alves, however, who was born in 1847 among one of the first generations of Brazilians to be part of the new liberal system of education, the imagery of the pen as a weapon against oppression was unavoidable. Regardless of the criticism of the conservative press towards his ideas, Castro Alves believed it was necessary for intellectuals with progressive ideals to be involved in the production of news sources. He makes this clear in the introduction he writes to the newspaper *A Luz* (1866), where he comments on the intellectual's role in unveiling the lies propagated in a national setting: "A pedra quebra os dentes do reptil, que morde; a verdade arranca o embusteiro das entranhas da esphynge, que mente; e, por uma equidade divina, quando a testa sua muito na luta, as bagas do sour matam a

[41] According to Laurence Hallewell, the first books printed in anywhere in the Americas in "the Portuguese language…had been written by a priest in Spanish Mexico, and published there twelve years before, in 1710… the book's title clearly shows, it was destined for Portuguese speakers in Asia, and not those in Brazil" (9).

sede" (398-399). [42] The same was true for Spanish American writers such as Andrés Bello and José Joaquim Fernández Lizardi, writing five decades before the Brazilian *condoreiros.* Although the dates of the establishment of the printing press did not match up, the hopeful utopic sentiment regarding its potency to aid in the shift of political and social tides of the continent was shared among the Brazilian and Spanish American intellectual communities and celebrated by Castro Alves in a variety of his poems, including *O livro e a América*:

> Molhado inda do diluvio,/ Qual Tristão descomunal,/ O continente desperta/ No concerto universal./ Dos oceanos em tropa/ Um—traz-lhe as artes da Europa,/ Outro—as bagas de Ceylão.../ E os Andes petrificados,/ Como braços levantados,/ Lhe apontam para a amplidão/ (...) Filhos do século das luzes!/ Filhos da Grande nação!/ Quando ante Deus vos mostrardes,/ Tereis um livro na mão:/ O livro — esse audaz guerreiro/ Que conquista o mundo inteiro/ Sem nunca ter Waterloo.../ Éolo de pensamentos,/ Que abrira a gruta dos ventos/ Donde a Igualdade voo.../ Por uma fatalidade/ Dessas que descem de além,/ O século, que viu Colombo,/ Viu Guttenberg também./ Quando no tosco estaleiro/ Da Alemanha o velho obreiro/ A ave da imprensa gerou.../ O Genovês salta os mares.../ Busca um ninho entre os palmares/ E a pátria da imprensa achou... (...)/ Vós que o templo das ideias/ Largo—abris às multidões,/ Para o batismo luminoso/ Das grandes revoluções,/ Agora que o trem de fero/ Acorda o tigre no cerro/ E espanta os caboclos nus,/ Fazei desse "rei dos ventos"/—Ginete dos pensamentos,/Arauto da grande luz!... (Castro Alves 310-11).

Here natural elements that defined continental unity clearly dialogue with the democratic space of the press in order to reinforce its potential for freedom. Hence, the title *O livro e a América*. Crossing tempestuous oceans, the printing press is received and nurtured by the petrified arms of the Andes pointing to the amplitude of the sky. As a seed, the press creates roots producing the idea of a sovereign "imagined political community" (6) that extends Benedict Anderson's view of nationhood, as it transforms the American continent as a whole into the *pátria da imprensa.* The steady pace of the "homogeneous empty time"—provided by the ever-growing arrival of newspapers from different countries of the continent—creates a sense of connection with nations that were in a different political and social time. Thus, with his eyes turned toward the crowd and to free labor relations, Castro Alves invents a supranational identity where there is no more place for an outdated culture that supports slavery, *caboclos nus*. The great weapon in the construction of an alliance against slavery is knowledge. As a warrior in the battlefield, the book is transformed by the poet into an important instrument in an ideological fight. The book is especially potent because it has the ability to connect different intellectual communities separated by time and space. Responsible for fomenting revolutions, the book is represented by Castro Alves as an Atlantic object of resistance, "an object that speaks" (Price 7).[43] In this respect, the correlation between space formation and the larger ideological project is brought to the fore in *O livro e a América*.

Described as "pátria das utopias" (Castro Alves 472), Castro Alves's portrayal of the continent seeks to overcome Brazil's lag in relation to the political and social development of the

[42] Here it is worth remembering that the abolitionist movement only started to truly gain strength in Brazil after José do Patricinio founded the inflamatory newspaper *A Cidade do Rio.*

[43] In her book *The Object of the Atlantic*, Racheal Price uses Fred Moten's ideas about the object to explains how the abolitionist movements in Cuba, Brazil, Spain, and the United States, were "motivated by "the resistance of the object" (7).

United States and most of Spanish America. At the time, use of nature by the *indianistas* to express freedom in Brazil did not confront the lack of democracy and persistent presence of slavery in the country. If anything, this excessive use of nature by the *indianistas* reinforced the false narrative of freedom sustained by the Brazilian empire. In this respect, Castro Alves's insistence on maintaining a dialogue between natural and social spheres highlights the lack of freedom in Brazil while pushing forward social changes. Through this poetic artifice, he creates a continental map that serves as a guiding instrument for the *mocidade* to find the region as a utopian radical difference free from slavery, authoritarianism, and barbarism. Castro Alves drew the same utopic desire from the past, when revolutions architected by intellectuals involved in the press of illegal documents in the country promised social and political freedom in Brazil. Some of the revolutions evoked by Castro Alves include the *Revolução de Minas* (1889) and the *Revolução Praieira* (1848). Besides being abolitionist and republican, most of these revolutions were separatists and raised the possibility of a different geopolitical configuration that dissolved differences between Brazil and Spanish America.

Diving into a Revolutionary Past

Throughout the history of the American continent, there has always been decisive moments in which what is at stake is the very rupture or continuity of the dominant historic narrative and, eventually, of the social order. This rupture is often associated with a revolutionary force from the past that pushes towards the messianic end of history. In these instants, we find a great array of separatist movements, from wars of independence to social revolutions. During the French Revolution (1789-1799) and the subsequently interconnected February Revolution (1830-1848), the destabilization of the crown created the ideal opportunity for uprisings to emerge in most of Spain's colonial territory. The same was true for the Portuguese colony that experienced a great number of separatist movements during both historic moments. The *Inconfidência Mineira* (1789), *Revolta dos Alfaiates* (1798), and *Revolta Pernambucana* (1817) at the beginning of the century;[44] and the *Revolução Farropilha* (1835-1840), *Cabanagem* (1835-1840), and *Revolução Praieira* (1848-1850) towards the middle. Most of these revolutions, being republican, aimed to raise provinces to independent statehood. And although they did not win in the war against the royal throne, they became the seeds of resistance against the Portuguese crown.[45] The seizure of independence leadership by the ruling prince of the royal family, Dom Pedro I, disarticulated the chain of autonomous separatist movements that

[44] It is worth noting that the relations between these Brazilian separatist movements and Spanish American revolutions in the early nineteenth century have been mostly erased in the official narrative of the country. This is especially true in the case of the *Revolta Pernambucana* due to its relation to Spanish American movements of independence, as pointed out by José Briceño-Ruiz and Andrés Rivarola Puntigliano: "The connection between Pernambucan revolution of 1817 and the revolutions in Hispanish America took place on different levels. The independent newspapers such as *El Correo del Orinoco* in Angostura (at that moment the capital of Venezuela), *Gazeta de Buenos Aires* and *Censor* in Buenos Aires reported the event in northeast Brazil. It is very well documented the debate between *El Correo del Orinoco* that backed the rebels in Pernambuco and their plan to create a republic and *O Correio Brasilience* [the official newspaper of the Portuguese court] that strongly rejected that idea" (30)

[45] These regional rebellions that happened before the independence of the country became known as *nativistas*. In many ways, they were the seeds of future movements that start pressuring for the independence. Prior to the declaration of the independence, these provinces demonstrated their dissatisfaction with the call for revoking Brazil's economic freedom following the return of Dom João VI to Portugal in 1820. It is only after the regions start threatening to rebel against the crown that Dom Pedro I decides to stay (*Dia do Fico*) in the country and declare independence.

emerged after the French Revolution, uniting them under the cloak of a national flag. Because it was the Portuguese court that led the independence in 1822, in the post-independence period, Brazil saw a prolongation of an autocratic state that favored overlooking revolutionary movements against the crown by controlling the how the official history of the country was constructed. This was the reason for the creation of the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (IHGB) in 1838, scarcely a decade and a half after independence.

One of the revolutions undermined by the IHGB was the *Revolução Praieira* (1848), whose social force flooded the whole of Castro Alves's work. Architected by journalists such as Borges da Fonseca and José de Abreu e Lima from the *Diário de Notícias* in the city of Recife, the *Praieira* was one the first socialist revolutions in Brazil that had the implementation of a political system that would end the *poder moderador*, which granted absolute power to the emperor, as its main goal. According to Jamil Almansur Haddad, the *Praieira* influenced Castro Alves more than any other revolution in the Brazilian history since the poet was close to "atmosfera pernambucana [de Recife]" (211), where he lived for a great part of his adulthood. Daughter of the February Revolution that birthed documents such as Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto* (1848), the *Praieira* was guided by a pamphleteering spirit that publicized its own manifesto, the *Manifesto ao mundo* (1849). We can see this journalistic nature of the *Praieira* throughout the whole of Castro Alves's work, from his references to global news in *O século* (1865) to the direct reference to the importance of press in the ideological formation of the continent in *O livro e a América* (1868) and *Deusa incruenta: a imprensa* (1870). Clearly resonating with Castro Alves's political inclination, the *Praieira's* separatist republicanism represented a threat to the Brazilian empire and the idiosyncratic national project it attempted to implement vis-à-vis the narrative constructed by members of the IHGB such as Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen.

The history of Brazil yet to be written by scholars of the IHGB would emphasize the values linked to national unity and political centralization, placing the young Brazilian nation as an heir to the Portuguese monarchic civilizing task. Among some of the most recognized members of the IHGB, was Varnhagen. In the acknowledgments to Dom Pedro II in his *História Geral do Brasil*, published by the IHGB in 1852, Varnhagen explains how the purpose of his book is to "fortificar os vínculos da unidade nacional, e aviventar e exalter o patriotismo, e enobrecer o espírito público" (2). Varnhagen's statement reflects that, at the time he was writing, a few years after an array of separatist movements, there was still a fear of the example of a fragmented Spanish America in Brazil.

Considered the founder of the national history, Varnhagen is an important figure in the formation of the end-of-the-century narrative of national identity that differentiated Brazil from Spanish America. In an interview, historian Renilson Rosa Ribeiro explains how "Varnhagen apresenta uma proposta de narrativa da história do Brasil, que tem como cenário principal a atuação dos portugueses na formação da Colônia (…) ele registra que na transição do Brasil Colonial para o Brasil Imperial teria ocorrido de forma tranquila, sem ruptura" (Alves Filho). This is especially visible in Varnhagen's work on the independence of Brazil, where he highlights the importance of Dom Pedro I and his liberating action for the unification of national interests, implying that such "national" interests already existed in the early 1820s: "Com esta resolução, [Dom Pedro] acabava de salvar o Brasil, propondo-se a formar de todo ele unido uma só nação americana" (209). Furthermore, Varnhagen validates the idea—which became recurrent in part of the historiography of the country—that, unlike the cases of Brazil's Spanish-speaking neighbors, the process of changing from colony to independent nation happened in a peaceful

manner in Brazil.

Nevertheless, revolutions that happened prior to and during the empire problematize the truth of Varnhagen's narrative, as it aproximated Brazil's reality to that of Spanish America. Not only because their separatism could have changed the geopolitical configuration of the country, but because some of them were "liberal, republican, constitutional anti-Lusitanian movement […] connected to other Hispanic American leaders" (Ruíz and Puntigaliano xvii). This was the case of the *Paieira*. One of its architects, José Inácio de Abreu e Lima, was a journalist who published in the Venezuelan *Correo del Orinoco* and fought in the Spanish American independence war alongside Simón Bolívar. According to Diogo Angelo Mazin and Meguel Henrique Stedile, Abreu e Lima was a pre-Marxist socialist who fought in the Andean region and shared the "desejo de integração latino-americana idealizado por Simón Bolívar (…) sua luta foi sempre pela libertação de toda a América Latina não imaginava a libertação de um só pais, mas de todo o povo do continente" (qut. in Abreu de Melo 64). In this respect, Castro Alves's references to the *Praieira* goes against the official idiosyncratic narrative of the county fostered by the IHGB. It represents the call from past political connections between Brazil and Spanish America that used propaganda as a vehicle for the dissemination of its pre-Marxist socialist ideals.[46] This call from the past is explicit in *Pedro Ivo* (1865), a poem dedicated to a revolutionary figure of the *Praieira*:

> Mão de espectro, que destampa/ Com dedos de ossos a campa,/ Onde a glória adormeceu./ E erguem-se as lápides frias/ Saltam bradando os heróis:/ "Quem ousa da eternidade/ Roubar-nos o sono a nós?"/ Responde o espectro: "A desgraça!/ Que a realeza, que passa,/ Com o sangue de vossa raça,/ Cospe lodo sobre vós!.../ Fugi, fantasmas augustos!/Caveiras que coram mais/ Do que essas faces vermelhas/ Dos infames pariás!.../ Fugi do solo maldito.../ Embuçai-vos no infinito!... (Castro Alves 292-293).

The poem begins in *medias res* (a common trace of the epic narrative) with the description of the landscape and stormy weather of a night in which the specter of Pedro Ivo stood on a horse facing the city of Recife. Following this account, the ghost of the revolutionary character speaks to the anthropomorphized *urbs*. In his speech, Pedro Ivo condemns the enslavement of men and calls important historical figures of his time from the grave to see what has become of their legacy. Indignation takes over Pedro Ivo's voice as he realizes the ineffectiveness of the actions that led him to die. But hope appears when he speaks of freedom as an ever-returning call of past souls: "Não importa! A liberdade/ É como a hidra, o Anteu./ Se no chão rola sem forças,/ Mais

[46] This use of the past to contest the present has lead literary critics such as Adriano Bitarães Netto to establish a correlation between the Portuguese myth of the return of the king Dom Sebastião and Castro Alves utopian project: "Profetizando a ascensão do 'Quinto Império' Republicano, o poeta-visinário, o Sebastianista Republicano, anunciava que a nação brasileira iria se levantar das cinzas, expulsar as sombras e levar de sua história a macula da monarquia escravocrata" (250). However, while the critic is right to identify the importance of this strand in Castro Alves's work, Biarães Netto's reading does not explain how the image of the king Dom Sebastião was transposed into the imaginary of a democratic project that unites Brazil and Spanish American nations and challenges the national official discourse. The *sebastianismo* in Castro Alves's work can be attributed to the infuence of Padre Antônio Vieira, the first to resurrect the image of Dom Sebastião in *História do Futuro* (1649). For literary critic Carlos Eduardo da Rocha, it is clear the influence that Vieira's work had on Castro Alves's style and social cause: "É justamente naquela eloquência, onde será o barroco na poesia de Castro Alves. A decantada eloquência do padre Antônio Vieira(...) Oratória e eloquência a serviço das causas sociais" (14). Akin to Castro Alves, the baroque priest was a utopian thinker who sought answers to issues of the present in the depths of a forgotten history filled with national myths such as that of the king Dom Sebastião, who would reemerge to lead the Portuguese in the conquering of the spiritual *Quinto Império*.

forte do chão se ergueu.../ São os seus ossos sangrentos/ Gládios terríveis, sedentos...” (Castro Alves 295-296). Comparing freedom to a hydra, the mythical creature that grows two heads when one is cut, Castro Alves gives revolutionary strength to the trauma of the *Praieira*, fated to be resuscitated when the need for social changes arises.

During the *Praieira*, as in the time of the February Revolution in France, the referential point in the past was the end of the eighteenth century, when the French Revolution prompted the *Revolução de Minas* in Brazil. Hence, Pedro Ivo’s comment on society’s fixed gaze on the year of 1789: “No sonho daquele sono Perpassa a Revolução!/ Este olhar que não se move/Stá fito em – [mil setecentos e] oitenta e nove -/ Lê Homero – escuta Jove.../ - Robespierre – Dantão” (Castro Alves 294). In both historic moments, the press was an important vehicle for the dissemination of revolutionary ideals in the American continent such as those forged by Robespierre and Danton. It was through the press that movements gained intellectual support and fostered solidarity with what was happening in different neighboring nations. Castro Alves’s insistence on looking back at the *Praieira* in order to contest slavery and monarchy thus highlights the importance of the press in the dissemination of the utopian ideal of freedom and democracy which was—for him—the foundation of the American continent. Furthermore, it contests the hegemonic narrative of the IHGB that links Brazil’s national freedom to the Portuguese royalty and its influence on the independence of the country.

The exaltation of a revolutionary, abolitionist, and anti-monarchical history by poets such as Castro Alves did not go unnoticed by members of the IHGB such as Varnhagen, who openly dismissed the importance of historical narratives produced by poets. Differentiating history from poetry, Varnhagen attributes to the former a stronger commitment to the truth that lacks in the pseudo-historical approach of the latter:

> O rei Arthur, Carlos Magno e seus doze pares, o Cid campeador e até o rei D. Sebastião vivem para a historia diferentemente do que para a poesia e crença popular. Sucede como na Mitologia: todos sabemos que ha n’esta uma parte histórica, e outra imaginativa; aprendemos até nas escolas a distingui-las: entretanto quando lemos um poeta clássico acreditamos com igual fé assim as entidades que tiveram uma existência histórica, como as propriamente fabulosas (Varnhagen 130-131).

By differentiating the two forms of production, Varnhagen demonstrates his concern with the establishment of the historic field, while validating the monarchic political bias of the IHGB and diminishing the importance of the way in which past revolutions were portrayed in various poems of the mid-nineteenth century.[47] For historian Capistrano de Abreu, Varnhagen could have never exalted the importance of past separatist revolutions such as the *Revolução de Minas* and the *Revolução Praieira* given his support to the royal throne. When commenting on Varnhagen’s work, Capistrano explains:

> Para ele [Varnhagen]—a Conjuração mineira é uma cabeçada, é um conluio; a Conjuração baiana de João de Deus é um cataclisma de que rende graças à Providência por nos ter livrado; a Revolução pernambucana de 1817 uma grande calamidade, um crime em que só tomaram parte homens de inteligência estreita ou de caráter pouco

[47] The *Balaiada* (1838-1841) is portrayed by Gonçalves Dias in *O Morro do Alecrim*, space in which the blood of native Brazilians mixed with the blood of revolutionaries who fought centuries later in the revolution of Maranhão. The *Revolução Praieira* (1848-1850) is depicted in three lyrical biographies: two of them written by Castro Alves and Alvares de Azevedo representing the life of Pedro Ivo, and one of them written by Pedro Luiz representing the other known revolutionary figure of the movement, Nunes Machado. The *Revolução Farroupilha* (1835-1845), the longest separatist revolution of the country that took place in the south of the country, is described by Pedro Luiz in his poem *Persignação Farroupilha*.

> elevado. Sem D. Pedro a Independência seria ilegal, ilegítima, subversiva, digna da forca ou de um fuzil (qut. in Canabrava 120). [48]

Although not directly attacking Varnhagen, Castro Alves's view of these past separatist revolutions was clearly different, as he transformed past revolutionary figures into national heroes. This different approach towards the history of Brazil around the mid-nineteenth century signals a well-defined dispute of political power between those who supported the implementation of democracy and those who still believed in the monarchy as the best political system for the country.

The ethical commitment to truth has been especially important for granting credibility to institutions such as newspapers and the IHGB. However, it is hard to imagine an abolitionist and democratic truth as hegemonic in a country where the newspapers were mainly controlled by oligarchies and the institution responsible for narrating the history of the country was heavily supervised by a monarchical system for most of the nineteenth century. Under these circumstances, literature plays an important role in contesting the truth constructed by official organizations. In literature, these historical and journalistic claims of truth had a direct impact on the emergence of the realist literary genre, clearly influential in Castro Alves's romantic prose. Castro Alves's writing coincides with a moment of transition between Romanticism and Realism in Brazil. In this respect, his work is divided between idealism and sociopolitical action. According to Fausto Cunha, Castro Alves's Romantic realism "justifica-se plenamente em face dessa faculdade de se desligar do subjetivismo em favor de melhores soluções poéticas" (33). In *Pedro Ivo*, the issue of a revolutionary truth lays at the crux since the *Praieira* as an event brings together history and journalistic propaganda. Thus, Castro Alves's plunge into the history of the *Praieira* marks the importance of the press as a revolutionary vehicle at the beginning of the abolitionist and republican movements in Brazil during the time he was writing.

In *Pedro Ivo,* the indignation regarding the royalty that governs the country is visible during the soliloquy of the spectrum of the revolutionary hero: "Responde o espectro: 'A desgraça! /Que a realeza, que passa, /Com o sangue de vossa raça, /Cospe lodo sobre vós!..." (Castro Alves 292, sic). The disdain of the monarchy for the suffering of the people convulses the bones of those past revolutionary figures such as Pedro Ivo and awakens them. Embodying the force of a wave, Pedro Ivo revives in order to return as the spectrum of a generation with enough pamphleteering political strength to carry rocks, kings, and multitudes: "Tal eu — vaga encapelada,/ Recuo de uma passada,/ P'ra levar de derribada/ Rochedos, reis, multidões...!" (Castro Alves 293, sic). The allegory that compares the revolutionary to a maritime force can be rationalized by understanding the story that lead to Pedro Ivo's death. As one of the most notorious leaders of the *Revolução Praieira*, Pedro Ivo was persecuted by the crown after the defeat of the movement. During this time, Pedro Ivo hid in the *sertão* of the country. When found, he was immediately sent to prison in Rio de Janeiro. He was offered amnesty on the condition that he remained in the province of Pará until his death. Pedro Ivo refused the offer of the court and—with the help of friends—fled prison. Once again, the revolutionary of the *Praieira* took refuge in the *sertão* until he was able to board a ship bound for Europe. Pedro Ivo

[48] This myth was known inside and outside Brazil. We can observe it in Pedro Henriquéz Ureña's comments: "Es el Brasil, igualmente, uno de los primeiros países de América donde prenden las ideas modernas de libertad: de ello dan testimonio aquellos conspiradores mártires de Minas—Claudio Manoel da Costa, Thomas Antonio Gonzaga, Silva Alvarenga, Alvarenga Peixotto—, lectores de la *Enciclopedia* y poetas arcádicos: revolucionarios en las ideas políticas, pero académicos en la literatura. Al fin, lo sabemos todos, la independencia del Brasil se alcanza sin las luchas violentas de los países que dependían de España: se realizan en tránsito pacífico, como sería después el paso del gobierno imperial al régimen republicano" (Henríquez Ureña 364)

died during his voyage and his body was thrown into the sea never to be found. Pedro Ivo's persecution by the crown followed by his death, created an aura and fomented legends surrounding him.

At the end of the poem, Castro Alves summarizes the popular tales that emerged after the death of the hero of the *Praieira*: "... Mas contam que um dia rolara o oceano/ Seu corpo da praia, que a vida lhe deu.../ Enquanto que a glória rolava sua alma/ Nas margens da história, na areia do céu!..." (Castro Alves 298, sic). By writing the word "contam," Castro Alves draws attention to how the story of Pedro Ivo's life circulated via oral narratives. Through this information, he conveys the importance of the *Praieira* in the political imaginary of the population while emphasizing its place "nas margens da história" of Brazil. As news from other countries of the continent spread—arriving on boats in order to be collected and reported by local journalists—the word was Pedro Ivo was found near the beach where the newsroom of the *Diario de Noticias* was located, at the *Rua da Praia*, in Recife. Combining the utopian forces of a past revolution and of the arrival of news washing up on the Brazilian shores, Castro Alves's portrayal of Pedro Ivo's body lying on the beach serves as a sign of the contemporary revival of the spirit of a political and social connection with Spanish America that had been purposely forgotten by the official history of the country.

Castro Alves's resurrection of the *Praieira* as an important moment in the history of the country displays the returning strength of the press as a vehicle able to pierce the veil of the national present and provide a glimpse of the kind of future already being lived in different nations of the continent. It was this ability to read his time and recognize the shifts of the tides that gave Castro Alves his notorious reputation as a Romantic utopian writer that used the unifying force of nature to criticize the monarchical and slave system present in Brazil, while advocating for the true inclusion of Brazil in a wider continental panorama. Thus, as Euclides da Cunha notes in an essay dedicated to the abolitionist poet and his time, Castro Alves "tinha um ritmo, como o têm todas as forças da natureza" (18, sic); he was able to see "as grandes esperanças do future e os graves compromissos do passado" (19). In his dream of a free and democratic continent, he created a bridge between Spanish and North America. This association directly affected the formation of the Brazilian national essay at the end of the nineteenth century, as essayists such as Eduardo Prado and Joaquim Nabuco returned to the idiosyncratic narrative of the IHGB while defending monarchism and labeling republicanism as a false democratic narrative equally propagated by the United States and Spanish America.

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Chapter 2| The Invention of a Revolutionary Other Within

> It is true that during the time of Floriano [Peixoto], with the so-called 'consolidation' of the Republic, there was some intransigence, with political hatreds of an almost Spanish American *crudity*. But this tension lasted only for a short time, too short to constitute an era. Hatreds were soon dissipated in the amiable Brazilian tradition of overlooking the occasional peccadillo—an election or two marked bloodshed, or the odd sedition—in the spirit of easygoing international *cordiality*…the Republic from 1889 to the end of the Venceslau Brás presidency suffered no disturbance of that spirit of cordiality, except for the occasional outburst sparked off not so much by political hatred as by a lack of adjustments between regions (Freyre 339, emphasis added).

Thus wrote the sociologist Gilberto Freyre in his book *Ordem e progresso* (1970), almost as if to confess the brief defeat of Brazilian cordial character to the emergence of an "almost Spanish American crudity" during the political transition from the monarchy into the Republic on November 15th, 1889. Freyre's reverence of the Brazilian cordial character is immediately followed by a contradictory statement about internal disputes between different regions of the country, most likely a reference to the infamous War of Canudos waged in the hinterland of the country. What is striking about Freyre's assertion in this particular passage is the overlap between this spirit of Spanish American crudity and the internal regional disputes in Brazil.

In many ways, the words used by Freyre to explain the sentiment in Brazil at the time of the inception of the Republic echoes certain Brazilian intellectuals' criticisms of Spanish American countries and their use of the narrative of solidarity. This was the case of writers such as the monarchist intellectual Eduardo Prado, who used the argument developed by previous members of the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (IHGB) to differentiate a peaceful Brazil from the tumultuous Spanish America.[49] In his work, Prado clearly lays our his opinion against the American fraternity among Brazil's Spanish-speaking neighbors: "A Colombia e Venezuela odeiam-se de morte. O Equador é vítima, nunca resignada, ora das violências colombianas, ora das pretensões do Peru (...) Eis aí a fraternidade americana" (9-10).[50] Departing from the radical and reactionary idea that the republican system is inherently corruptible and deceiving, Prado makes his case against Spanish America's use of the term fraternity during Pan-American meetings. In many ways, Prado's criticism of Spanish American Republics is a direct affront to the authoritarianism of the Brazilian Republic at the time. However, in criticizing the use of the term fraternity by Spanish American countries in order to make a point about the

[49] As explained by Maria Lígia Coelho Prado, the narrative developed in the early nineteenth century by Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen and other historians of the IHGB regarding the differences between the political regime that distanced Brazil and Spanish America during the empire "permanence pelo período republicano, com a utilização dos mesmos argumentos previamente apontados" (139). This means that the idea of the empire "como uma exceção positiva no concerto das nações da América Latina, permanecia inalterada, atravessando a ruptura republicana" (Coelho Prado 139).

[50] An important aspect that should be considered in Prado's work is the criticism he directs towards the influence of the United States in the whole of South America: "O furor imitativo dos Estados Unidos tem sido a ruina da America. Pericles, no seu celebre discurso do Ceramico, disse: 'Dei-vos, ó athenienses, uma constituição que não foi copiada da constituição de nenhum outro povo. Não vos fiz a injuria de fazer, para vosso uso, leis copiadas de outras nações'" (Prado 54-55, sic.).

republican system in Brazil, Prado misses the mark—discourses of contemporary Spanish American intellectuals such as Simon Bolivar, José Martí, José Enrique Rodó, and others signaled a sense of a union among the people from the Americas that represented mobilization against the past of colonial oppression and the present of imperialist domination.

Contrary to the expectations of most longtime republican intellectuals, the implementation of the Republic in Brazil was not completed through a popular organization. Instead, the installation of the regime happened through a coup d'état orchestrated by the military.[51] This transition resulted in authoritarian regimes controlled by men who did not have any interest in implementing a democracy and would often resort to violence in order to maintain their positions. Due to the extreme violence and militaristic past of the first presidents of Brazil, this period became known as *Republica da Espada* (1889-1894). During this time, the association between Republicanism and "Spanish American crudity" became popular among Brazilian monarchist intellectuals such as Eduardo Prado and Joaquim Nabuco. The problem with the establishment of this kind of ideological correspondence is that it diminishes a past utopian republican project—propelled by the imagining of a fraternal alliance with Spanish American countries—that truly strived for democracy. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, such utopian republicanism had been promoted by abolitionist intellectuals such as the *condoreiros* Antônio de Castro Alves and Joaquim de Sousa Andrade (Sousândrade).

According to historian Ori Preuss, due to the disenchantment with the Republic implemented in Brazil during the last decennium of the nineteenth century, it was not uncommon for "longtime republicans to attack the regime that they had long desired in terms that brought them very close to the monarchist opposition" (77). This collaboration between old political adversaries became stronger during the notorious War of Canudos, where the rustic countrymen from the *sertão* were decimated by the Brazilian army. The attack of Canudos coordinated by the Brazilian militaries was mainly justified by labeling the opposition a political threat against the newly established republican system. At the time of the war (1895-1898), newspapers reinforced the idea that the *sertanejos* living in Canudos were monarchists who wanted the end of the Republic and the return of the emperor Dom Pedro II. Nevertheless, at the time there were various contradicting narratives regarding the political inclinations of the people from Canudos. Manoel Benicio, correspondent for the *Jornal do Comercio* during the War of Canudos, explained: "Conselheiro começou a pregar contra a Republica, não porque soubesse o que fosse republica, nem porque fosse monarquista ou assalariado de conspiração monarquista, mas porque a republica ameaçava a sua religião" (158). Following the same understanding of the lack of a clear political affiliation between the *sertanejos* of Canudos and monarchism, Machado de Assis compared Antônio Conselheiro with revolutionary characters of writers such as Victor Hugo and José de Esponceda, who inspired the republican and abolitionist movements in Brazil and in Spanish America, in the chronical *Canção de Piratas* (1894): "Entrai pela Hespanha, é ainda a terra da imaginação de Hugo, esse homem de todas as patrias; puxai pela memoria, ouvireis Esponceda dizer outra canção de pirata, um que desafia a ordem e a lei, como o nosso Conselheiro" (Assis 254-255, sic.).

[51] An interesting example is the first Brazilian president, Marechal Deodoro da Fonseca, who was friends with Dom Pedro II and only declared the Republic due to emperor's choice to nominate Gaspar Silveira Martins to be the new Prime minister of the empire. Deodoro da Fonseca, akin to his successor Floriano Peixoto, had only been exposed to autocratic forms of governing. It is not a surprise thus that during his mandate he acted as if the monarchy was still existent as he used his political position to cater his own benefit.

For Assis, the religious men from the *sertão* shared the adventurous and courageous spirit of past Romantic writers who supported the ideals of democracy; they were the true pirates referenced by Hugo in his poem *Chanson de pirates* (1828): "Tudo pirata. O romantismo é a pirataria, é o banditismo, é a aventura do salteador que estripa um homem e morre por uma dama. Crêde-me, esse Conselheiro que está em Canudos com os seus dois mil homens, não é o que dizem telegramas e papeis públicos" (Assis 255, sic.). By refusing to agree with public opinion circulating in the capital, Machado demonstrated his disbelief in the Republic's attempt to make Conselheiro a national example of monarchic barbaric atavism that persisted in the hinterlands of Brazil. Instead, he re-signifies the religiousness and banditry of the *sertanejo* by associating it with a Romantic school that inspired longtime republicans such as Castro Alves. This Romantic trait was also perceived as part of a different kind of Spanish Americanism, one that was truly revolutionary and had a great influence in the push for democratization and abolitionism in Brazil.[52] Therefore, Machado's comparison of *sertanejos* with the French and Spanish Romantic icons of longtime Brazilian republicans asks us to consider the coexistence of a Spanish Americanism in Brazil during the first years of the Republic that reflect two time periods: one associated with the crudity of the Republic in power at the time, and the other with a past revolutionary push that inspired abolitionist and republican movements in Brazil. In this respect, this chapter will analyze how the creation of a Spanish American Other—often associated with a negative view of republicanism—can be problematized by understanding how different Brazilian intellectuals responded to the implementation of the new political system. A key element in understanding this debate is the War of Canudos, when there was heavy criticism of the Republic in the country, and the creation of a national Other that was opposed to the regime.

The Creation of a Spanish American Other

Months after the first president of Brazil Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca circumvented medical recommendations and got up from bed to proclaim the Brazilian Republic, criticism of the process that had removed the monarchy in 1889 had already begun. *Fastos da dictatura militar no Brasil* (1890), written by *paulista*[53] lawyer Eduardo Prado and originally published as a series of articles in the *Revista de Portugal* (1889-1890), was among one of the first literary productions to argue that the Republic in Brazil had been a copy of the United States' model applied to a social context and to a population with different characteristics.[54]

Born in 1860 to one of São Paulo's richest traditional families, Prado was a stalwart supporter of the monarchy. After finishing his law degree in his hometown, Prado set off on a tour around the world. During his time in Paris from 1886 to 1889, he met with exiled Portuguese writers such as Eça de Quirós and Ramalho Ortigão, as well as Brazilian monarchist

[52] This is the main topic of chapter one of this dissertation, in which I explain how Spanish American news arriving in Brazil jumpstarted the abolitionist and republican movements in the country.

[53] Person borne in the state of São Paulo in Brazil.

[54] In this work, Prado claims that Brazil copied its constitution from three main countries, among them the United States, Switzerland, and Colombia: "Qualquer codico constitucional que os redactores da future Constituição tiverem copiado, com mais ou menos felicidade, dos Estados Unidos, da Suiça, ou da Colombia (este paiz é hoje muito imitado no Brasil, apesar das leis colombianas, rhetoricamente liberrimas, não impedirem a Colombia, periodicamente, de se extorcer na anarchia a mais tyrannica, ou viver entorpecida no atrazo o mais completo), sejam os legisladores da Dictadura os sabios mais inspirados da Historia, tudo quanto fizerem será precario, todos os seus principios serão sem prestigios, porque o povo não esquecerá tão cedo que todas as instituições podem, de um momento para o outro, ser derrubadas por alguns conspiradores militares" (Prado 306-307, sic.).

intellectuals Joaquim Nabuco and Domício da Gama. These Brazilians, whose French was as good as their Portuguese, harbored a questioning commitment to their nationality, most often considered only during their attempts to explain their country to the French. During the Paris Expositions of 1889 nationality became a concern. For the occasion of the event, created in honor of the centenary of the French Revolution, Prado wrote a variety of articles on art and immigration for a volume entitled *Le Brésil en 1889*. In his articles, he demonstrated a sensitivity to the question of "cultural originality which was already a central concern of literary intellectuals in Brazil" (Skidmore 150) in their sporadic attempt to articulate an identity for the Portuguese-speaking nation in the New World.

During Prado's attempt to interpret Brazilian identity to a European audience, the Brazilian Republic was declared. When the news arrived in Paris, Prado became outraged, leaving his comfortable position removed from the political battles at home to become one of the most outspoken monarchist intellectuals. For a militant writer such as Prado, the question of identity became intrinsically linked to politics.[55] Thomas E. Skidmore argues that Prado's main argument revolved around the idea that "by becoming a Republic, Brazil was losing her nationality and thereby jeopardizing her existence as a nation" (150). He went on to attack what he saw as the immediate association between republicanism and the influence of the United States in Brazilian politics and economics.

Although present as a recurrent argument throughout the whole of Prado's oeuvre, it is in his *A ilusão Americana* (1893) that monarchism is most visibly used as a political strategy against "Yankee imperialism." Concerned with the United States' ever-growing economic domination over South America, Prado looked with skepticism towards the narrative of "fraternidade" (Prado 8) sold at high interest rates by the continental "Big Brother".[56] These suspicions were grounded in the idea that fraternity had been voided of its primary association with community, equality, and harmony and instead became used as a smokescreen for the implementation of a late and economically driven Monroe Doctrine in the region. When used in this context, the word "fraternity" did not hold any weight since it only meant that a continental political unity existed after the proclamation of the Republic in Brazil. To challenge what he believed to be a false and detrimental alliance, Prado insisted on defining Brazil's identity via an idiosyncratic geographic and monarchist past, thus shoring up the previous narrative implemented by the IHGB that separated the country from the rest of the republics of the continent.

Prado describes the wars waged between Spanish American countries as his primary example of the lack of continental fraternity brought out by republicanism in the region: "A fraternidade americana é uma mentira. Tomemos as nações ibericas da America. Ha mais ódio, mais inimisade entre ellas do que entre as nações da Europa […] E onde fica a solidariedade americana, onde a confraternisação das republicas?" (Prado 8, sic.). In doing so, he creates an image of Spanish America as an Other that is republican, violent, and barbaric. Prado's view throws off the balance of the governmental evolutionary theories used by republican intellectuals of the time in their attempt to explain the republican system as part of a natural development of

[55] This link between identity and political history has been drawn out by all the essayists who followed Prado's generation. It is one of the main arguments used to differentiate Brazil and Spanish America to this day. After Prado, writers such as sociologist Sérgio Buarque de Holanda and Manuel Bomfim came up with other theories which linked Brazil and Spanish American differences to the differences between Spain and Portugal, which strengthened the idiosyncratic narrative of the country.

[56] In the 1880s, when the Monroe Doctrine was expanded by James G. Blaine into a North American economical imperial tactic, it became known as the "Big Brother" policy.

society towards a more civilized future. Hence, his use of a parliamentary monarchy such as England—and not the republican United States—as the example of moral strength in the continent during the wars of independence: "Á Inglaterra principalmente, e não aos Estados Unidos, deve a Ameirca Latina a força moral que lhe permittiu fazer a sua independencia" (Prado 16, sic.). For Prado, it was the empire of Dom Pedro II that had made Brazil a unique civilization and, therefore, that had defined its national civilized and cordial character. He uses the plural "[p]ensamos" (Prado 7) in the opening of his book in order to evoke a collective voice that speaks for a national sentiment antagonistic toward the continental political unity carried out by republicanism.

Besides developing his argument around the long history of Brazil's political uniqueness in the Americas, Prado uses geology in order to also separate the physical borders of the country. After a long and detailed explanation of the current political tension between Colombia and Venezuela, Ecuador and Venezuela, Peru and Bolivia, and Chile and Argentina, he writes in *A ilusão Americana*:

> Voltado para o sol que nasce, tendo pela facilidade da viagem, os seus centros populosos mais perto da Europa que da maioria dos outros paizes Americanos; separado d'elles pela diversidade da origem e da lingua; nem o Brazil physico, nem o Brazil moral formam um systema com aquellas nações. Dizem os geologos que o Prata e que o Amazonas foram em tempo dois longos mares interiores que se communicavam. O Brazil, ilha immensa, era por si só um continente. As alluviões, os levantamentos do fundo d'aquelle antigo Mediterraneo soldaram o Brazil ás vertentes orientaes dos Andes. Esta junção é, porém, superficial; são propriamente suas e independentes as raizes profundas e as bases eternas do massiço brazileiro (Prado 10-11, sic.).

The equally longwinded description of the natural and geological division between Brazil and the rest of Spanish American countries breaks with a previous Romantic and Humboldtian view of a continent united through its great wilderness. Here, the diversity of the continent's nature is self-contained within the Brazilian territory. One finds an urgent desire to revert to a previous political meaning attached to the Andes and to the sea underlying the extent of Prado's natural descriptions. Without a doubt, Prado had in mind the *condoreiros'* use of these natural elements in the past to express their desire for a political continental unity under a Brazilian republic. Rivers, which are more like oceans, "mares interiores" (Prado 11), are in Prado's description natural barriers instead of aqueous roads that facilitate communication between Brazil and Spanish America. United in a distant past, the Plata and the Amazon were responsible for isolating Brazil turning it into an island much like England. Meanwhile, the Andes is described by Prado as independent from the Peruvian region due to the location of its "raizes profundas e as bases eternas no massiço brazileiro" (Prado 11, sic.). In this process, the region loses its significance as the wrinkle on earth that marks the age of exchanges between the Atlantic and the Pacific world.

In his attempt to geographically distance Brazil from the rest of the continent, Prado was in fact defining a kind of Brazil which was free of turbulences common in periods of political transitions. By doing this, he reinforces an idea of Brazil as a peaceful island detached from the "convulções vulcanicas do outro systema [hispano-americano]" (Prado 11, sic.). Prado's effort to challenge the continental bonding force of the Andes and the ocean had to do with the fact that the work of writers who had previously used these geographical elements to politically connect Brazil and Spanish America had been coopted into the Republican project. The oeuvre of the

outspoken abolitionist and republican poet Castro Alves was among one of the main literary products to be used by the new political regime in their attempt to assert themselves.[57]

In an essay published in the *Revista da Família Acadêmica* on May 13th, 1888, the day of the abolition of slavery, Euclides da Cunha— one of the greatest supporters of the republican regime at the time—argued that figures such as Tavares Bastos, Luís Gama, Gonçalves Dias, Castro Alves, and Fagundes Varela should be "lembrados, não tanto por um impulso de gratidão mas pelo grande ensinamento" (Da Cunha in Rosso 101). Indeed, when the Republic was established in Brazil in 1889, Castro Alves was perceived as one of the most important voices of the time. Monarchist intelectual Joaquim Nabuco claims that Castro Alves expressed the sentiment of the youth of the time: "A mocidade apegou-se a fé viva de Castro Alves […] e aspira fazer da sua esperança a seiva ascendente do futuro nacional" (21). One of the main reasons behind Nabuco's claim was linked to the fact that—through the political utopianism present in his poetry—Castro Alves reinforced the imaginary of an intrinsic connection between republicanism and racial democratization in Brazil.

Nabuco was born in Recife on August 19, 1849 to a family of politicians who were friends with the emperor, and served as a diplomat during the empire. After the death of Castro Alves in 1871, Nabuco became the main abolitionist voice of aristocratic salons and street mobilizations in Brazil. Shining in newspapers, he made his way to a command post in what would become the *Terceiro Reinado* had the monarchy continued governing Brazil. However, most of his past companions denied him the chief's crown and joined the republican movement after the abolition. After Nabuco was expelled from the political game for defending the emperor, he joined intellectuals such as Prado in writing in favor of the monarchic and aristocratic society and against the republic that appeared. In contrast to Prado's work, however, Nabuco's work consisted of acknowledging the utopianism of the republican party during its inception, while arguing against the possibility of its success given the contemporary examples of corruption and barbarism throughout Spanish America.

In his political memoir *Porque continuo a ser monarquista* (1890), Nabuco explains all the reasons that kept him from joining his friends in their development of the new republican system. For Nabuco there was no inherent relationship between republicanism and racial democracy, which differentiated his work when compared to other republican writings in the 1860s. The fact that the black population was still not integrated into the political life of Brazil proved his logic. In the constitution of the Republic proclaimed in 1889, it was stated that suffrage was restricted to men above 21 who knew how to read and write: "Estranho sufrágio universal n'um país onde a população dos analfabetos é também tão consideravel" (Nabuco 9, sic.). Thus most of the illiterate ex-slave population was unable to participate in the country's elections. The implementation of these suffrage laws in the constitution of the country attested to Nabuco's argument regarding the corruptibility of the republican system, especially considering that these ideas had little to do with the political system that was first envisioned by intellectuals such as Ruy Barbosa, Castro Alves, and Luís Gama:

> Eu sou o primeiro a dar testemunho de que o partido republicano foi inicialmente um movimento puro de aspiração democratica; o primeiro grande contigente, porem, que elle recebeu, o da escravidão, fel-o perder de vista o povo; e o segundo contingente, o do

[57] An important fact to have in mind is that some of Castro Alves's friends, such as the polymath Ruy Barbosa, were involved in government affairs of the time and certainly had a role in coopting the work of the *condoreiro* poet into the project of the Brazilian Republic.

exercito, que o tornou vencedor sem combate, fel-o perder de vista a propria republica" (Nabuco 7, sic.).

Born out of true democratic aspiration, the Republican Party was dismissive about the needs of the people (especially black people) after slavery was finally abolished. In this process, it left aside the very idea of democracy that gave shape to it during its inception nearly three decades earlier. As Prado, Nabuco compared and blamed the Spanish American experience for the failure of the implementation of the Brazilian Republic. For him, after years of struggle for the establishment of the republican system in Brazil, the idealist longtime republicans who founded the party in 1871 did not have the courage to contest the system that was implemented out of "vergonha de quebrar, tão cedo depois de haver fechado, a unidade republicana da Améirca" (Nabuco 6, sic.). Although unhappy with the political situation of the country, longtime Brazilian republicans could not bring themselves to explain to neighboring nations that "'[e]xperimentamos as vossas instituições, e nos demos tão mal como vós'" (Nabuco 6, sic.).

Later in his work, Nabuco blames the influence of the financial systems of countries such as Argentina for the proclamation of the republic in Brazil: "Não é verdadeiramente estranho que a nova republica tenha ido copiar o seu systema financeiro da Argentina" (Nabuco 11, sic.). The same comment was made by Prado in *A ilusão Americana* where he writes about how the constant travel by Brazilians to Buenos Aires affected their political and economic opinion regarding the measures that should be implemented in the country, blinding them to the dangers of that luxurious lure: "tinham contemplado a architetura riquíssima dos bancos [de Buenos Aires] sem ver a fraude e a ruina que lá íam por dentro" (Prado 65, sic.). The idea of duplicating the neighboring economic system was one of the primary elements in the downfall of the Brazilian Empire. It was due to the downfall that the Visconde de Ouro Preto was deposed from his position as Prime Minister and spawned an avalanche of events that would lead the proclamation of the Republic to come tumbling down. As one of his economic strategies, Ouro Preto refused to define the convertibility based on a fiduciary currency, preferring the use of gold as ballast. As Nabuco explains, his measure was "fortemente atacada" (11) by the republican party. When Ouro Preto was finally deposed, Dom Pedro II appointed Silveira Martins for the role of Prime Minister. That was the last straw for the militaristic Deodoro da Fonseca, who was an enemy of Martins.

Although sharing many similarities, Nabuco was much less inflammatory in his criticism of the republican system and its supporters than Prado. Although a monarchist throughout all of his political career—Nabuco was friends with various long-time republicans responsible for founding the party in 1871 which may have led to the tempering of his tone. His criticism thus consists of drawing attention to the past ideal republic envisioned by intellectuals such as his friend Castro Alves—with what he called "verdadeira republica" (Nabuco 21, sic.)—and contrasting that ideal with the system that was implemented in order to explain why the republican system in itself was doomed to constantly fail.

Nabuco quotes Spencer in order to condemn the current Brazilian government via the voice of a republican intellectual:"'as Constituições de papel não trabalham como são destinadas a trabalhar […] as Constituições não se fazem mas crescem, verdade que faz parte da verdade maior, que as sociedades em toda a sua organização não se fazem, porém crescem'" (Spencer in Nabuco 16). The constant need of a constitution to adapt to the society it represents is part of one of Nabuco's main criticisms towards republicanism. For him, constant adaptation required the citizens' vigilance and knowledge of their rights so that the government is not attacking individual freedom: "O preço da liberdade é eterna vigilância; mas é preciso essa vigilância,

muito menos para a agressão estrangeira contra a liberdade nacional, do que para o crescimento insidioso de interferências domesticas em nossa liberdade pessoal" (Nabuco 17, sic.).

By drawing attention to the importance of looking towards the national government rather than to the *agressão estrangeira*, Nabuco turns his eye to a more important matter than that broached by Prado in his criticism of Spanish America. In doing so, he distances himself from negative generalizations directed towards the whole of the republican system, instead emphasizing the redemptive qualities of its utopian and democratic genesis. Nevertheless, Nabuco insists on defending the monarchy even when faced with the new system that was implemented arguing that, "ela era, ao contrario das republicas que podemos ter, um governo que se podia pensar em melhorar progressivamente, e aceitar como dignos de homens livres" (21-22, sic.). Although he knew that the monarchy would never return, Nabuco believed that to continue to be a monarchist was a matter of not giving up on improving the political system by fostering the "esperaça de liberdade" (Nabuco 22).

Throughout both their works the voices of Nabuco and Prado converge in their support of monarchism as a crucial component for the country's political freedom. In this context, the intellectuals' commitment to freedom assumes a different geopolitical configuration from the past Romantic one, as it separates Brazil from Spanish America. This creation of a Spanish American republican Other that happened during the 1890s was simultaneous with the appearance of an internal monarchic Other situated in the *sertão* of Brazil.

Os sertões and the Other within

Writer of *Os sertões* (1902), one of the most renowned works of the Brazilian literary canon, Euclides Rodrigues Pimenta da Cunha was born on January 20th, 1866, in the city of Cantagalo, Rio de Janeiro. Motherless at the age of three, da Cunha was mainly raised by relatives living in Teresopólis, Rio de Janeiro. His father Manuel Rodrigues da Cunha Pimenta was a bookkeeper from the state of Bahia. In 1885, da Cunha entered the *Escola Politécnica*. However, due to the lack of resources, he transferred to the *Escola Militar da Praia Vermelha*, where he studied under Benjamin Constant, notoriously known for being one of the main organizers of the Republican uprising in addition to being an adept of the philosophical and religious aspects of positivism.[58]

Da Cunha's education clearly influenced his political and scientific inclinations. Studying under Constant, he saw the advent of the republican system in Brazil through the lens of Darwinian determinism—that is—as a necessary natural political progression. His support of republicanism was heavily influenced by his view of the French Revolution of 1789. As in the other Republics of southern Europe and Latin America, "A Revolução Francesa esteve presente no imaginário dos republicanos brasileiros. Jornais do Rio e de São Paulo, como a Gazeta de Notícias e A Província de São Paulo, publicaram, ao longo de 1889, narrativas de episódios da derrubada do Antigo Regime, retiradas das obras de historiadores franceses" (Ventura 81). In an article published on January 1st, 1889, the year of the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic, Da Cunha made a parallel between the past French Revolution and Brazilian expectations after the implementation of the Republic. The title, "89," was a clear reference to the years in which both

[58] According to Mary Pickering, Benjamin Constant was responsible for spreading positivist thinking of Auguste Comte in Brazil, specifically his belief that Brazilians should "fight the Catholic Church and land mogul aristocrats, which represented part of the colonial legacy" (576). This information about the condemnation of the church by positivist thinkers such as Constant is vital to understanding the strong reaction of the Republicans against the settlement of Canudos.

events took place: the French Revolution in 1789 and the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic in 1889.[59]

This exercise of parallelism between France and Brazil would be resumed a few years later, in Da Cunha's reading of the Canudos conflict, when he wrote two articles for *O Estado de S. Paulo* entitled *A nossa Vendéia*, in March 14th and July 17th, 1897. Both articles made clear reference to the counterrevolutionary religious uprising organized by peasants after the French Revolution. During those years, Da Cunha still believed the implementation of the Republic was a revolution and not an event linked to the abolition of slavery. It was for this reason his work focused on a comparison between the events in France and Brazil. Nevertheless, Da Cunha's support for the government took a toll on him after he witnessed the tyrannical treatment of the Republic towards the prisoners of the War of Canudos (1896-1898).

A few months after the writing of the articles entitled *A Nossa Vendéia*, Da Cunha was sent as a journalist to cover the War of Canudos in the *sertão* of Bahia. For a feverish republican such as Da Cunha, the rebellion happening in the countryside of Brazil made no sense, and could only be explained through hyperbolic terms that degraded the cause of the *sertanejos*. Da Cunha often resorted to the language of madness to explain the *sertanejos'* insistence on maintaining social and political orders that seemingly ran against the grain of progress. Da Cunha did not understand either their inhabitation of what seemed to be an unstable land that did not offer prospects of becoming a permanent and profitable settlement, or their uprising against the Republic.

As a man of science, Da Cunha was constantly surrounded by the new advancements of modern life and could not perceive the *sertanejo*'s desire to inhabit the *sertão* as something logical. This lack of understanding underlies his use of geological determinism in *Os sertões* to decipher the psyche of the *sertanejo*. By doing this, Da Cunha disregards any possible logic in the *sertanejo'*s thought and explains the persistent and brute nature of the man by describing the brute nature of the land. Da Cunha even references the plants that inhabit the harsh environment of Brazil's backlands to claim that the man of the *sertão* is constantly fighting with the land: "Vimos no agitador sertanejo, do qual a revolta era um aspecto da propria rebeldia contra a ordem natural, adversário serio, estrenuo paladino de extincto regimen, capaz de derruir as instituições nascentes" (Da Cunha 206, sic.). Always willing to fight the natural order, the rural man carries with him the desire for battle. Da Cunha frames the *sertanejo* as a nearly quixotic figure trapped in the encounter with the windmills that are always confronting him. This constant fight between the men and the land is resonates with Da Cunha's explanation of the *sertanejo's* predisposition to wage wars.

This comparison is especially noticeable when Da Cunha writes about the ongoing dispute between the Araujos and the Macieis—family of Canudo's religious leader, Antônio Conselheiro: "Lucta de familias—é uma variante apenas de tantas outras, que alli surgem, interminaveis, compromettendo as proprias descendencias […] creando uma quasi predisposição physiologica" (Da Cunha 154, sic.). According to Da Cunha, the war between families was one of many that happened in the backlands of Brazil. Due to his predisposition to wage war against the land, the *sertanejo* lived in constant confrontation with other men and was unable to live under the rule of law implemented by the State.

[59] Around the same time Da Cunha wrote this article, Prado was about to present on Brazil's idiosyncratic identity at a conference that would celebrate one hundred years of the French Revolution in Paris. The overlapping of the time of these discourses allows us to better understand how there was a clear division between monarchists and republicans right after the implementation of the Republic in Brazil.

As in the case of the fights between Spanish American countries for Prado and Nabuco, the constant battles of the men of the *sertão*—their lack of fraternity with each other—was an indication of barbarism and Otherness for Da Cunha. In both situations, the word "barbarism" is used as a pejorative term charged with "violence" used to demonize mobilizations which disturb a desired political status quo. Therefore, where for Prado and Nabuco barbarism meant the republicanism of Spanish American countries, for Da Cunha—in his description of the *sertão*—it meant the *sertanejos*' seemingly incoherent support of the monarchy. For Da Cunha, his first impressions on the War of Canudos was that "era a Vedéia" (206) and, therefore, a monarchist counterrevolutionary peasant revolt. Although in *Os sertões* Da Cunha never directly dialogued with the criticism of Spanish American republicanism made by monarchist intellectuals such as Prado and Nabuco, his longwinded passage on the *gaucho* and the *sertanejo* might serve as a way of understanding his opinion on the matter:

> O *gaucho* do sul, ao encontra-lo nesse instante, sobre olhá-lo-ia comiserado. O vaqueiro do norte é a sua antithese. Na postura, no gesto, na palavra, na índole e nos hábitos não ha equipara-los. O primeiro, filho dos plainos sem fins, afeiçoado ás correrias fáceis nos pampas e adaptado a uma natureza carinhosa que o encanta, tem, certo, feição mais cavalheirosa e atraente (...) O cavalo, sócio inseparável desta existência algo romanesca, é quase objeto de luxo. Demonstra-o o arreamento complicado e espetaculoso. O gaúcho andrajoso sobre um *pingo* bem aperado, está decente, está corretíssimo. Pôde atravessar sem vexames os povoados em festa. O vaqueiro, porém, criou-se em condições opostas, em uma intermitência, raro perturbada, de horas felizes e horas cruéis, de abastança e misérias (...) [a]travessou a mocidade numa intercadência de catástrofes. Fez-se homem, quase sem ter sido criança. Salteou-o, logo, intercalando-lhe agruras nas horas festivas da infância, o espantalho das secas no sertão. Cedo encarou a existência pela sua face tormentosa (...) Fez-se forte, atilado, resignado e pratico. Apresentou-se, cedo, para a luta (Da Cunha 117-118, sic.).

Before Da Cunha wrote *Os Sertões* in 1902, the *gaucho* had already been established as part of the national imaginary in Spanish American countries such as Argentina. The *gaucho* became an Argentine national figure especially after the publication of the work of Domingos Sarmiento, *Facundo o civilización y barbarie en las pampas argentinas* in 1845. Da Cunha had read Sarmiento's treaty on Argentine nationalism and his reference to the *gaucho* seems to have already been tinted with the idea of a Spanish American character.[60] In this passage, the creation of opposites and parallels—so characteristic of Da Cunha's work—is transposed to the questions of the identities and characters of the *gaucho* and the *sertanejo*. Though they seem to be the antithesis of one another, the *gaucho* and the *sertanejo* are both described through their relation to the land they inhabit. Da Cunha portrays the *sertanejo* as an example of a more acute barbaric atavism, both more violent and resistant than the *gaucho,* particularly due to the constant battle with the environment in which the *sertanejo* lives.

The reason for this excessive violence stems from a harshness in the *sertanejo*'s life as he lacks a fulfilling childhood as well as plentiful land stable enough to cater festivities. In this

[60] In his book *A imitação do sentidos: prógonos contemporâneos e epígonos de Euclides da Cunha*, Leopoldo Bernucci explains the proximity between Da Cunha and Sarmiento: "Conhecidas são, mas muito pouco exploradas, as relações entre os escritos de Euclides da Cunha e Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Sabe-se que o primeiro, em várias ocasiões, expressou a sua admiração pelo escritor argentino em mais de um sentido. Venerava-o pela enorme intuição e pelas atiladas análises históricas, mas, sobretudo, pela capacidade de combinar na suas ousadas reflexões dons de historiador e literato" (39).

context, leisure is a synonym used by Da Cunha to explain civilization. For him, only a stable life can offer men entertainment as a mean to soften their hearts. Ergo, while the intermittent droughts of the north prevent the *sertanejo* from planting roots and thriving on the land he chooses to settle, the lush and constant nature of the pampas favors a more stable life for the *gaucho*. The idea of progress is embedded within this comparison as settling and making the land productive was a key part of the civilizing project of most nations during the turn of the century.[61]

From this point of view, when compared to the *gaucho,* the *sertanejo* is geologically doomed to never enjoy a style of life that will be subscribed to progress: he lacks the "existência quase romanesca" (Da Cunha 118) which adorn the heroic figure of the *gaucho* as the *sertanejo* opposes himself to the natural environment in which he lives. The use of the words "existência quase romanesca" to describe the *gaucho's* life signals Da Cunha understood that the harmonious relation between men and nature was an influential force in the Romantic movement. In this context, the *sertanejo's* opposition to the *gaucho* is interpreted as the opposition he holds against Romanticism and all its ideologies, encapsulated in the motto of the French Republic *liberté, egalité,* and *fraternité*. This, especially considering that the *sertanejo* "[p]régava contra a Republica" (Da Cunha 204) and, therefore, was—in theory—running against the grain of the political progress achieved by Jacobin Romantic intellectuals who sought the end of the monarchy and the implementation of a more democratic system.

During the 1890s in Brazil, when the political atmosphere circulated around the republican crisis and the echoes of restoration, the Jacobin party cast suspicion on all agents who could be possibly questioning republican convictions. The community of Canudos was one of the groups under suspicion. As member of the Jacobins during the first years of the Republic, Da Cunha saw the *sertanejos* of Canudos as a reactionary religious sect that preached against the Republic due to republican measures separating church and state. This is clear from his first articles on the matter, written while still living in São Paulo. However, after witnessing the war and observing the behavior of the *sertanejos*, he concluded that the attitude of the inhabitants of Canudos was more social, mystical, and religious than political. This does not mean that Da Cunha did not consider that the *sertanejo*, without a reasonable argument, preached the return of the monarchy and believed it to offer a just system primarily because of a divine connection that made the king the emissary of God on earth.

For Da Cunha, the *sertanejos* seemed unable to separate legal justice from divine justice because their mystical religious views were fundamentally opposed to the progress of modernity. Da Cunha explained the *sertanejo's* reactionary response to progress by noting the isolation of the *sertão,* separated from the rest of the country by "tres seculos" (Da Cunha 205, sic.). A lack of education was thus the main difference that disconnected the *sertanejo* from the rest of the country. In a passage where he describes the findings of documents written by the *sertanejos* after the final battel in Canudos, Da Cunha explains the realization that the war should have taken another form than that of the violence—implying that the solution should have been the implementation of schools for the inhabitants of the region: "Requeriam outra reação.

[61] The idea that populating is the same as civilizing a country is also present in Sarmiento's book when he advocates for the encouragement of European immigration by questioning the ultra-nationalist measures of President Rosa's government: "¿Hemos de cerrar voluntariamente la puerta a la inmigración europea que llama con golpes repetidos para poblar nuestros desiertos, y hacernos, a la sombra de nuestro pabellón, pueblo innumerable como las arenas del mar? ¡Oh! ¡Este porvenir no se renuncia así no más! No se renuncia porque un ejército de 20.000 hombres guarde la entrada de la patria: los soldados mueren en los combates, desertan o cambian de bandera" (Sarmiento 18).

Obrigavam-nos a outra luta. Entretanto enviamos-lhes o legislador Comblain; e esse argumento único, incisiva, supremo e moralizador—a bala" (Da Cunha 208, sic.). Among the documents found in the debris of the fallen city, there were poems written in quatrains that reflected an incongruent and diffused religiousness of messianic tendencies based on a myth surrounding the image of the Portuguese king, Dom Sebastião:

> Sahiu D. Pedro segundo/ Para o reyno de Lisboa/ Acabosse a monarquia/ O Brasil ficou atôa!/ Garantidos pela lei/ Aquelles malvados estão/ Nós temos a lei de Deus/ Elles tem a lei do *cão*! (...) D. Sebastião já chegou/ E traz muito regimento/ Acabando com o civil/ E fazendo o casamento!/ O Anti-Christo nasceu/ Para o Brasil governar/ Mas ahi está o *Conselheiro*/ Para delle nos livrar!/ Visita nos vem fazer/ Nosso rei D. Sebastião/ Coitado daquelle pobre/ Que estiver na lei do *cão*! (Da Cunha 2017, sic.).

In Portugal, *sebastianismo* emerged as a response to the instability of the crown after the death of Dom Sebastião in the battle of *Alcácer Quibir* in 1578. Since Portugal would be left without monarchs—because Dom Sebastião had left no heirs and his successor was the King of Spain, Philip II—word spread that the king was missing. This disappearance generated the legend—later referenced by Padre Antônio Vieira as rhetorical means for the end of the Iberian Union—that the king would return to save Portugal. The *sebastianismo* of Brazil was different from that which prevailed among the Portuguese people since it was, as adverted by Calasans, "resultante de vários fatores históricos e sociais perdeu o sentido de redenção nacional" (7). As a religious sect, *sebastianismo* in Brazil dates from the first half of the nineteenth century. According to Waldemar Valente, although *sebastianismo* existed in Brazil before the reports of Matius in 1816, "[n]ão há tradição nem documentação escrita que prove terem os sebastianistas brasileiros, antes de 1819, se organizado em seita" (70). Before Canudos, two other *sebastianista* communities were registered in the countryside of Brazil: *Serra do Rodeador* and *Pedra Bonita.* In every case there was a divine emissary who carried the promise of a miracle in the northeastern *sertão*. The miracle was always linked to the return of the missing Portuguese king, Dom Sebastião.

In Canudos, however, the promise of the Portuguese king's return left the mythical-religious sphere and inhabit the space of the political debates that were taking place in Brazil. We can see this directly in the verses of the *sertanejos*. In the context of the transition from empire to republic, the *sebastianismo* preached by the religious leader Antonio Conselheiro was imbued with the milestones of Brazilian history. The coup d'état that deposed the emperor Dom Pedro II from his throne and the civil matrimony adopted by the new regime appear in the verses written by the *sertanejos* of Canudos as a sacrilege against divine law. In Conselheiro's predictions and in this context, Dom Sebastião is the entity who will resinstitute the monarchy in Brazil: "quando as nações brigam com as nações, o Brasil contra o Brasil (...) das ondas do mar D. Sebastião sairá com todo o seu exercito (...) Neste dia quando sair com o seu exercito tira a todos no fio da espada deste papel da Republica" (Da Cunha 172, sic.). The mix of elements in Antonio Conselheiro's preaching is clear. They serve as an amalgam of Christ's discourses in the New Testament, with an apocalyptic view of the world and its consequent restoration. But the restoration of Conselheiro's world takes place through Sebastic messianism. It is Dom Sebastião, who, out of the sea with his army, would bring the balance to the world through the reestablishment of the monarchy. It is the very expression of the "ou-topos" northeast without borders of time and space.

Thus, despite the incongruous thought, the *sertanejos* were still portrayed as supporters of the monarchy. As Walnice Galvão points out, we must remember that "os acontecimentos de

Canudos eram apresentados, tanto pelo exército como pela imprensa e pelos políticos, como uma tentativa de restauração da monarquia que à jovem República cumpria sufocar" (66). Although Da Cunha pointed out the religious and backward aspects of the movement, he never denied that the rhetoric used by the Canudos patricians was monarchist. As the parallel between the *sertanejo* and the *gaucho,* the image of the monarchist Other from the *sertão* contrasted with that of the Spanish American Republican Other. The contemporary debates regarding the political nature of this internal Other might shed light on a possible overlap between monarchism and republicanism, which calls into question the Prado and Nabuco's arguments that attempt to separate a monarchic Brazil from a republican Spanish America.

Encounter of Br(others)

Many contemporary intellectuals of the Canudos War spoke out about the conflict. Few, however, were in favor of the so-called rebels of the *sertão*. Unlike other intellectuals, such as Da Cunha, Manoel Benício and Favila Nunes[62]—presented unconditionally as critics of the *sertanejos*, who later reviewed their positions—Machado de Assis used his literary background to comment with extreme skepticism, or even irony, on the reports of the Canudos War from the capital of the country. Clímaco Dias, in *Canudos: poesia e mistério de Machado de Assis*, highlights the novelist as one of the few voices that suspected the official version of events "não por simpatia à causa do Conselheiro, que parece ele jamais logrou conhecer, mas sobretudo pela visceral desconfiança, que ele tinha das elites brasileiras" (93).

Without a doubt, Assis's humble origins and first-hand access to the political situation of the country influenced his skeptical view about the war being waged between the Republic and the *sertanejos* in the countryside of Bahia. Born on June 21, 1839, in Morro do Livramento, Rio de Janeiro, Assis was a poet, novelist, chronicler, playwright, short story writer, journalist, literary critic and one of the founders of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, as well as its first president. The son of a wall painter and an Azorean washerwoman, Machado de Assis was a descendant of freed slaves who lived in a household with a family of Empire senators. He faced a difficult childhood—selling candy and caramels in front of wealthy schools—and was one of the first Brazilian writers not to come from the rural oligarchy or the urban middle classes. As a journalist, he transcribed political speeches, a task that allowed him to learn about Brazil, and from there took his subjects, becoming a great commentator on the political and social events of his time.

An authority on Assis's work, Astrojildo Pereira always rejected the assertion of other scholars who considered the writer to be "alheado da vida política e social do tempo em que viveu" (273). Diverging from this view of Assis's policy as apolitical, Pereira argues that the writer "possuía, no mais alto grau, a vocação para observação e análise das ações humanas, para a crítica social em suas várias modalidades, inclusive as de ordem política" (273). Assis's writings regarding the Canudos War reveal, perhaps better than any other text, this side of the author's mature and assertive political position. Warning the Brazilian population of the danger of propaganda against the *sertanejo*, Assis wrote a variety of chronicles in which he argues, through various references, that the cause of the supposed monarchist patricians of Canudos

[62] Akin to Da Cunha, Manuel Benício was a correspondent for a newspaper, *Jornal do Comércio*, and also received a military education. Although not well studied, Benício also wrote a romanticized chronicle on the War of Canudos entitled *O Rei dos Jagunços* (1899). Within this work, he privileges the reports on the fight between the republican military and the *jagunços*. Favila Nunes was not any different. Also from the military, he was the reporter for *Gazeta de Notícias*. Like other reporters, Nunes also worked on a book but his project was never completed.

reflected the true nature of a utopian republicanism. Through the construction of this idea, thus, Assis compares monarchists and long-time republicans. He later transposes this idea into *Esaú e Jacó* (1906), which portrays the lives of two twin br(Others) who supported the disparate political views in Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century.

During the commencement of the upheavals that made Canudos a national affair, Assis was writing for the *Gazeta de Notícias* newspaper in a weekly chronicle called *A semana*. He wrote this weekly section from 1892 to 1897, but his first reference to the War of Canudos only came in 1894 in a text entitled *Canção de Piratas* (1894).[63] Doubting the version of the war that had come to the newspapers by way of telegrams, he mocked how they have exaggerated the war in order to create something to distract people from the everyday sameness in the federal capital: "Telegrama da Bahia refere que o conselheiro está em Canudos com 2.000 homens (dois mil homens) perfeitamente armados. Que Conselheiro? O Conselheiro. Não lhe ponhas nome algum, que é sair da poesia e do mistério" (Assis 155, sic.). The news is thus interrupted by the disinterested remarks of people who did not know who Conselheiro was, the news about whom was attributed to various nefarious events. The treatment of the breaking of the monotony of the Brazilian capital by the news of the Canudos marauders is then raised to a more abstract question about the nature of literary movements such as Romanticism. Machado describes the Romantic movement spread by French writers like Victor Hugo thusly:

> Jornaes e telegrammas dizem dos clavionteiros e dos sequazes do Conselheiro que são criminosos; nem outra palavra póde sair de cérebros alinhados (...) Para nós, artistas, é a renascença, é um raio de sol que, atravéz da chuva miuda e aborrecida, vem dourar-nos a janella e a alma (...) são os piratas dos poetas de 1830. Poetas de 1894, ahi tendes materia nova e fecunda. Recordai vossos pais; cantai, como Hugo, a canção dos piratas (Assis 254, sic).

Machado's choice to use Victor Hugo's *Canção de Piratas* to portray the inhabitants of Canudos in the chronicle above reveals his disagreement with Brazilian Jacobins, who often used the parallel between the War of Canudos and the peasant uprising in Vendeia as a justification for attacking the city. As a Brazilian Jacobin, Da Cunha compares those two counterrevolutionary events in his essay *A Nossa Vendeia*. Roberto Ventura, writing about Da Cunha's fascination by the Jacobins and the French Revolution, states that this led him to write poems about Danton, Marat, Robespierre, and devote himself to reading "os românticos franceses, como o poeta Victor Hugo e o historiador Jules Michelet" (47). Due to his influence on the French Revolution, Hugo was perhaps the poet most referenced by Brazilian Jacobins. Departing from a poem written by Hugo to in order to define Canudos' inhabitants, Assis then questions who the true revolutionaries are in Brazilian political contexts. In other words, Assis's chronicle questions who in the country is really searching for a just democratic state.

In Assis's chronicle the revolutionary and democratic ideals of republicans—used by the Brazilian Jacobins in their reference to the French Revolution—are superimposed on men who were considered monarchists. With this approach, Assis brings the early utopic republicanism of Brazil closer to the monarchism of the Canudos inhabitants, the same republicanism that was supported by writers such as José Martí during the Cuban Independence War. Martí's idea of a larger patria (*Nuestra América*) dialogues with Romanticism and its conceptual rupture with national boundaries. In this sense, his view of the continent was closer to that of previous Brazilian Romantic writers such as Castro Alves and Sousândrade. However, it is during the time

[63] For more information, see: De Sá Capuano, Cláudio. "Entre ruínas e ecos: Canudos em múltiplas visões." *Electronic Thesis or Dissertation*, PUC Rio, 2005, pp. 1–251.

Martí was writing that nationalist and idiosyncratic narratives written by Brazilian monarchists were being produced. By bringing back the Romantic spirit to the *sertão*, Assis is creating a possible bridge between Brazil and the revolutionary *Nuestra America*.

Assis's rhetorical play is precise in questioning the association made by Brazilian Jacobins between barbarism and violent acts. By giving these acts a revolutionary feature, Assis deconstructs the barbarism attributed to Conselheiro and his followers:

> Tudo pirata. O romantismo é a pirataria, é o banditismo, é a aventura do salteador que estripa um homem e more por uma dama. Crede-me, esse Conselheiro que está em Canudos com os seus dois mil homens, não é o que dizem telegramas e papeis públicos. Imaginai uma legião de aventureiros galantes, audazes, sem ofício nem beneficio, que detestam o calendário, os relógios, os impostos, as reverencias, tudo o que obriga, alinha e oprima. São homens fartos d'esta vida social e pacata (Assis 255, sic).

In Assis's narrative, the piracy of Hugo's poem is translated into assaults on Canudos residents. In this context, the raids of the *sertanejos* no longer reflect acts of violence, but of nonconformity with the demands imposed by markers of capital: the calendar, the clock, taxes, obeisance. The same capitalist indicators are also what constitute the positivist motto of the Brazilian Republic, *Ordem e Progresso*. Thus, the romantic piracy of Canudos's inhabitants is a response to the homogeneous empty time of the capital defended by the Brazilian Republic: it is what disrupts the suffocating structure of modern society and offers the possibility of transformation.

Assis not only brings an element of vandalism to Canudos's inhabitants in the context of Hugo's poem, he also refers to maritime space—also very important in the construction of the *sertanejo* imaginary. Before becoming the semiarid region, the *sertão* of Brazil was covered by a great body of water. As Da Cunha explains, in the region where the *sertão* is now located, a vast crustaceous ocean "rolou suas ondas sobre as terras fronteiras das duas Américas, ligando o Atlântico e o Pacifico (Da Cunha 19, sic.). This geological past of the *sertão* allowed Da Cunha to rationalize the image created by Conselheiro during his preaching. For the religious leaders of Canudos, it was clear that Dom Sebastião would return from the seas, bring his army to save his followers, and punish the Republicans. Because Dom Sebastião always appears in the *sertão's* mythology with the promise of return, the sea also presents itself in the *sertanejo* imaginary as something that is not currently present but will return: "'Em 1896 hade rebanhos mil corer da praia para o certão; então o certão virará praia e a praia virará certão'" (Da Cunha 171, sic).

Ergo, the imagery of the ocean evoked by Assis through Hugo's poem *Canção de Piratas* implies yet another overlap between the monarchism that spread in the *sertão* and the Romantic movement that headed the utopian republicanism of the French Revolution. This especially salient considering that the romantic image of the sea was generated by many social and cultural changes in the eighteenth century but, according to Haward F. Isham, by far "the most pervasive of these was the French Revolution, the spiritual consequences of which created a void that the imagination could only fill with an ocean fraught with shoals and tempests" (17).

In another piece published after the last expedition to Canudos in 1898, Assis foresees the misfortune of the *sertanejos* and regrets, as in the first chronicle, that soon after the *sertão* was appeased everything would return to sameness, to the usual annoyances: "A paz tornará ao sertão, e com ela a monotonia (...) Que nos ficará depois da vitória da lei? A nossa memoria, flor de quarenta e outo horas, não terá para regalo a agua fresca da poesia e da imaginação" (Assis 417, sic.). Assis celebrates the tempestuous wars raged by unruly men as a necessary nourishment for poetry. For him, they were the true spirit of revolutions in society's attempts to change reality. In this sense, Assis's view of violence arising from material needs questions the

use barbarism by Brazilian Jacobins to define the monarchist *sertanejos*, while also offering an alternative perspective on the image of a barbaric republican Spanish America painted by the monarchists.

This is especially true if we consider Assis's novel *Esaú e Jacó.* In the novel Assis relates his opinion regarding the lack of difference between the Brazilian monarchical and republican systems to the lack of changes between governments in Spanish America. Written two years after Da Cunha's *Os sertões*, Assis's novel tells the story of two teen brothers, Pedro and Paulo, destined to always fight. The brothers grew up physically identical, but completely different in personality. While Pedro is a monarchist conservative who admires Louis XVI, Paulo is a republican liberal who cherishes the image of Robespierre. Both fall in love with Flora, the daughter of the opportunistic politician Batista. With the appointment of Batista as president of a northern province, Flora despairs without wanting to leave Rio while divided between the twins. With the proclamation of the Republic, she ends up staying in the city. However, still undecided, she goes to an acquaintance's house and thus has more time to choose between the brothers. Before deciding, Flora gets sick and dies. Pedro and Paulo suffer, but soon take up political careers as deputies on opposite sides of parliament. With the death of their mother, and at her last request, the disagreements between them cease. However, peace is short-lived and the brothers exchange barbs again, ending up separated.

There is a reason Assis was motivated to create the characters of Pedro and Paulo as identical twins with different personalities. Throughout the narrative, Machado alludes to the idea that the republican regime was just a reworking of the monarchical regime with the same executive methods. That is, the political regime was essentially the same before and after the proclamation of the Republic. The similarities were such that Pedro comes to accept the republican regime that was the subject of so much criticism, intrigue, and disagreement. While his acceptance was neither rapid nor total, and restricted some things, people, and systems, he accepted the principle which was already a great advantage. On the other hand, Paulo—who had a restless or even revolutionary spirit—came to oppose the government, not opposed in principle, but in execution. This was not the republic of his dreams, and he was ready to reform it. In this sense, the brothers only exchanged their weapons to continue the duel.

In Assis's view, although there were still a lot of disputes between the supporters of each system, there were not enough differences in the transition from monarchy to republic that could be perceived by the people. As jurist and journalist Aristides Lobo wrote in his article for the newspaper *Diário Popular* on November 15, 1889, "O povo assistiu àquilo bestializado, atônito, surpreso, sem conhecer o que significava" (Aristides in Bonavides and Amaral 103, sic). The reality was that the Republic in Brazil did not act like the democratic institution that it was intended to be. Instead, perhaps due to its militaristic character, the Republic mimicked the autocratic state which it attempted to contest in the vilest ways.

The similarity between the two apparently distinctive consecutive governments was not unique in the case of Brazil. In a chapter of *Esaú e Jacó* based on the recollections of a friend of the tween's family—the Conselheiro Aires—a similar lack of popular enthusiasm regarding the transition from one government to another in Brazil is made evident in a conversation about the new Venezuelan government:

> Parou, tornou a si e continuou a andar com os olhos no chão e a alma em Caracas. Foi em Caracas, onde ele servirá na qualidade de adido de legação. Estava em casa, de palestra com uma atriz da moda, pessoa chistosa e garrida. De repente, ouviram um clamor grande, vozes tumultuosas, vibrantes, crescentes...

— Que rumor é este, Carmen? perguntou ele entre duas carícias.
— Não se assuste, amigo meu; é o governo que cai.
— Mas eu ouço aclamações...
— Então é o governo que sobe. Não se assuste. Amanhã é tempo de ir cumprimentá-lo (Assis 124).

In an intimate moment, Carmen warns Aires not to be alarmed by the noise that echoes through the streets of Caracas. Thus, disregarding a Venezuelan in the tumultuous streets, Assis draws attention to the exaggeration made by the monarchists such as Prado and Nabuco in promoting a narrative that separates Brazil and Spanish America based on the constant wars in neighboring countries in relation to the "peaceful" island of Brazil. In both cases, although there were internal conflicts such as that of Canudos, there was conformity and a certain "peace" with the political state. In this respect, Assis's political criticism is not restrained to the Brazilian Jacobins who lacked a true democratic and utopian sprit of the long-time republicans; it also turns a skeptical eye towards the separatist and unilateral narratives written by monarchists such as Prado and Nabuco.

Aires, always a diplomat, is a figure present in some of the novels written by Assis. As a character in *Esaú e Jacó* and the author of the *Memorial de Aires*, he never gets involved in or excited about historical or public events. In the words of the literary critic Alfredo Bosi, Aires never says everything that he is thinking and "[n]o romance dos gêmeos, estranha história em que tudo é dobra ou cisão, Aires já atinara com a formula do ouro. A vocação de descobrir e encobrir. Toda diplomacia está nestes dois verbos parentes" (130). This was how Aires acted, mediating the fights between Pedro and Paulo: understanding but only providing his opinion when it was convenient.

A diplomat with the title of counselor is yet another joke that Assis makes to show the bias behind the narrative of a complete state of peace and agreement in society. In other words, by creating a duality in Aires's personality, Assis demonstrates how the affirmation of a diplomatic and peaceful civilizing narrative serves to aid the interests of certain political groups in their creation of a barbaric and violent Other. Through the figure of Aires, Assis deconstructs the binary between civilization and barbarism, and shows how the Others created by monarchists and republicans were really br(Others). For the author, the violent and republican Spanish American Other created by Prado and Nabuco was actually similar to the "peaceful" Brazilian island, given that wars and adversaries were almost unnoticed by people in both places. According to *Canção de Piratas*, the unruly monarchist Other of Canudos initially constructed by Da Cunha was closer to the Spanish American revolutionaries who had inspired the utopic republican movement in Brazil during the 1870s:

> Quando tudo cresce, não se ha de exigir que os aventureiro de Canudos, Alagoinhas e Belmonte contem ainda aquele exíguo numero de piratas da cantiga (…) Do mesmo modo, ó poetas, devemos compor versos extraordinários e rimas inauditas. Fóra com as cantigas de pouco folego. Vamos fazê-las de mil estrofes, com estribilho e cinquenta versos, e versos compridos, dodecassílabos atados por um alexandrino e uma redondilha (...) Rimemos o Atlântico com o Pacifico, a Via-Láctea com as areias do mar" (Assis 257, sic).

In this poetic construction described by Assis, it becomes almost impossible not to think about the figure of *condoreiro* Romantic poet Castro Alves, who died in 1871 before witnessing the much-awaited abolition and proclamation of the Republic. Assis's allusion to the union of the Pacific with the Atlantic clearly refers to the desire for a union of Brazil with Spanish America

expressed by Castro Alves, whose Humboldtian view of nature was used as a device to defy political boundaries and integrate the country with other free and democratic nations of the continent. In addition, Assis's choice of Victor Hugo as the poet of the *sertanejos* alludes to Castro Alves. Earlier in his life, Assis compared the two writers in an open letter written to the José de Alencar and published in the *Correio Mercantil* on the 1st of March, 1868*:*

> Não podiam ser melhores as impressões (...) Achei um poeta original. O mal da nossa poesia contemporânea é ser copista no dizer, nas idéias e nas imagens. Copiá-las é anular-se. A musa do Sr. Castro Alves tem feição própria. Se se adivinha que a sua escola é a de Vítor Hugo, não é porque o copie servilmente, mas porque uma índole irmã levou-o a preferir o poeta das Orientais ao poeta das Meditações. Não lhe aprazem certamente as tintas brancas e desmaiadas da elegia; quer antes as cores vivas e os traços vigorosos da ode (*Litteratura* 2).

Like the French poet, Castro Alves sang about piracy, banditry, and the nonconformity of men who made up the lower strata of society. He sang of these men in a context that went beyond national dimensions, for his humanism crossed the imaginary barriers of political Brazil. Following this vision of Assis, one can perceive how the image of Spanish America as a utopian revolutionary space fits into the rebellious *sertão-mundo*. This may serve to rationalize the essay written by Da Cunha on Castro Alves years after his trip to Canudos, when the journalist was already disappointed with the republican government implemented in Brazil.

The revolutionary Other within

After the Canudos War massacre, many whole-hearted Republicans began to criticize the government in Brazil. Da Cunha was one of them. However, as he had an extremely non-conformist and combative nature, his disillusionment with the Republic did not force him to resign. If anything, his disappointment spurred him on to outline a program of action aimed at restoring the country. Da Cunha's libertarian romanticism was fueled by his political belief in republicanism as the only means for Brazil to become a developed and modern nation. For him, this was the only model of political organization that was truly democratic and eliminated privileges. Hence, his subsequent disillusionment with the Republic was due to the failure of the ideology of social liberalism and his certainty that the political-ideological project was not achieved. Da Cunha's libertarian romanticism can be noted in a variety of his works, including his first poetic production *Ondas*.

> Written while he was still a student of the Colégio Aquino, *Ondas* is the first mark of the French Revolution in Euclidean writings. Within it, he devoted a significant portion of his verses to reference episodes of universal history, slavery, the Republic, and platonic love. The title *Ondas* is a clear reference to the maritime images frequent in the grandiloquent poetry of writers such as Hugo and Castro Alves who had inspired the young Da Cunha. This admiration for Romantic poets who supported the ideals of the French Revolution serves to explains the force of romantic liberalism in Da Cunha's work. For Nancy Rosenblum, romantic liberalism is the way liberalism presented itself after the French Revolution because liberalism actually creates the conditions for revolutionary passion: "it contains an inherent tension between expectations of freedom and any constituted political authority" (13). Despite accompanying economic liberalism and capitalism, this romantic liberalism does not identify a particular economic view. Instead, romantic liberalism is political and philosophical and, spreading rapidly, became dominant until 1914, after serious struggles in the first half of the century.

In *Os sertões*, the image of the ocean and the reference to romantic liberalism is used to narrate the prehistory of the *sertão* or the ebb and flow of the combatants, movements compared to those of the sea. According to Ventura, this happened because Da Cunha "[a]dotou uma concepção naturalista, baseada no historiador francês Hippolyte Taine (...) [mas] [t]ais concepções naturalistas deram um verniz de ciência à sensibilidade romântica que formara na juventude" (1998). The past of the *sertão* is constructed along with the past of Da Cunha, macerated by a scientism that gave his narrative a naturalist air. However, because of his disappointment with the implementation of the Republic, and his desire to restore the country, Da Cunha rescues Castro Alves and Alves's revolutionary Romanticism and inserts them—as Assis did in *Canção de Piratas*—as an integral part of the present *sertão-mundo*. We can observe this effort in an essay about Castro Alves written for a conference at the *Academia de Letras Brasileiras* in Setember 21st, 1903.

The conference granted him the occupation of the chair that once belonged to the *condoreiro* poet. In the essay—later made into the book *Castro Alves e o seu tempo* (1907)—Da Cunha compares the spirit of Castro Alves with the revolutionary impulses of the Brazilian youth. For him, this spirit—imbued with a transforming force—always contracts and spreads throughout time. Thus, in Da Cunha's words, Castro Alves was "como a luz, perpetuamente moça. Não dura a vida de um homem, e é eterna. Exige almas ardentes e a intrepidez varonil da quadra triunfal, em que andamos pela vida na garbosa atitude de quem oferece o molde de sua própria estatua" (Da Cunha 8, sic.). He was the incarnation of the spontaneity and the vigor of the new generation. In a time of such attachment to the exact sciences, however, it was becoming difficult to bring back the Romantic spontaneity that had pushed forward a new generation forward and created the desire for change in Brazil's past. Hence, his comment on how the gradiosity of the Brazilian rifes described in *Navio Negreiro* by Castro Alves "está em boa hora submettido aos calculos e aos desenhos rigorosos de alguns provectos engenheiros" (Da Cunha 10, sic.). More than anything, this observation made by Da Cunha about the lack of strength of romantic utopianism refers to the treatment of nature in contemporary times.

Da Cunha always defended the protection of nature. At the age of 18—while still studying under Benjamin Constant—he wrote an article for the school newspaper *O Democrata* dealing with the question of the devastation of nature in modern society. In the article, dated April 4, 1884, he writes: "Ah! Tachem-me muito embora de antiprogressista e anticivilizador, mas clamarei sempre e sempre; —o progresso envelhece a natureza, cada linha do trem de ferro e uma ruga e longe não vem o tempo em que ela, sem seiva, minada, morrerá" (Da Cunha in Foot 121). He admired Romantic poets such as Castro Alves not only for their revolutionary spirit, but for their exaltation of nature as a potential unifying force of the continent which called for a humanistic outlook towards society. Castro Alves awoke the apathetic society of the time—which had settled for the monarchy's constant perpetuation of slavery in the country—and provided the strength for "alcançar a marcha progressista de outros povos" (Da Cunha 13, sic.).

Just like the Romantics who pushed for a continental unity in Brazil by considering the political and social development happening in the neighboring nations, Da Cunha was very aware of what was happening abroad, not only in Europe and in the United States, but especially in Spanish America: "Dedicava-se tanto à política brasileira quanto à politica internacional, rigorosamente 'antenado' e em conexão com as transformações que se verificam no mundo, desde a seara sul-americana" (Rosso 19-20). This interest in the relations between Brazil and its Spanish American neighbors caused him to express an unfulfilled intention to write a book on

the subject. In a letter written to the Brazilian minister to Peru in August 1907, two years before his death, Da Cunha requested books concerning the history and geography of the country and explained that he was "contemplating writing a book *essencialmente sul-americano*" (Da Cunha in Preuss 211).

Although he did not write his book, some essays produced on the subject reveal his view on Brazil's position regarding Spanish America. In an article entitled "Solidariedad Sul-Americana" published in his posthumously published book *Contrastes e confrontos* (1912), Da Cunha expressed his concern with the blind equalization between Brazil and the other countries in the continent. During the first few lines of the article he writes: "A Republica tirou-nos do remanso isolador do império para a perigosa solidariedade sul-americana: caímos dentro do campo da visão, nem sempre lucida, do estrangeiro, insistentemente fixa sobre os povos, os *governos* e os "governos" (ironicamente sublinhados ou farpeados de aspas) da América do Sul (Da Cunha 165, sic.). From this introduction, we can understand that the Da Cunha's distrust of South American solidarity comes from comparing Brazilian policy with that of other countries in the continent. Throughout the article, Da Cunha makes a point of differentiating the politics of South American countries, pointing out that—although there were countries experiencing a moment of progress and peace—Brazil was being equated with countries that were going through a moment of political instability:

> Ora, precisamos anular estes conceitos lastimáveis, que ás vezes nos marcam situações bem pouco lisonjeiras. Porque, ainda os há que exceptuam (...) o Chile com a sua rígida estrutura aristocrática; e a Argentina, que poucos anos de paz vão transfigurando, sob o permanente influxo do grande espirito de Mitre (...) Nós ficamos alinhados com o Paraguay, convalescente; com a Bolívia, dilacerada pelos motins e pelas guerras; com a Colômbia e a abortícia republicola que há meses lhe saiu dos flancos; com o Uruguay, a esta hora abalado pelas cavalarias gaúchas e com o Peru (Da Cunha 168-169, sic.).

In this sense, Da Cunha's criticism of South American solidarity refers to the political agglutination made by the myopic view of international criticism. Although there were countries in South America that were at war, this was not a uniform reality of the continent. There were other countries that were going through a moment of development and peace, such as Argentina and Chile. In this sense, relative peace was not restricted to the Brazilian reality, as Prado and Nabuco postulated in their essays. While Cunha believed it was impossible to execute utopianism due to the political reality of the time, he still admired the utopian ideal of South American solidarity dreamed up by Castro Alves's Romantic generation: "Se essa solidariedade sul-americana é um belíssimo ideal absolutamente irrealizável, com o efeito único de nos prender ás desordens tradicionais de dois ou três povos irremediavelmente perdidos, pelo se incompatilizaram ás exigências severas do verdadeiro progresso—deixemo-la" (Da Cunha 171-172, sic.). The word "deixar" used by Da Cunha indicates Brazil's skepticism and distancing from South American solidarity, while emphasizing a past of acceptance. Moreover, Da Cunha questions himself by starting his sentence with the word "se", and rather than stating it outright, is implied that Da Cunha was not opposed to South American solidarity as a viable future idea. Da Cunha's view of the return of possible solidarity is manifested in the speech given at the *Academia Brasileira de Letras* about Castro Alves:

> Senhores. Temos mudado muito. Partiu-se nos últimos tempos o sequestro secular, que nos tornava apenas espectadores da civilisação. A nossa politica exterior conjugou-se com a internacional. O descortino dilatado de um estadista, depois de engrandecer-nos no espaço, engrandeceu-nos no tempo. Na ultima conferencia de Haya o velho Mundo

> escutou, surpreendido, uma palavra de excepcional altitude. Penso que seremos em breve uma componente nova, entre as forças cansadas da humanidade. E, se isto suceder, se não for uma miragem esta visão do futuro; se chegarem, de facto, os novos tempos que se anunciam, em que nos tornaremos mais solidários com a evolução geral (...) então a modestíssima 'herma', alevantada ao mais intrépido dos nossos pioneiros do ideal, germinará estatuas (Da Cunha 30, sic.).

In this passage, Da Cunha addresses his audience by drawing attention to people have became spectators of political life in his time. Such spectatorship was due to the complicated mixture between Brazil's foreign policy towards other countries and the international policy that encompassed a global conjecture. Mimicking Castro Alves thus, Da Cunha makes an observation on contemporary foreign policy in order to predict the future of Brazil. In his prediction, he envisions an improved Brazil achieved through a greater solidarity that comes from the natural evolution of humanism: "nos tornaremos mais solidarios com a evolução geral" (Da Cunha 30, sic.). Thus, without escaping social Darwinism, Da Cunha maintains the vision of a possible change in international solidarity.

The vision of improved international relations through the growth of humanism in Brazil is inexorably linked to the work of Castro Alves, who Da Cunha considers as representative of the Brazilian people. For him, Castro Alves was not only a prophet of his time, there was "no seu genio muita cousa do genio obscuro da nossa raça [brasileira]" (Da Cunha 22, sic). Although influenced by Hugo, Alves represented very particular characteristics of Brazilian identity that, in Da Cunha's opinion, were "a metáphora, o estiramento das hyperboles, o vulcanismo da imagem, e todos os exaggeros da palavra, a espelharem, entre nós, uma impuldividade e um desencadeamento de paixões" (22, sic). By naming these figures of speech present in the poetry of Castro Alves as belonging to the Brazilian people, Da Cunha is, without specifying, writing about the baroque that is so historically characteristic of the literature produced in Bahia.[64]

In Da Cunha's view, the exaltation of the Baroque—which creates the games of light and darkness—highlights promises for the future and contrasts with the tribulations of the past. It is the Baroque that what always brings the possibility of being that which is not yet realized. Based on this thought, he writes: "Somos uma raça em ser. Estamos ainda na instabilidade caracteristica das combinações incompletas. E nesses desequilibrios inevitaveis o que desponta na nossa palavra—irresistivelmente ampliada—parece-me, às vezes, ser o instincto, ou a intuição sub-consciente, de uma grandeza futura incomparável" (Da Cunha 22, sic.). This greatness was also what gave strength to the *sertanejos* of Canudos, guided by the prophecies of Antonio Conselheiro. Perhaps though this association, Da Cunha noticed what Machado de Assis had already pointed out in his chronicle on Canudos: Castro Alves—who had been so inspired by the revolutionary movements of Spanish American countries—was also a rebellious *sertanejo* like those he had described in his seminal work *Os sertões.* In fact, the *sertão* is present as the back drop for several poems by the writer, including those which explore the theme of prophecy. This is the case of *O vidente* (1867):

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[64] In his work *Aspectos da Literatura Barroca,* the critic Afrânio Coutinho analyzes the literary production of one of the most reknown Baroque poets from Brazil, Gregorio de Matos: "a figura de maior relevo da escola baiana, da poesia colonial, do Barroco literário no Brasil. Nasceu na Bahia e lá viveu grande parte de sua vida. Vida barroca, numa cidade barroca. Quem quer que penetre a alma baiana, seja através desse mundo trágico da talha negra da arte estatuária de suas velhas igrejas, seja através de sua poesia, seja pela observação de sua espiritualidade, compreenderá a razão daquela assertiva. Nas suas festas de arraial e de igreja, o barroquismo da alma baiana ressalta vigoroso, dinâmico, com misto de erotismo e sensualidade, de misticismo e licenciosidade, de angústia e pateticismo, de dilaceramento entre ambições espirituais e as satisfações dos instintos entre o céu e a terra" (175).

> Ás vezes quando, á tarde, nas tardes brasileiras,/ A scisma e a sombra descem das altas cordilheiras;/ Quando a viola acorda na choça o sertanejo/ E a linda lavadeira cantando deixa o brejo (…) Ouço o cantar dos astros no mar do firmamento;/ No mar das mattas virgens ouço o cantar do vento,/ Aromas que s'elevam raios de luz que descem (Da Cunha, 72-73, sic.).

Castro Alves was from the *sertão* and should have known about the traditions of the people who lived there. The *sertanejo's* religiosity is not something that started with years after the death of the poet and with the creation of Canudos. The semi-arid nature of Brazil's backlands had already been equated by the *sertanejo* with the desert space in Africa where biblical prophecies were made, which explains the existence of other *sebastianista* communities created in the nineteenth century.

In this context, Da Cunha represents the figure of Castro Alves as the possibility of a solidarity between Brazil and South America; a solidarity hidden within the northeastern *sertão* and manifested sporadically when the country sought the light of a utopian future. Alves represents the Other within who gives voice to an alternative revolutionary narrative for Brazil. During his speech on Castro Alves, Da Cunha once again equates the *condoreiro* poet with the *sertanejo* by writing: "*A praça, a praça é do povo/ Como o céo é do condor!* Vêde como ai o revolucionario sacrificou o lírico. Tais versos fa-los-ia um qualquer improvisador sertanejo" (Da Cunha 26, sic.). Through these words, Da Cunha puts republican verses in the mouths of the supposed monarchists of the *sertão*. In the national context, Spanish America was really thought of as a republican and reactionary Other that was different from the island of Brazil. However, in considering the contemporary importance of past writers who were inspired by Spanish America, one may consider that there was a positive view about neighboring countries which still lingered deep in the "ou-topos" *sertão-mundo*.

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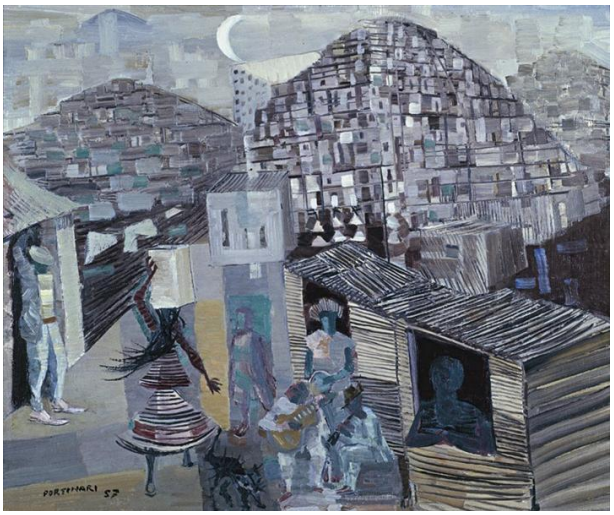
Chapter 3 | Our Latin American Roots in *Modernismo's* Nationalist Criticism

Samba (Di Cavalcanti 1925)



Favelas (Portinarí 1930)

> Um dos males da nacionalidade que com tanto esforço construímos é o nosso ufanismo. Palavra tirada de um livro cretinizante, intitulado *Porque que me ufano de meu país,* e onde tudo o que o Brasil fez aparece cor-de-rosa e azul. Maior seria a nossa grandeza se distinguíssemos as virtudes dos defeitos que se entrelaçam em nosso destino de nação
>
> —Owald de Andrade, *A Marcha das Utopias*.

National identity, origin, and autonomy are the three words that best describe the genesis of the modernist movement in Brazil, the *semana de arte moderna* in April of 1922, one hundred years after the independence of the country. As in Emilio Di Cavalcanti's painting, *Samba* (1925), where cylindrical shapes and the profusion of colors in the creation of characters mix techniques from European avant-garde and typical Brazilian themes, the first artists and writers of Brazilian *modernismo* sought to redefine national identity through the appreciation of simplicity in visual representation and popular cultural expressions. This positive phase of the movement was short-lived, lasting only until the economic crisis caused by the crash of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929. From this moment forward the criticism of national pride took a more defined shape in the *modernista* movement. Thus, the generation of 30 (as this phase became known) turned to the representation of labor exploitation, poverty, and hunger exemplified in *Favelas* (1930) by Cândido Portinarí. In this piece the pale blue color which overlays the image of faceless characters in the Brazilian slums reveals a shift in the tone of the narrative of identity.

At the time, the situation in the country was unfavorable to the celebration of national identity. Due to bankrupt companies, and mass unemployment the planet's economy had to tighten its belt. Consequently, neocolonialist practices were spreading across the globe and affecting the country more than ever. Industrialization, which had started to emerge at the beginning of the century, took over cities such as São Paulo—now full of bankrupted factories and a new unemployed class of wage laborers. Furthermore, the influx of sugar mills and other machines sold by foreign companies affected the structure of labor in the countryside, increasing migration to cities and causing a spike in the number of unemployed citizens living in these

places. Exploitation rose along with the crisis, as no official regulations for labor practices and wages were set in place at the time. Labor legislation had not yet been implemented in the constitution of 1891 and once again in the history of the country there was a clash between technological modernization and political and social backwardness.[1]

In Spanish America, the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920)—a peasant uprising co-opted by intellectuals who were adepts of communism—raised the hope for land distribution and the improvement of workers' conditions in the Mexico. The revolution had a great impact on many nations of the continent, and Brazil was not an exception. According to Carlos Alberto Sampaio Barbosa, the repercussions of the Mexican Revolution across the continent during the first decades of the twentieth century can be compared to the impact of the Cuban Revolution years later; its echoes "atingiram o Brasil através de sua imprensa e intelectuais" (52). Although somewhat critical of the Mexican Revolution for causing political instability, Brazilian intellectuals expressed sentiments of hope and admiration regarding the importance given to the "situação dos camponeses e da questão da terra" (Sampaio Barbosa 60). Thus, the Brazilian Communist Party was founded in 1922—only a few years after the revolution that took place in Spanish American Mexico.[65]

As members of the Communist Party who also participated in the *Intentona Comunista* of 1935, most authors and painters of the second generation of Brazilian *modernismo* established connections with communist Spanish American intellectuals while simultaneously addressing issues of national identity. In their work, they praised the importance of indigenous and African roots within the formation of Brazil while critically examining *ufanismo*, or national pride. They especially condemned how the *ufanistas* co-opted the history of struggle and exploitation of minorities through perpetuating a false idea of a benevolent Iberian character who was the main actor in the construction of the nation. In many ways, the *ufanismo* criticized by the *modernistas* of this generation also reflected the idiosyncratic narrative that had separated Brazil from Spanish America in the past, because it painted the country as perfect—or "cor-de-rosa e azul" (188), as stated by Owald de Andrade in the epigraph above—in opposition to an imperfect neighboring Other.[66]

While re-defining national identity, *modernistas* brought down walls previously raised by *ufanistas* and created a space where new currents of thought that emphasized solidarity through which ideologies like Marxism—already spreading in Mexico, Chile, and Venezuela—could grow. Hence, Jorge Amado—one of the most prolific writers of this *modernista* generation—established connections with many Spanish American communist intellectuals, translating some of their works into Portuguese while still focusing on issues surrounding the formation of

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[1] According to Steven Topik, the constitution of 1891 completely ignored the subject and "[e]ven though Brazil, as a signer of the Versailles Peace Treaty, had pledged to frame a labor code, oligarchic hostility prevented its enactment" (Topik).

[65] For more information, see the introduction of: Löwy, Michael. *Marxism in Latin America from 1909 to the Present: an Anthology*. Humanity Books, 2006.

[66] In *Porque me ufano de meu país*, a book criticized by Oswald de Andrade for exaggerating the qualities of Brazil, comparison between Brazil and its Spanish-speaking neighbors is a constant. As can be seen in the epigraph above, for the writer of the book criticized by Andrade, "[a] conquista portuguesa não se caracteriza pelas violências da espanhola (…) nosso regime colonial foi mais suave que o de quase todos os povos americanos" (Celso 123). This comparison is made with the intention of extolling the civilized character of the European origins of Brazilians in relation to the barbaric European origins of neighbors. These supposed origins diminish the Portuguese role in the extermination of nearly all indigenous populations off the coast of Brazil, as if there was such a thing as a lesser detrimental genocide.

Brazilian identity.[67] In many ways, by portraying a more accurate picture of the realities of black and indigenous people, the *modernistas* of this generation indirectly created a continental unity, through representing the class struggles this historically built subaltern population faced. Class representation came about by experiencing the increase of the United States' neocolonial practices in the southern hemisphere of the continent, which provoked an increased awareness of the underdevelopment of Spanish America in the Brazilian context.[68]

Although more accepted during the second decade of the twentieth century, after the crash of the New York stock market, this eye towards underdevelopment had already been brought to the fore by early modern intellectual Manuel Bomfim in *América Latina: males de horigem* (1905). Seemingly at odds with the search for national identity, Bomfim's early sociological work on Latin America shared a communality with that of the *modernistas*: a criticism towards the labor exploitation of minorities. In this essay, published nearly two decades before the *semana de arte moderna*, Bomfim criticizes the elite of Latin America (Brazil included), anticipating the Weberian analysis of the sociologist Sérgio Buarque de Holanda in *Raízes do Brazil* (1936). This shared similarity demonstrates how within the national criticism of the *modernistas* there was a desire for Latin Americanism. Like their Spanish speaking neighbors, Brazilian intellectuals of the *modernismo* were critical of the exploitative effects of foreign capital on the lives of the people. This situation led Brazilian intellectuals to perceive the relationship between Brazil and neighboring Spanish-speaking countries with different eyes. The social and economic reality of Spanish and Portuguese America was not as separate as previous Brazilian essayists had wanted to convey through their analyses of political and historical differences. There was a common struggle among the minorities of these regions—a fact only recognized as an important point of connection to be considered by essayists after the emergence of sociology within the continent. As in most countries, the arrival of sociology was accompanied by the study of the conflicts between social classes. In Brazil, sociologists sought to understand the formation of Brazilian society, analyzing topics such as the abolition of slavery, exodus, and studies of the indigenous and black populations.

In this chapter, I will examine how this paradoxical situation between the borderless aspect of social struggle among workers across the globe brought about through the emergence of communism and sociology and the rigid walls emphasized by the political history of Brazil

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[67] Without a doubt, this feeling of integration with the rest of the continent emerging during the 20s and 30s in Brazil derived from a positive view of the peasant uprising that had taken place in Mexico at the beginning of the century. In an article written in Spanish during the week of modern art, Ronald de Carvalho—who would later become close friends of the Mexican writer Alfonso Reyes—eloquently defends and explains Brazilian intellectuals' misunderstanding of the Mexican revolution: "La revolución, dijo altivamente el embajador José Vasconcelos es muchas veces, en su país, 'una palabra sagrada'. Por un error natural, no lo entendimos así y, por ende, usábamos de medios nuestros para aquilatar bases morales que no conocíamos. Un espectáculo de un pueblo que se reconstrirá con voluntad inquebrantable rodeado de amenazas, aprisionado en un círculo infernal de insinuaciones y calumnias, sin duda nos inquietaba. No pudimos, sin embargo, valorar la majestad misteriosa del fenómeno que observábamos superficialmente. Contábamos a los muertos y los heridos sin indagar las razones de la batalla. Confundimos victoriosos y vencidos ignorando lo que significaba la derrota o la victoria" (qtd. in P. Ellison, 23).

[68] In *Literature and Underdevelopment*, Antônio Cândido argues that this period marked "an extraordinary liberation of expressive means and prepared us to alter sensitively the treatment of themes proposed by writer's consciousness" (132). This consciousness affected the way writers of the generation perceived the countries' position within the global context and transformed the Romantic view of the beautiful land and great country by making evident "the reality of the poor lands, the archaic technologies, the astonishing misery of the people, the paralyzing lack of culture" (Cândido 120). This was not only something that affected Brazilian intellectuals. According to Cândido, the Brazilian case "is also valid for all of Latin America" (119).

can be traced in the conflicting and yet confluent dialogues between the work of early modern essayist Manoel Bomfim, *América Latina: males de origem* (1905), and the writing of *modernista* intellectual Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil* (1936).[69] During the analysis, I will examine how Bomfim's critique of bourgeoisie parasitism in Latin America anticipates the Weberian analysis of the irrationality of the Brazilian landowning class pointed out by Buarque de Hoanda three decades later. Working with the two critiques of Latin American and Brazilian elites side-by-side reveals how the national criticism of the *modernistas* contained a sentiment of belonging to Latin America. Furthermore, this comparison demonstrates how the emergence of sociology and communism in the country sparked the interest of Brazilian intellectuals from the second generation of *modernismo* in the work of Latin American writers of the same period. As I show in the subsequent section of this chapter, even though writers such as Graciliano Ramos, José Linz do Rego, Rachel de Queiroz and Jorge Amado were focused on the question of national identity, they also saw a bridge to Latin America in the criticism of the exploitation of the proletarian. Within this critique, they also sought to establish a connection with the genesis of socialist thought in Brazil through Castro Alves's revolutionary Romanticism. Thus, after discussing how Buarque de Holanda takes up the work of Bonfim in the first section of this chapter, in the second section I will argue for the analysis of *modernista* works such as *Seara Vermelha* by Jorge Amado—which draws references from the poem *Bandido Negro* by Castro Alves—as a text with a socialist critique of the Brazilian elites that resonates with the vision of Latin America offered by Bomfim at the turn of the century.

United by a Common Problem

The industrial development of England and the United States during the nineteenth-century changed the global configuration, leaving behind economic leaders of the colonial period like Portugal and Spain. This clear global economic shift and the mirroring of progress between England and the United States led authors from the previous Iberian colonies to ask themselves the reasons for the fall of Portugal and Spain in an attempt to understand the underdevelopment of their own countries. Several theories emerged during that time. The most popular among them explained South America's underdevelopment through eugenics. As historian Nancy Leys Stepan notices, one of the factors that influenced "the development of eugenics [in Latin America] was what we might call the crisis of 'underdevelpment'" (37). It was believed that the ills of society were linked to racial mixing—already common in Spain and Portugal—brought to the Americas. In other words, the degenerative element of society was attributed to the racial minorities and not to the white elites.

Navigating against the current of eugenics, physician and sociologist Manoel Bomfim wrote *América Latina: Males de Origem* (1905). The book, written during a trip to Europe, argues that the region's underdevelopment cannot be explained through racial miscegenation. Instead, it proposes that the delay in the material progress of the region is linked to the parasitism of European countries (mainly Portugal and Spain) during colonization, and to the elites that these countries created in the Americas. An unknown figure for many years who was rediscovered by Darcy Ribeiro in 1960, Bomfim was one of the few Latino-Americanists in the beginning of the century. In his vision of the unity for the region, he leverages a clearly socialist critique of the elite—a critique that only reappears years later in the essays of writers from the

[69] For more information on the early modernism of Bomfim, see: Valente, Luiz Fernando. "Modernidad e identidad en Manoel Bomfim." *Cuadernos De Literatura*, vol. 18, no. 35, 2014.

modernista period such as sociologist Sérgio Buarque de Holanda in *Raízes do Brasil* (1936). This is the reason why scholars considered Bonfim an early *modernista* although he did not emphasize the issue of national identity in his first work.

According to Luiz Fernando Valente, despite not participating in the *semana de arte moderna*, Bomfim was "más vanguardista que algunos participantes de la Semana como Plíneo Salgado, Graça Aranha o Guiomar Novaees" (88). Born in 1868 in Sergipe, Bomfim lived until 1932, long enough to witness the debates of *modernista* intellectuals on the definition of national identity and to follow the same trend as them in his later works: *O Brasil na América: caracterização da formação brasileira* (1929), con algunas pequeñas incursiones en otras dos obras, a saber, *O Brasil na história: deturpação das tradições, degradação política* (1930) y *O Brasil nação: realidade da soberania brasileira* (1931). In all of these later works, issues already addressed in *América Latina: males de origem* appear again, this time adressed as a particularity of Brazil, as Valente points out: "Una lectura más atenta de *A América Latina: males de origem* no deja duda, sin embargo, de que se encuentra allí el embrión de su pensamiento, que será profundizado, antes que rechazado, en los libros posteriores" (89). By focusing on Bonfim's modernity and concern with Brazilian identity in his later works, however, Valente fails to analyze the meaning behind the author's brief early Latin Americanism and its co-occurrence with the Latin Americanism of authors of the *semana de arte moderna* such as Ronald de Carvalho, writer of *Toda a America* (1926).

When discussing the issue of the centenary of the country's independence during the *semana de arte moderna*, Brazilian intellectuals were compelled to reflect on how this event had taken place on the rest of the continent. Comparing and contrasting the formation of the Spanish American Republics and the Brazilian Empire came about naturally. Thus, during this exercise there were those intellectuals who focused on the anti-colonial aspect of various independence movements. Here they found a common thread, as well as a chance to critically analyze the negative influence of Latin America's European roots. Labeling the region's European roots as Latin at first and Iberian later, authors such as Bomfim would leverage his criticism of the cultural development of the region as a whole toward a nationalist criticism that aimed to primarily diagnose the ills of Brazil. In this respect, Bomfim's early organic cultural outlook of Latin America dialogued with the national criticism of the second phase of *modernismo*.

During the 1930s, the sociological current which had spread most widely throughout Brazil was the one developed by Max Weber. According to Pedro Meira Monteiro, during the heart of the global crisis that emerged after the fall of the New York stock market in 1929—when national and international politics were the focus of the debates over the virtues and vices of capitalism—"Weber's name still shone as an insuperable reference for the new generations of academic intellectuals" (21). Among these Brazilian intellectuals influenced by Weber's ideas was the sociologist Sergio Buarque de Holanda. A well-educated young man who was known for his somewhat eccentric readings and excessive display of erudition, Buarque de Holanda was an odd figure in the intellectual circles of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro during the 1920's. Although enrolled in Rio de Janeiro's School of Law, he was much more inclined to the literary and bohemian life of the country than to the legal profession he had officially chosen. Thus, in the early 1920's, he was already writing articles for what are now known as some of the most influential *modernista* journals produced in São Paulo at the time.[70] Aside from academic journals, Buarque de Holanda also wrote articles for newspapers where he worked. Before the

[70] Among some of the magazines for which Buarque de Holanda wrote is the short-lived but highly influential modernist journal *Klaxon* (1922-23) and the even shorter-lived *Estética* (1924).

outbreak of World War II, he was an international correspondent for the *Diários Associados* in Berlin, a city he visited sporadically to carry out academic activities. His seminal work *Raízes do Brasil* (1936) was produced in the context of constant contact with the German sociology in vogue at the time, especially with the work of Weber.

In a study on the transformation from patrimonialism to modern forms of governance in Europe, Weber explains how this change was caused by the dissipation of new ideas in the form of culture, and not by the beginning of a new means of production as argued by Marx. For him, these new ideas came with the Protestant Reformation. Within Protestantism, one of the main ideas that would underpin the modern state was that the community, and not the family, counted the most. This separation between the familial and the political spheres was fundamental in the process of rationalization/bureaucratization which characterized the modern state. From this separation, societies left behind the patrimonialism that governed based on personal interests and went on to a modern state that sought the good of the community.[71] Furthermore, in Protestantism, the greatness of an individual was measured by his hardworking ethics reflected in the biblical proverb, "the early bird caches the worm". In this respect, an individual's value was not based on kinship, but on his labor contribution to the community. For Buarque de Holanda, the lack of modernity in Brazil lay precisely in this patrimonialism and the devaluing of manual labor inherited from Catholic Iberian culture, which supported the proximity between state and family and the exchange of favors that arose from this relationship.

According to Adriana D. de S. Carvalho, it is primarily "através do conceito weberiano de racionalidade que Sérgio Buarque de Holanda tem a chave para a compreensão do Brasil" (81). Like Weber, Buarque de Holanda viewed rationality as a necessary component for creating a culture of labor which would "force every person to work for others" (90). Using Weber's concept of rationality, Buarque de Holanda thus sought to explain the historical and social reasons for the "irrationality" that perpetuated a destructive slave-owning mentality, one which hindered and delayed the development of a modern democratic state within Brazil. In *Raízes do Brasil,* thus modernity, rationality, and urbanization only emerge in order to stand against the country's underdevelopment, irrationality and ruralism.

In many ways, Weber's theories that were spreading across Brazil at the time, especially the concept of patrimonialism, resonated with Bomfim's earlier analysis of the essential conservatism of the Portuguese and Spanish heritage that had crystallized in the model of state action and in the other social dynamics of region. According to Patrick Silva dos Santos, the *concervadorismo essencial* formulated by Bomfim in *América Latina: Males de Origem*, "mais se assemelha, do que se distancia das formulações conceituais de Max Weber em torno do Patrimonialismo, em sua maneira utilizada no Brasil, popularizado por meio do trabalho do jurista Raymundo Faoro, no livro *Os Donos do Poder*" (23). His critique of the "parasitism" of Iberian culture and its resonance in the political and cultural structure of Latin America were also in line with the view of the lack of a culture of labor in pre-modern societies stipulated by Weber:

> Iniciada assim, essa colonização feroz não podia mais voltar atrás; naturais e adventícios estavam incompatibilizados para constituir uma sociedade com hábitos de trabalho pacífico. A ganância do colono e a voracidade da metrópole eram insaciáveis: '(...) Para as colônias espanholas e portuguesas vinham, via de regra, aventureiros e especuladores gananciosos, sem outro pensamento que não fosse o de enriquecer depressa e sem muito trabalho (Bomfim 89).

[71] See Weber pp 93-93.

Three decades later, Buarque de Holanda would make the same critique about a lack of a culture of labor in Brazil: "Um fato que não se pode deixar de tomar em consideração no exame da psicologia desses povos é a invencível repulsa que sempre lhes inspirou toda moral fundada no culto ao trabalho" (38). In his clearly Weberian reading, Brazil had fallen behind in the areas of urban development and the social infrastructure required to meet the needs of its population precisely because the country lacked a culture of labor. Although there is no indication of a modernizing project within the scope of *Raízes do Brasil*, it is clear that the idea runs through the whole of Buarque de Holanda's work as he often uses it to explain the roots and the effects of the lack of mature urban centers within Brazil: "Toda a estrutura de nossa sociedade colonial teve sua base fora dos meios urbanos. É preciso considerar esse fato para se compreenderem exatamente as condições que [...] nos governaram até muito depois de proclamada nossa independência política" (Buarque de Holanda, 73). Buarque de Holanda's concern with the country's underdevelopment was common amongst the intellectuals of the time such as the *modernistas.* The same preoccupation entered political life, as the State was becoming more invested in social changes (women's suffrage, labor rights, and defense of natural resources) and accelerating the development of the country than it had been in the past.

In the same manner, nearly three decades before the *modernistas* criticized how nationalism influenced Brazil's lack of structural and social development, Bomfim addresses the lack of modernity in Latin America:

> Efetivamente, os povos sul-americanos se apresentam, hoje, num estado que mal lhes dá direito a ser considerados povos civilizados [...] Sofremos todos os males, desvantagens e ônus fatais às sociedades cultas, sem fruirmos quase nenhum dos benefícios com que o progresso tem suavizado a vida humana. Da civilização, só possuímos os encargos: nem paz, nem ordem, nem garantias políticas; nem justiça, nem ciência, nem conforto, nem higiene; nem cultura, nem instrução, nem gozos estéticos, nem riqueza; nem trabalho organizado, nem hábito de trabalho livre, muita vez, nem mesmo possibilidade de trabalhar; nem atividade social, nem instituições de verdadeira solidariedade e cooperação; nem ideais, nem glórias, nem beleza... (Bomfim 15-16).

Using the terminology of civilization and barbarism, Bomfim draws attention to the lack of urbanization, hygiene, and culture of the Latin American peoples. Furthermore, he draws attention to how this lack of modernity is tied to the absence of a culture of labor when he points to the fact that "trabalho organizado" and "instituições de verdadeira solidariedade e cooperação" are benefits of civilized nations that Latin Americans do not enjoy, despite suffering burdens comparable to those of other nations. Without directly referencing Weber, Bomfim was already using Weber's methodological framework. In this respect, it is through a Weberian reading that early twentieth-century discourses about a vision of Latin America that includes Brazil converge with the nationalist criticism of the *modernistas* three decades later.

Among one of the main arguments that sustains the Buarque de Holanda' Weberian reading of Brazil's irrationality and lack of modernity is the opposition between the country's *Iberismo* and the *Americanismo* of puritan nations such as the United States. Going beyond the geographic frame, Holanda expands on many different cultural aspects. In the preface of *Raízes do Brazil,* Antônio Cândido mentions some examples that illustrate the dialectical nature of Buarque de Holanda's work: "Trabalho e aventura; método e capricho; rural e urbano; burocracia e caudilhismo; norma impessoal e impulse afetivo—são pares que o autor destaca no modo-de-ser ou na estrutura social e política, para analisar e compreender o Brasil e os brasileiros" (Cândido 13). In many ways, the various antithetical pairs described by Cândido are

contained within the opposition between *Iberismo* and *Americanismo* since it is through this overarching geographical dichotomy that Buarque de Holanda categorically analyzes the root of the contemporary problems present in Brazil.

For Buarque de Holanda, one of the main influences of the Iberian culture over Brazil was the culture of personalism. Right at the beginning of his seminal work, Buarque de Holanda compares Spain and Portugal to their European neighbors: "É que nenhum desses vizinhos soube desenvolver a tal extremo essa cultura da personalidade, que parece constituir o traço mais decisivo na evolução da gente hispânica, desde tempos imemoriais" (Buarque de Holanda 32). In his view, Portuguese and Spaniards alike were more interested in personal gain granted by status and relationships rather than that which could be earned through labor. In societies where most citizens support the exchange of social privileges established by heredity "não é possível acordo coletivo durável, a não ser por uma força exterior respeitável e temida" (Buarque de Holanda 32). In this respect, the personalism prevalent in the Iberian culture hinders an organic collective spirit among citizens which derives from a culture of labor. Without this natural alliance, the only alternative action to unify a country is through an external force controlled by an artificial State.

Therefore, the resurgence of authoritarianism and military dictatorships among Hispanic nations reflects—in Buarque de Holanda's sociological analysis—their lack of a culture of labor and the solidarity fostered by it: "O certo é que, entre espanhóis e portugueses, a moral do trabalho representou sempre fruto exótico. Não admira que fossem precárias, nessa gente, as idéias de solidariedade" (Buarque de Holanda 39). Appearing on rare occasions, solidarity is bound achieved by emotions rather than by common interests of class within Hispanic cultures. For this reason, its actions are restricted to the "recinto doméstico ou entre amigos" (Buarque de Holanda 39). Through the analysis of this culture of personalism, Buarque de Holanda thus detects the root of Brazil's "irrationality," or its inability to organically create a collective spirit, in its Iberian origins.

Decades earlier but in the same manner, Bomfim also detected the origin of the parasitism of Latin American elites in their Iberian origins. But he does not articulate the differences between Portuguese and Spanish colonization in the Americas, as Buarque de Holanda does in *Raízes do Brasil*. Instead, when referring to Latin America, Bomfim includes Brazil:

> Defendendo-nos, a América do Norte irá, fatalmente, absorvendo-nos. Acredito que essa absorção não esteja nos planos dos estadistas americanos; mas é ela uma consequência natural da situação de protegido e protetor. De fato, parte da nossa soberania nacional já desapareceu; para a Europa, já existe o protetorado dos Estados Unidos sobre a América Latina (Bomfim 12).

The use of the possessive pronoun "nossa" to define the situation in Latin America in the face of the imperialist imposition of the Monroe doctrine confirms Bomfim's position on Brazil's situation in the continental context. Furthermore, by clarifying the dangers present in the new form of colonialism in the region, Bomfim brings together Brazil and the Spanish speaking nations of the Americas. His view of Latin America (and Brazil as part of it), thus converges with that of writers from Spanish America like José Martí.

In contrast to this continental unity present in Bomfim's first work, in *Raízes do Brasil,* Buarque de Holanda draws attention to the nuances of the division between Spanish and Portuguese colonization in the Americas through the archetypes *ladrilhador* and *semeador*:

> A ordem que aceita não é a que compõem os homens com trabalho, mas a que fazem com desleixo e certa liberdade; a ordem do semeador, não a do ladrilhador. É também a ordem em que estão postas as coisas divinas e naturais pois que, já o dizia Antônio Vieira, se as estrelas estão em ordem, "'he ordem que faz influência, não he ordem que faça lavor. Não fez Deus o Céu em xadrez de estrelas [...]'" (Buarque de Holanda 116).

The internal limits between the *iberismo* of Portugal and Spain are made explicit when Buarque de Holanda investigates the differences in American colonization and colonialism carried out by these two countries. In his analysis, Buarque de Holanda suggests that the Portuguese colonizers differed from the Spanish in their relationship with work, in view of the opposition he establishes in relation to Portuguese *semeador*—who does not accept the order that "compõem os homens com trabalho"—and Spanish *ladrilhador*. Thereupon, Buarque de Holanda builds internal borders and limits within the Iberian world by using metaphors that represent the differences in both the processes of exploration and in the political and urban organization of the new conquered spaces.[72]

Unlike the Portuguese, Spanish colonizers found in Mexico and Peru well-established civilizations and the existence of gold. The combination of these factors led the Spanish crown to invest more in conquering and securing colonial territories than Portugal. The small Iberian neighbor, who had already invested a large sum of money in establishing trade routes with India, did not encounter any commodity lucrative enough to invest in developing more established settlements in Brazil during the first years of colonization. Consequently, the effort put forward by the Portuguese crown was limited to the creation of a few *feitorias* (trading posts) along the coast of the country where the Brazil wood grew.

By observing the appearance of these particular differences between the Portuguese and Spanish colonization in *Raízes do Brasil*, one might regard Buarque de Holanda's work as merely continuing to reiterate the hegemonic history praised by nationalists such as Alfonso Celso in his *Porque me ufano de meu país*, which was criticized by Oswald de Andrade in the epigraph of this chapter. However, the rose-tinted glasses that the *ufanistas* insert over the image of the less invasive Portuguese colonization in comparison to the strong-handed Spanish one are written off by Buarque de Holanda. Holanda translates historical differences into cultural aspects ingrained in the character of Brazil's elite, whose lazy adventurous spirit contributed to the prolongation of one of the biggest crimes in the history of humanity: the trafficking and enslavement of millions of Africans. Buarque de Holanda's *modernista* national criticism thus narrows in on this social analysis of the appearance of a more laid back Portuguese character which overlaps with his historical readings of slavery in Brazil.

The nuanced difference between the Portuguese and the Spanish character in the colonial process is not present in Bomfim's work; instead he extends the criticism of Portuguese taste for appearances ingrained in titles of nobility and the Portuguese abjection of manual labor to the whole of Latin Ameirca:

> A escravidão na América do Sul foi a abjeção moral a degradação do trabalho, o embrutecimento e o aniquilamento do trabalhador; e foi também a viciação da produção,

[72] In general terms, the differences between the Portuguese and the Spanish postulated by Buarque de Holanda appear more seldomly in the second chapter, entitled *Trabalho e Aventura*, when compared to the first. If in the first chapter, Buarque de Holanda is concerned with defining a common Iberian character, in the second chapter—and throughout most of his work—the specificities that set the Portuguese and Spanish colonial pasts apart start emerging. Slavery and ruralism are among some of the most prominent points of difference between the two Iberian colonies.

> gerando males de efeitos extensíssimos, que teriam, todavia, desaparecido com o progredir normal das nacionalidades nascentes [...] E foi de modo que, no fim de três séculos de exploração aturada, de produção intensiva e trabalho de escravo, tocado a relho, a América Latina se achou tão pobre como no dia em que os aventureiros lusoespanhóis pisaram aqui, ou mais pobre ainda. As metrópoles tinham o privilégio da exportação, do comércio enfim, de certos gêneros; tinham o monopólio da venda de uns tantos produtos, distribuíam os índios pelos feudos, distribuíam as terras; cobravam dízimos e quintos de toda a produção, fechavam as colônias ao comércio do resto do mundo e até de umas regiões com as outras, da mesma colônia; davam o preço aos gêneros. A Espanha chegava a obrigar os miseráveis índios "a comprarem objetos de luxo, tais como lenços e meias de seda, navalhas, óculos, anéis..." (Bomfim 93).

For Bomfim, slavery and exploitation are legacies of Iberian culture in the Americas. In his social analysis, he leaves aside the difference between the explicit cruelty of the Spaniards and the more insidious oppression by the Portuguese highlighted by Buarque de Holanda in his writing about the cordial character of the Brazilian man. Holanda claims that the Brazilian man hides the harshness and irrationality derived from his excess of emotion in his amiability and decorum. Nevertheless, the opinions of Buarque de Holanda and Bomfim converge on the subject of slavery. Both of them view slavery as a cultural manifestation of a character of servitude within a particular population. In the same way, they both believe that this cultural inheritance can only be overcome when there is an investment in education and modernization so that the nation can obtain social mobility and economic independence from foreign capital.

As Lucas Braga reminds us—while commenting on *América Latina: males de origem*—that in order for Latin America to grow "seria preciso educar a população, pois para Bomfim, por meio da educação seria possível livrar um país dos males de sua formação [manifestados na escravidão e no parasitismo], mas essa mudança não seria rápida, demoraria para acontecer" (116). This education would have to break the hereditary chain which perpetuated the parasitic character of the Iberian nations: "Pode-se dizer que as tendências e as inclinações, a aptidão e o vigor, isto nós herdamos; e que a educação—no sentido mais extenso do termo—completa a formação do caráter, no sentido da tradição e da adaptação" (Bomfim 114). Correspondingly, for Buarque de Holanda, the implementation of education would have to go beyond the mechanical process of literacy, which provides the tools but not the ethical and civic components necessary for the formation of the individual: "Cabe acrescentar que, mesmo independentemente desse ideal de cultura, a simples alfabetização em massa não constitui talvez um benefício sem-par. Desacompanhada de outros elementos fundamentais da educação, que a completem, é comparável, em certos casos, a uma arma de fogo posta nas mãos de um cego" (Buarque de Holanda 166). Only a full education with civic and moral components would be capable of slowly changing the Iberian character and promoting a social shift in Brazil.

As the title *Nossa revolução* itself indicates, the last chapter of *Raízes do Brasil* proposes how the idea of a revolution could be imagined within Brazil's historical context. This revolution—which Buarque de Holanda (like Bomfim), understands as a slow historical process, or "uma revolução lenta, mas segura e concertada" (171)—is inevitably linked to education and the first signs of modernization which brought abolitionist movements to the country during the mid-nineteenth century. For the Brazilian sociologist, the continuous growth of urban spaces was intrinsically linked to the slow process that led the country towards a more educated population that would condemn slavery and push for the beginning of democracy. Even after the proclamation of the Republic in 1889 in Brazil, slavery and politics were both tied to a

predominantly agrarian economy that persisted.[73] Only a substantial change in the economic and bureaucratic power of cities would the weight of the presence of the agrarian lifestyle within the political sphere of the country. For this shift from an agrarian to urban mindset to happen, the Iberian cult of personality—which perpetuated the law of the minimal effort and along with it, slavery—would have to wane and give space to a new mindset in which civic-focused education would be key:

> Escapa-nos esta verdade de que não são as leis escritas, fabricadas pelos jurisconsultos, as mais legítimas garantias de felicidade para os povos e de estabilidade para as nações. Costumamos julgar, ao contrário, que os bons regulamentos e a obediência aos preceitos abstratos representam a floração ideal de uma apurada educação política, da alfabetização, da aquisição de hábitos civilizados e de outras condições igualmente excelentes. No que nos distinguimos dos ingleses, por exemplo, que não tendo uma constituição escrita, regendo-se por um sistema de leis confuso e anacrônico, revelam, contudo, uma capacidade de disciplina espontânea sem rival em nenhum outro povo (Buarque de Holanda 178).

Following a Weberian line of thought, Buarque de Holanda clearly associates rationality and modernity with the bureaucratic and educational development that emerged along with the growth of urban centers. However, this growth alone could not guarantee a change in civic habits, which could only come about through deeper shifts in cultural background. But although Holanda relates this modernity and rationality to a North American character, he makes sure to frame modernity throughout his work as a possible illusion: "continuaremos a testemunhar durante largo tempo, as ressonâncias últimas do lento cataclismo, cujo sentido parece ser o do aniquilamento das raízes ibéricas de nossa cultura para a inauguração de um estilo novo, que crismamos talvez ilusoriamente de americano" (172). Buarque de Holanda's doubts about rationality as an exclusively Anglo-Saxon trait expressed in his use of "talvez" reflects his understanding of a more complex narrative surrounding the subject. His narrative questions the colonial paradigm in which rationality is only connected with material progress and irrationality with the absence of it. This subtle questioning regarding the geographic locus of rationality overlaps with that of Spanish American scholars such as José Henrique Rodó.

Although Buarque de Holanda's German influence has remained central since the preface of the fifth Brazilian edition of *Raízes do Brasil*, more recent studies have investigated the possible impact that the work of Uruguayan writer José Enrique Rodó had on the Brazilian essayist.[74] Written more than thirty years before *Raízes do Brasil*, Rodó's seminal work *Ariel* (1900) is directed towards the youth of America. The title has Shakespeare's *The Tempest* as its motto. While Prospero's slave, Calibán, represents irrational attachment to material interests, Ariel symbolizes the rational spirit capable of going beyond pragmatic benefits. Cleary, the central operation of Rodó's text is to associate the figure of Caliban with the Anglo-Saxon materialism and the character of Ariel with the "cultural" inclination of Latin America. Through these correlations, Rodó questions those that praising a false culture of labor, one that sustains an image of modernity in order to justify a new type of slavery in the exploitation of bodies masked

[73]Due to the control São Paulo and Minas Gerais' landowners had over the political life of the country, the first Republic carried the name of *República café-com-leite*—a reference to the main products produced by these states.
[74] For more information see: Monteiro, Pedro Meira, and Flora Thomson-DeVeaux. *The Other Roots: Wandering Origins in Roots of Brazil and the Impasses of Modernity in Ibero-America*. University of Notre Dame Press, 2017 and Newcomb, Robert Patrick. *Nossa and Nuestra América: Inter-American Dialogues*. Purdue University Press, 2012.

by a thin layer of capital. As a reader of Rodó, Buarque de Holanda was aware of the sophistical use of the narrative of rationality, the false weight given to the term "civilization" by politicians in order to keep any real logic from surfacing.[75] Any true logic might lead to the development of a class consciousness which did not yet exist among the popular classes, and would demand a review of the distribution of wealth and land that was not in the interests of the Brazilian elites.

Hence, Buarque de Holanda draws attention to how—after shifts in the political system—the Brazilian elite made it even harder for the masses to have access to elements that might bring out political and social consciousness:

> Colhidos de súbito pelas exigências impostas com um outro estado de coisas, sobretudo depois da Independência e das crises da Regência, muitos não souberam conformar-se logo com as mudanças. Desde então começou a patentear-se a distância entre o elemento "consciente" e a massa brasileira, distância que se evidenciou depois, em todos os instantes supremos da vida nacional (Buarque de Holanda 161).

For Buarque de Holanda, the urbanization that emerged alongside economic separation from Portugal after the independence made it so that the landowning elites of the country felt even more compelled to restrict access to any discourses that could stir up social changes among the masses. The creation of universities and the arrival of the press—which brought about political change—became threats that were closely monitored by those in power. In order to avoid the development of class consciousness, access to knowledge and journalistic content was controlled and regulated.

The lack of class consciousness among the popular classes was also observed by Bomfim in his sociological reading of Latin America (Brazil included). Following the same line of thought as Buarque de Holanda, Bomfim explains how, even if political shifts came about, the masses would be easily exploited: "falta ao povo a consciência dos seus deveres e direitos, e a inteligência para usar deles" (Bomfim 156). Preventing this mass awakening in Brazil and Latin America as whole is the heavy Iberian tranquilizer, which lulls the agency of the people and perpetuates a mentality of minimal effort, servitude, and exploitation. Thus, once again, we expose how the *modernistas* critique of the national elites was detached from the past national essayistic tradition. It belongs, instead, to an undisclosed tradition of Latin Americanism that I have been tracing in this dissertation.

The confluence between Buarque de Holanda's *Raízes do Brasil* and Bomfim's *América Latina: males de origem* expresses the core of Latin American solidarity, and foments the desire for the awakening of popular consciousness to the oppressive and exploitative landowning mentality of the elite. Hence the following passage in one of the most iconic novels of Brazilian *modernismo, Macunaíma* (1929):

> No outro dia bem cedinho foram todos trabucar. A princesa foi no roçado Maanape foi no mato e Jiguê foi no rio. Macunaíma se desculpou, subiu na montaria e deu uma chegadinha até a boca do rio Negro pra buscar a consciência deixada na ilha de Marapatá.

[75] Curiously, in May of 1920, the young Buarque de Holanda published an article in the *Revista do Brasil* also entitled *Ariel.* Like Rodó's essay, Buarque de Holanda's *Ariel* also specifies a view of Americanism which considers the influence of the United States within the continent. Within the scope of his work, the Brazilian sociologist also criticizes the model of the United States' culture in Brazil and Spanish America. Thus, in an almost inflammatory nationalist tone, Buarque de Holanda starts his essay with the following words: "É caso digno de nota quando uma nação, atraída pela grandeza ou pelo progresso de outra pertencente a raça diversa da sua, é levada a imitar sem peias seus traços característicos e nacionais, procura especialmente as qualidades nocivas e as menos compatíveis com sua índole" (*Ariel* 42).

> Jacaré achou? nem ele. Então o herói pegou na consciência dum hispano-americano, botou na cabeça e se deu bem da mesma forma (Andrade 148).

The bridge between Brazil and the other nations on the continent is noticeable in the Iberian/Latin character that Buarque de Holanda and Bomfim criticize in their respective essays. Thus, despite all the discourse that aimed to build a national identity apart from neighboring nations, the project of *modernistas*—such as Jorge Amado, who sought to express the awakening of the political consciousness of the masses—was not only concerned with the criticism of Brazilian roots but those of Latin America as well.

The *sertão* in the map of our *americanismo*

In his cultural study of Latin American teratology, Juan Pablo Dabove writes about one of the most common problems in all national projects of the region (including Brazil): banditry and all forms of rebellion against the nation state and the elites that controls it. Dabove claims the characters of the Latin American fictions he analyses are nightmares of the lettered city, monsters that populate the political unconscious of nations and that are, therefore, "the visible product of transactions between 'desire' and 'repression'" (1). For him, the "desire" and "repression" of these monsters (in the national imagination) fluctuates due to their potential to bring about revolutions or chaos, the former being the preferred outcome of communist intellectuals emerging during the first two decades of the twentieth-century in Latin America. For those communist intellectuals, revolutions would only happen when these "monsters" awakened into class consciousness and took action against the legacy of slavery. In Brazil, one of the most prominent writers concerned with exploring the awakening of consciousness of bandits during *modernismo* was Jorge Amado.

Born in 1912 in the city of Itabuna located in the southern part of the state of Bahia, Jorge Amado grew up on a cocoa plantation surrounded by stories, customs, beliefs and ways of speaking of men and women who worked in the fields. At the age of eleven he was sent to a boarding school in the state capital, Salvador, where he was instructed by Jesuits. The following year, he fled the boarding school and moved in with his grandfather. He then returned to the southern part of Bahia to live with his father on the cocoa plantation where he would witness the constant dispute between farmers and plantation workers. Back in Salvador, he completed his secondary education at *Ginásio Ipiranga* where he joined the *Academia dos Rebeldes*, a group that was interested in a literary revolution. In 1931, Amado entered law school in Rio de Janeiro, then the country's capital. In that environment, he began to participate in the political life of the country, getting involved with the Communist Party and the *Aliança Nacional Libertadora* (ANL).

After the *Intentona Comunista* of 1935, when Vargas outlawed the Communist Party and began to persecute those who supported it, Amado went into exile in neighboring countries such as Argentina. There he cultivated close friendships with several Spanish American intellectuals, including the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda. Like Buarque de Holanda and other *modernistas* of the time, Amado was very interested in the literature of neighboring countries, having been one of the few strong advocates for the translation of Spanish-language literature in Brazil.[76] His

[76] Amado himself worked on the creation of a collection of translations of Spanish American books with the help of a small publisher, Editorial Guaíra. A more complete analysis of the context in which these translations were produced can be read in *Uma "arqueologia do boom" na Estante Americana, da Guaíra: romances hispano-americanos publicados por Jorge Amado e De Plácido e Silva* (2018) by Rodrigo Refulia. In the article, Refulia addresses Amado's analysis of the publishing market in the continent, his reading of the Spanish American writers

familiarity with literatures and writers from these countries led him to craft several essays on the subject, many of which have not yet been published but remain in his archive in Salvador. Among some of his essays that highlight the literature, culture, and history of the countries neighboring Brazil are *Poesia politica ana América Espanhola*, *Ao congresso de solidariedade com a cultura e o povo chileno*, *A polêmica latinidade do Brasil,* and *Nação Mestiça,* the latter being the essay that comes closest to the issues of national identity addressed by *modernistas* such as Buarque de Holanda in Raízes do Brasil.

Cognizant of the work of Buarque de Holanda, whom he refers as "figura das mais facinantes da compensaria intellectual" (Amado 482) in his memoir *Navegação de Cabotágem* (1992), Amado undoubtedly dialogued with the sociological analyzes of *Raízes do Brasil.* This was especially true in novels such as *Seara Vermelha* (1948), where his criticism of the countryside oligarchic elite echoes Buarque de Holanda's analysis of the Iberian roots of Brazil. Amado's criticism of the rural elites, visible in various portions of the novel, was accompanied by the thematic of *mestiçagem,* or banditry and outlaw violence. As remarked upon by Dabove, the appearance of this particular topic in *Seara Vermelha* was not surprising since this was, at the time, "one of the most permanent and, for outsiders, most visible traits of the society inhabiting the Northeast, in particular its arid interior, or *sertão*" (*Dangerous Ilusions and Shining Utopias* 204). Especially contradictory in the *sertão,* where the law was controlled by the local oligarchic elite, banditry could simultaneously assume the cultural capital of the oppressed and the role of sustaining the violence of the aggressive capitalist order. Thus, although bandits have taken part in organized movements against the government such as in *War of Canudos* (1895-1898), they were also recruited by landowners as their "private police". As Buarque de Holanda claims in *Raízes do Brasil*, it was not uncommon for the bureaucratic aspects of the city such as law enforcement to be, in reality, controlled by landowners: "As funções mais elevadas cabiam nelas, em realidade, aos senhores de terras. São comuns em nossa história colonial as queixas dos comerciantes, habitadores das cidades, contra o monopólio das poderosas câmaras municipais pelos lavradores"(89). In this respect, banditry can be that which attempts to maintain or dismantle the traces of the oppressive oligarchic Iberian culture.

Manoel Bomfim also comments on the contradictory nature of banditry (its colonial and anti-colonial features) in the following epigraph to one of the sections of *América Latina, males de origem:*

> O LADRÃO -... E vós mesmo, que tendes feito até hoje?
> ALEXANDRE – Tenho vivido como um herói: o mais bravo entre os bravos, o mais nobre dos soberanos e o mais poderoso dos conquistadores... E tu, ladrão miserável?...
> O LADRÃO – Mas que vem a ser um conquistador?... Não percorrestes em pessoa toda a terra, como um gênio mau, destruidor dos belos frutos do trabalho e da paz... pilhando, matando, sem lei e sem justiça, simplesmente para satisfazer uma sede insaciável de domínio? Tudo que fiz, com centenas de homens, num pequeno recanto, vós o fizestes com centenas de milhares, sobre nações inteiras. Onde a diferença?... Nisto: o nascimento fez de vós um rei, e de mim um simples particular; sois um ladrão mais poderoso do que eu (Bomfim 31).

The passage, an excerpt from *Evenings at Home* (1792-1796) by John Aiken and Anna Laetitia Barbaud, is a dialogue between a common thief and Macedonian Emperor Alexander the Great. During the dialogue, the thief questions Alexander's supposed heroism and compares the

published in the collection, the specificities the place occupied by the Hispanic American books published in the editorial collection in their countries, and their reception in Brazil.

emperor's conquests to his own thefts. The tale questions what morally characterizes a bandit. On different scales, both Alexander (the colonizer) and the thief (the peasant) were responsible for looting others, the former of their countries and the latter of their personal belongings. In this way, the work of Buarque de Holanda once again echoes that of Bomfim; both question the colonial Iberian model's efficacy for the cultural development of the country. In light of this proximity between the work of the two writers—analyzed in the previous section and demonstrated once again through the passage above—it is possible to trace the role of banditry in *Seara Vermelha* as a critique of the Brazilian elites that resonates with the vision of Latin America offered by Bomfim at the turn of the century.

Seara Vermelha commences with the travails of a *sertanejo* migrant family. Following a well-traveled path the Latin American fiction, the representation of the family stands for a larger cultural or political identity: the *mestiço* peasant worker of farms in the *sertão*. Throughout the novel, Amado deconstructs the idea of banditry as a degenerative trait of men and women of color, exploring its authoritative capitalist dimension, but also its anti-capitalist revolutionary one. Just in the choice of its title, a reference to the chorus from the poem *Bandido Negro* by the abolitionist writer Antônio de Castro Alves, the problem regarding the racialization of banditry becomes clear:

> Cai, orvalho de sangue do escravo,/ Cai, orvalho, na face do algoz/ Cresce, cresce, seara vermelha,/ Cresce, cresce, vingança feroz./ São teus cães, que têm frio e têm fome,/ Que há dez séc'los a sede consome.../Quero um vasto banquete feroz.../ Venha o manto que os ombros nos cubra./ Para vós fazer-se a púrpura rubra,/ Faz-se a manto de sangue pra nós (Castro Alves 51).

The binds between race and banditry are social conditions of exploitation. The bit up *bandido negro* acts out in violent revenge, but his violence is not different from that of the *algoz* who tortures him. Like the conversation between Alexander the Great and the common thief in Bomfim's epigraph, in *Seara vermelha,* or red/burned harvest, the violence that follows the drought of the *sertão* simultaneously afflicts the landowners and peasant workers of the northeast. This contradicting nature of violence espoused by Castro Alves and Bomfim is also present in Amado's novel.

In a passage describing the arrival of the family in the city of Juazeiro from where they would leave to Piraporá, migrants' thievery is revealed to be a social phenomenon caused by a cumulation of events that lead individuals onto that path: "Era uma suja multidão de doentes e desgraçados. Homens, mulheres, crianças, caboclos pardos, mulatos e negros. Roubavam, é bem verdade. Os que traziam dinheiro compravam enquanto podiam" (Amado 125). By reveling how the migrant *sertanejos* would only steal after they had lost all their money in the city, Amado deconstructs the connection between race and banditry. Furthermore, he questions the idea that banditry was merely a rural phenomenon committed by uneducated men and women.

Among those migrants that steal the most were children, who learned this habit from the "moleques da cidade" (Amado 125). Poverty afflicts the *sertanejo* the most in the city, which pushes him into committing crimes. Ironically, it is also in this space that eugenic narratives tying race and backwardness proliferate the most. Masked as a rational scientific explanation, eugenics is sometimes used in *Seara Vermelha* by "educated" upper middleclass characters to explain the social condition of the *sertanejo*. The historian from São Paulo who is friends with Doctor Epaminondas Leite is one of them.

Doctor Leite is responsible for running the state medical office and in charge of examining migrants and issuing bills of health so that they could proceed to São Paulo. He

hesitates to accept the offer of working in the small town of Piraporá at first. While trying to make a case for the advantages of a job in the countryside far from amenities of large urban centers such as São Paulo, the historian explains to Doctor Epaminondas how staying in town for a short period would be a good opportunity to study the biggest problems that affected the country at the time: the migration of *sertanejos* and the distribution of water from the São Francisco river. He then questions the seemingly incoherent relationship between the man and the nature of the region and follows it up with a theory: "Há um, sobretudo, que é fascinante. Por que, numa terra tão fértil e rica, é o homem tão indolente e incapaz? Tenho para mim que é a mestiçagem... Mas o senhor vai ter oportunidade de examinar o problema em loco..." (Amado 156). Here we come across the narrative of contempt for miscegenation, much like that used by contemporary fascist ideologies justifying white racial superiority that were spreading across the globe.

For a white upper middle class person of the time such as the character of the historian from São Paulo, miscegenation was the cause of the *sertanejo's* incapacity and laziness, what made him prone to banditry. Such "scientific" assumptions broke out in Brazil during the turn of the century and were used by several writers of the time including Euclides da Cunha in *Os sertões*. According to Nancy Stepan, Da Cunha' s classic work synthesized the sciences of his day by arguing that "miscegenation, in addition to obliterating the pre-eminent qualities of the higher race, serves to stimulate the revival of the primitive attributes of the lower; so that the mestizo […] is almost always an unbalanced type" (46). This is the reason for Amado's concern over differentiating social from geological determinism in his representation of the *sertanejo*. Upon arriving in Piraporá, Epaminondas understands that the reasons for the impotence and corruption of the *sertanejo* are not part of a geological determinism as imagined by the intellectual from São Paulo. Instead, poverty is what afflicted the *sertanejo*. Thus, when asking himself "[q]ue diria o historiador de bandeirantes se soubesse que a indolência e a incapacidade queriam dizer apenas fome na terra fértil?" (Amado 156), Epaminondas already has an answer. Epaminondas, as well as his predecessor Doctor Diógenes, knew that they—and consequently the state they represented—were the main contributors to the poverty and sickness of the *sertanejo*. As Juan Pablo Dabove explains, in *Seara* Vermelha—in contrast to the *Varguista* populist mentality of the state as a mediator responsible for canceling class conflict—the state reproduces and enforces class systems through the mediation of state works, who despite the appearance of benevolents, "assure the supply of cheap labor to the labor market" (214).

Bonfim was also aware of and critical of the false discourse of miscegenation as a degenerative element of society long before the *modernistas* of the 1930s:

> Não há na história da América Latina um só fato provando que os mestiços houvessem degenerado de caráter, relativamente às qualidades essenciais das raças progenitoras. Os defeitos e virtudes que possuem vêm da herança que sobre eles pesa, da educação recebida e da adaptação às condições de vida que lhes são oferecidas. Consultem-se as estatísticas de qualquer cidade sul-americana, e ver-se-á que o número de delinquentes mestiços é, talvez, relativamente inferior ao dos criminosos de raças puras (Bomfim 212).

Here Bonfim brings up the issue of the situation in Latin America and includes Brazil in the process. He believed that the virtues and defects of individuals did not depend on their biological makeup, but on their education and the conditions of life that were the State offered them. As in Amado's novel, Bomfim makes a point to explain that it was the State and its elite representatives that were the greatest promoters of delinquency and banditry. They were the true

bandits of society, as Bomfim writes when he compares the crimes committed by the *sertanejos* with those committed by the landowners and the elite of the country:

> No entanto, é fato reconhecido: nestes sertões, o crime é menos comum que nas cidades; o roubo quase não existe; os crimes de sangue têm por motivos todos esses preconceitos de falsa honra—uma hombridade estúpida, brutal, mas geralmente cavalheirosa. Só não é cavalheiroso o proceder do "branco", do senhor, que, muita vez, explora a ignorância e a bravura do mestiço, fazendo o instrumento das suas vinganças (Bomfim 213).

In the passage above Bomfim recognizes the violence of the *sertanejo*. However, he makes a point to differentiate the violence of the peasant who works the land from the violence of the white plantation owner. Unlike the landowner, who uses violence to maintain their position of power, the *sertanejo* acts violently out of a sense of honor and chivalry that, although fake, had an ennobling force. It is precisely the *sertanejo*'s sense of honor that Amado explores as a potentially revolutionary force in *Seara Vermelha*.

In the second part of *Seara Vermelha*, *Estrada da Esperança*, we are introduced to Jacundina's three children, who ran away from home before the exodus of the family: José (who joins the band of Lucas Arvoredo and becomes known as Zé Trovoada), Jão (who becomes a soldier in the military police and is assigned to fight Estevão and his followers), and Juvêncio, or Nenén (who enters the army as a soldier, engages in political life, becomes a communist, and participates in the Intentona of 1935). Each one of them represents an aspect of the topic of violence and banditry in the *sertão*. Within these roles, Amado explores the pathways that lead the *sertanejo* to remain outside the political realm, in a primitive state of class consciousness, or instead to achieve a full role in class politics and make revolutionary social change.

Nevertheless, despite their different levels of class consciousness, all three brothers are cognizant of the exploitation workers endured while laboring on the farm. From the beginning of the novel, Amado follows the Buarque de Holandas's thesis on the problems of the influence of the Iberian roots in the cultural development of Brazil. By quoting from a piece of a speech by the leader of the *Intentona Comunista*, Luiz Carlos Prestes, Amado expresses his belief that poverty and a lack of consciousness in the population were tied to problems that emerged from the rural Iberian roots of the country: "está no latifundio, na má distribuição da propriedade territorial, no monopólio da terra, a causa fundamental do atraso, da miséria e da ignorância do nosso povo" (in Amado 17). It is not the aridity of the land or the hostile vegetation that produces waves of migrants heading towards São Paulo, as most narratives about the *sertão* conveyed at the time. Instead, the driving forces behind internal emigration from of the *sertanejo* to the cities in the south included the unequal division of the land, the State apparatus devoted to protecting landowners, and the failure of the State to assist the multitude of sick and desperate men and women in the region. Bomfim noted that the same problem afflicted the rest of Latin America:

> Efetivamente, os povos sul-americanos se apresentam, hoje, num estado que mal lhes dá direito a ser considerados povos civilizados. Em quase todos eles, em muitos pontos do Brasil inclusive, a situação é verdadeiramente lastimável. [...] São sociedades novas, inegavelmente vigorosas, prontas a agir, mas, nas quais, toda a ação se resume na luta terra a terra pelo poder—na política, no que ela tem de mais mesquinho e torpe. Fora daí, é a estagnação: miséria, dores, ignorância, tirania, pobreza (Bomfim 15-16).

In Bomfim's view, misery in the whole of Latin America (Brazil included) emerges from the fight over the unequal distributed land. It is the lack of land and property that makes peasants across the continent vulnerable to the will of masters, a new form of slavery—without the slave

quarters, or *senzalas*—in which one is not allowed to have ownership over the place they inhabit. In Amado's work, this inability to possess land is concealed under the cloak of an alliance between the previous landowner, Inácio, and the workers.

The peasants' class consciousness is hindered by a false interclass alliance, here a verbal agreement in which the landowner promises a plot of land for the peasant to live on while working the farm. This situation gives workers the illusion that the landowner is a benevolent person that has given them a plot of land where they can finally settle and be free to accumulate capital. However, in reality these workers do not have time to produce for themselves and are not truly owners of the plot of land they live on. Instead they are at the mercy of the landowners' plans for the farm. According to Dabove, through *Seara Vermelha,* Amado uncovers the dangerous illusions of interclass alliances while also defining how class-based revolutionary social change can actually be articulated: "In contrast to these dangerous illusions, that always entail individual accommodation, there are means of collective resistance" (214). However, class-based revolutions can only start to be articulated after the illusion of interclass alliances have been shattered, when the employees of the farm are informed of Aureliano's decision to sell the property inherited from his father Inácio.

From the peasant's point of view, Aureliano falls short of the ideal of the past landowner. Instead he represents a distant employer who does not socialize with the employees and is never present in the farm, preferring to focus on his financial endeavors and social life in Rio. As part of the sales contract, Aureliano agrees to evict the sharecroppers so that the farm can be transformed into a cattle ranch by the new owner. This event represents the destruction of the previous exploitative cultural and economic pact between peasants and landowners. That is to say, in Buarque de Holanda's terms, Aureliano's agreement to sell the farm serves as the first step towards the end of the rural Iberian culture's predominance and the beginning of a new urban American culture in Brazil.

The dawn of Brazilian urbanism is caused by the end of rural culture's predominance and with it the end of slave or semi-slave labor. This change had to do not only with the creation of a culture of labor and awakening of class consciousness, but also with a shift in the mentality regarding *mestiçagem* and interracial relations. Although critical towards interclass alliance, Amado was a supporter of miscegenation. Throughout *Seara Vermelha*, he makes sure to differentiate interclass alliance from interracial connections, while still remaining cognizant of how race plays a role in social class structure. For Amado, instead of false class alliances that contribute to the maintenance of the current order by creating the appearance of a less exploitative Iberian landowner, miscegenation debunked the narrative of racial supremacy and truly effaced the lines that created racial tensions. Hence, in the passage that highlights the intimate games between the revolutionary character Nenen and his wife, Amado writes:

> E repetiu aquela brincadeira de que ela tanto gostava: -Tu é negra, ruim, escura… (ela era apenas cabocla, de traços finos, mais finos que os dele que, se bem que fosse claro, o mais claro dos irmãos, tinha bem pronunciadas ainda as marcas do mestiço). Tu pegou no branco mas tem que andar direita... Ela ria (Amado 282)

Nenen's jocular and ludic comparison between his and his wife's skin color in order to delimit a division of power demonstrates how the character—although cognizant of its existence—did not truly subscribe to the eugenic scientific discourse in vogue. In addition, the narrator's own commentary on how Nenen, despite having white skin, carried *mestiço* features, reinforces the irrelevance of the discourse of racial superiority for the character. This deconstruction of the narrative of racial supremacy vis-à-vis the depiction of Nenen's mestizo phenotype and

interracial relationship accords with his revolutionary actions and commitment to articulate a social mobilization that seeks true balance between antagonisms that divided the country at the time.

In Brazil, when racial discrimination is elevated to the national discourse, it becomes a regional issue because it is in regions such as the Northeast and the Amazon that the majority of black and indigenous populations are found. It is also in the Northeast and in the Amazon that neocolonialist practices meet forms of resistance that resonate with Marxist ideology's criticisms of the exploitation of the minorities. This is clear in *Seara Vermelha,* where references to the War of Canudos in the Northeast region of the country are scattered throughout the novel such that events of the past are mixed with present issues and the previous revolt of the *mestiços* in *sertão* is painted with Marxist revolutionary colors. As a portrayal of the *Intentona Comunista* of 1935, Amado's novel serves as a narrative embodiment of postulates of the National Liberation Alliance (ANL), the Brazilian Communist Party's popular front-style organization at the time. As Robert Levin explains, the "ANL portrayed itself as heirs to the Brazilian revolutionary tradition, claiming such precursors as Antônio Conselheiro, the martyr of the federal assault on Canudos in the early days of the Old Republic, and Lampião, the *cangaceiro* bandit leader" (79). Once again as in the previous chapter, the image of poet Castro Alves is attached to that of the *sertanejo* of Canudos, this time with the clear intention of establishing a genealogy of Brazilian socialist revolutionary thought from the combination of the two.

Amado's overlaps Castro Alves and Prestes in the epigraph of his book to clearly illuminate the intention of the Marxist intellectuals of the time to seek a genealogy of leftist thought in the abolitionist movement of the past. Although not made explicit, Amado's idea of bringing together Castro Alves's abolitionism, the rebellion of Canudos, and the new Marxist current growing in the country, followed a singular line of thought. This is especially true if we consider that the writers who influenced the anti-slavery movement in Brazil were pre-Marxist socialists themselves. That included the French poet, Eugène Sue, quoted in the very epigraph of Castro Alves's *Bandido Negro*. In bridging abolitionism and contemporary revolutionary thought, Buarque de Holanda's sociological work merges with the Amado's.

The same connection between abolitionist movements of the past and the revolutionary push of Amado's time is addressed in the chapter *Nossa Revolução* of *Raizes do Brazil.*[77] Both moments are perceived as instances when there is an impulse towards change that entails the end of the rural Iberian culture and the beginning of an *americanismo* marked by urban features in the country. This is because the abolitionist movement in Brazil gained momentum precisely after the intensification of criticisms from North American and Spanish American intellectuals, which cooccurred with foreign capital's pressures for urbanization and expansion of the consumer market. This pressure to diversify the economy of the country collided with the slave-based interesses of the agrarian plutocracy: "a Abolição representa, em realidade, o marco mais visível entre duas épocas. E efetivamente daí por diante estava melhor preparado o terreno para um novo sistema, com seu centro de gravidade não já nos domínios rurais, mas nos centros urbanos" (Buarque de Holanda 171-172). In the same manner, Bomfim defines slavery as that which delayed the development of industrialization and division of labors in South America. As he writes in *América Latina, males de origem*:

[77] Although Buarque de Holanda and Amado shared a similar understanding of how abolitionism and contemporary revolution were connected, Holanda did not believe in the classical view of the armed peasant uprising portrayed in *Seara Vermelha*. Instead, Buarque de Holanda believed that the revolution was a slow process that depended upon cultural changes which would shift the slave-owning mentality of the country.

> A escravidão na América do Sul foi a abjeção moral a degradação do trabalho, o embrutecimento e o aniquilamento do trabalhador; e foi também a viciação da produção, gerando males de efeitos extensíssimos, que teriam, todavia, desaparecido com o progredir normal das nacionalidades nascentes. [...] Aqui, os maus efeitos da escravidão se complicaram e se agravaram com as desastrosas conseqüências dos monopólios e privilégios (Bomfim 93).

Both Buarque de Holanda and Bomfim tie modernization to the revolutionary process of Brazil and all of South America. Which is not to say that they corresponded with each other, but rather that modernizing events such as the industrialization of the region were some of the steps that facilitated the abolition of slavery. In the same way, the desire for modernization as representative of the end of slavery is a symptom of the not-always-conscious revolutionary drive of the three brothers in *Seara Vermelha*. This comes through in the novel when we consider the kind of labor they endured on the farm: "São homens e mulheres que trabalham dia e noite, mourejam na enxada, cavoucam a terra, plantam e colhem, são semi-escravizados à fazenda, [...] mas nessa noite [de festa] não pensam em nada disso, em nenhuma tristeza, em nenhuma desgraça" (Amado 55). Even after abolition, farms across Brazil continued operating based on semi-slave labor: the workers lived on a plot of land on the farm that were not theirs and worked in the main fields unable to produce for themselves. Because of this inability to work enough on their own land in order to make some profit, the workers had to buy things from the *armazem* and remain in constant debt: "Se o armazem da fazenda, onde compram o que vestir, nao roubasse tanto, ele ate poderia juntar algum dinheirinho para atender a uma doenca ou a um ano ruim..."(Amado 12). It is what drives Jão, Zê and Nenem to abandon their home even before the eviction of their family.

As in most of the narratives that trace the saga of the peasants in the backlands of Brazil, the promise of a better future is always outside the scope of the farm. Thus, before departing on a journey away from the farm, Nenén ponders over the semi-slave situation in which he lived: "Quando partia pelas manhãs para a roça, a foice ao ombro, era como um escravo que levasse cadeia aos pés" (Amado 286). He believes that this social condition was a result of the *sertanejos'* inability to acquire land and inability to have any right over the crop they planted because at any moment the landowner could change the agreement what was agreed upon their settling. In this inner monologue where he equates the acquisition of land with freedom, Nenén reiterates the ideas in Prestes's speech in the epigraph of the book. When leaving the farm Nenén intended to join his brother Zé, who was now part of Lucas Alvoredo's group of *cangaceiros*, the outlaws of the Brazilian backlands. The idea of becoming a *cangaceiro* was especially attractive for Nenén, because the *cangaceiro*'s violent lifestyles—which especially targeted the rich men and women of the *sertão*—provided the means for Nenén to deal with the feelings of injustice he carried. However, he ends up entering the army, taking part on their revolution in the 1930s, and joining their leftist faction. During his participation in the revolution, Nenén still does not demonstrate signs of class consciousness, rather he feels a sense of injustice that is codify as through an anti-slavery discourse:

> Sentia-se contra a ordem estabelecida mas de maneira inconsciente e anárquica. Apesar de suas simpatias, embarcou satisfeito no navio que os levou para o Rio. Iam lutar contra os paulistas e o gosto da luta superou nele as vagas preferenciais pelos constitucionalistas. Ao demais haviam-lhe dito que eles iam lutar contra os italianos que queriam dominar o Brasil e escravizar os brasileiros (Amado 288).

In his reading of Ranaji Guha, Dabove explains that this impulse to search for an outlaw's life in the *cangaço* indicates an awareness that predates the class consciousness of certain characters in *Seara Vermelha* since those characters have "what Guha calls a 'negative consciousness,' a well-developed sense of a peasant's place in rural society and of the protocols, rituals, and symbols that regulate the peasantry's relationship to their social superiors" (216). Nenén's use of the jargon of slavery to explain the oppression he felt is only solidified as a systemic issue for him after he enters in the military school in São Paulo. It is in the city that Nenén begins his training in leftist thinking through reading books on the subject and getting involved in the urban mobilizations that were shaping the political life of the country:

> Durante toda a sua infância e adolescência, na roça, aquele nome de São Paulo ressoara em seus ouvidos como uma palavra magica. Alí havia riquezas sem contar, um mundo imensamente maior. Na Policia militar, com um afinco que admirava os superiores, ele se dedicara ao estudo primário e lia e escrevia corretamente, passara na frente de muitos outros que haviam começado primeiro [...] Aquela sua instintiva revolta não desaparecera, agora sabia de certas coisas, vivia sempre metido na eterna conspiração de cabos e sargentos de cada batalhão (Amado 288).

In this respect, the gap in Nenén's class consciousness is filled precisely in the city after a formal education and constant contact with the political life of the country. It is only after his politicization that Nenén understands of how slavery connected to the exploitation of labor in the growing capitalist society of the time—one that was not yet completely divorced from the rural culture of personalism. Therefore, it is only in the urban space that Nenén understands that the greatest landowner—a different kind of bandit who also used his personal police to maintain power—is the State. In this respect, Buarque de Holanda's *americanismo* is part of the formation of the *sertanejo's* class consciousness.

Unlike his brother Nenén, Zé Trevoada never truly achieves class consciousness. Remaining in the *sertão* and pursuing the life of a *cangaciero*, he still carries the feelings of injustice from life on the farm. As a typical *sertanejo*, who entered the world of banditry to defend his honor through revenge, Zé Trevoada decides to attack the farm of Aureliano after learning about how Aureliano expelled his family from the farm on which he used to live. The same was true for his fellow bandit and leader of the *cangaceiros,* Lucas Alvoredo, who Zé convinces to aid him in the attack. Like Zé Trevoada, Lucas Arvoredo sought the *cangaço* as a way of restoring his honor after the death of his father. Thus, when Zé Trevoada approaches him with the idea of attacking Aureliano's farm, he immediately agrees:

> —O que e que Zé tem?
> —Sei lá que bicho mordeu ele... Tá cum cara de morte... —O que e que tu tem?
> Zé Trevoada levantou a cabeça:
> —Quero saber se tu pode me atender um pedido...
> —E só tu falar...
> —Diz que mandaro minha gente embora das terra deles. Meu pai minha mãe, meus tios também. Tudo que era vivente que tinha terra na fazenda, aquele tocador era de la, botaro ele pra fora também. Diz que minha gente desceu pra São Paulo, tá morrendo tudo pelo caminho. . . Tu sabe que esses fragelado num chega nem metade em Juazeiro...
> —Que e que tu quer?
> —Ir na fazenda, pegar o dono, o tal que comprou e mais o capataz. Dero um tiro nele mas não matou...

—Tua tia tá lá?
—Tocaro cum ela também. Mas diz que já morreu no caminho, diz que não tá mais cum eles, só resta cinco...
—Tocaro cum ela? Num devia ter feito...
—E eles se importa?
—Nois sai amanha. Discansa hoje que e pra poder andar bem depressa. Cum dez dias nois tá por lá se num acuntecer maleficio nenhum... E mio tu drumir, tá decidido... (Amado 165).

The expedition almost killed the landowner and reduced his farm to ashes. However, the attack on Aureliano's farm was part of a desire for internal solidarity within the gang and not a class-oriented move since such as the one lead by Nenén. Lucas and Zé themselves both worked as subordinates for different landowners. As Dabove remarks, Lucas is incapable of recognizing an obvious contradiction within his actions, that Aureliano's expulsion of the peasants from the farm was "what he himself had done countless times before on behalf of the senator" (217). Nevertheless, he does perform the part of *justiçeiro* and gains cultural prestige by showing that the poor could fight back. As in Bomfim's epigraph, thus, Amado presents the reader with a picture of banditry in which peasants and landowners are on equal footing.

Amado was concerned with the issue of national identity and his work often tries to connect the banditry of the *cangaço* and the revolutionary purse, while also criticizing the banditry of the landowners and of the State. Like many of the Brazilian *modernistas* he defended the particularities of Brazilian identity such as that of the *cangaço*, while being critical of nationalist narratives that defended the State. Nevertheless, he was constantly in contact with communist Spanish American writers and clearly shared his ideas with them.

The link between revolution and abolitionism in Brazil—demonstrated throughout the novel and in Amado's connections with the work of Buarque de Holanda and Bomfim—was promoted by Amado outside of the country. This is noticeable in Pablo Neruda's book of poems on the continental history, *Canto General* (1950). Neruda was not only a friend but also the godfather of Amado's children, and the countless exchanges of letters between the two undoubtably explain the decision of the Chilean writer to include Castro Alves and Presets among Spanish American figures such as Jose Martí and Zapata in the session on the *libertadores*:

Once, in Bahia, women/ from the martyred district,/ from the ancient slave market/ (where today the new slavery—hunger,/ tatters, the sorrowful state—/lives on as before in the same land)/ […] That is why I see Prestes marching/ towards freedom towards the doors/ that in you, Brazil, seem closed,/ nailed shut to sorrow, impenetrable (Neruda 142).

Like Amado, Neruda understood the existing gap between revolutionary Brazilian intellectuals and the political imaginary of the country up until the year of the publication of his work. His poem thus stands in solidarity with Amado's attempt to create a mark in the history of the country—one that could be used retrospectively like figures such as José Martí, who was re-appropriated as an icon during the revolution of 1959. Neruda's language about Prestes clearly emphasizes the need to bring Brazil into the growing continental leftist front against capital's exploitation of minorities of color. In doing so, he etched Brazil into the map of a progressive Latin Americanism united more and more by a culture of labor that rejected the marks left by the Iberian culture. His relation with Amado strengthens Bomfim' view of slavery, already explored in the present chapter: "A escravidão na América do Sul foi a abjeção moral a degradação do

trabalho, o embrutecimento e o aniquilamento do trabalhador; e foi também a viciação da produção, gerando males de efeitos extensíssimos" (93). For the early modern sociologist, slavery was a problem of the Americas; it was a wound that left scars in the whole of the continent. In this respect, the suffering of the *sertanejo* could not be divorced from that of men and women who were also exploited in the coca field in Peru, or in the mines in Chile. If we can take anything from this anecdote describing Neruda's relation with Amado, it is that along with the modernist's internal nationalist criticism of marked Marxist tendencies, there was an active and conscious external push for solidarity coming from Spanish American intellectuals. Together, they utterly altered the future of the Brazilian essayistic approach to the relations between the countries of the region.

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Chapter 4 | *Sangue Latino e Alma Cativa*: Seeing, Singing, Feeling Latin-American through Contraculture's Film and Music Production (1964-1985)

When Ney Matogrosso first recorded *Sangue Latino* in 1973, Brazil was experiencing one of the worst moments of the military dictatorship that had been instituted in the country with the aid of the United States. The process, which started in 1964 and lasted until 1985, coincided with an effervescent moment of cultural production and social transformation. Despite the fierce repression instituted by the military regime after the declaration of Institutional Act Number Five (AI-5)—created in 1968 with the aim of suspending political demonstrations and controlling Brazilian press, music, theater, and film—Brazilian artists and intellectuals resisted in numerous ingenious ways. The moment was one of great disappointment with the utopian verve of the 1960s and called for a new way of articulating the idea of liberation.[78] On the one hand, the Cuban Revolution and its resistance to the imperial command of the United States provided an impetus for national artists and intellectuals who sought to free the country from the authoritarian regime backed up by the capitalist interests of Wall Street. On the other hand, the failure to implement the guerrilla tactics used by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in other and the increasing authoritarianism of Stalin's government exposed the shortcomings of orthodox Marxism and gave rise to the postmodern fall from utopianism. The conflicting nature of the global configuration of Marxism in the context of a capitalist-driven dictatorship in Brazil forced artists and intellectuals to create new forms of resistance that gave space to different aesthetics and questions regarding the truth behind the nature of revolutions and those who lead them.

Some members of the left challenged the traditional syndicalist organizational forms as well as the purism of the "Old Left". Through social and cultural upheavals of what Eric Zolov has called the long 1960s—which stretched from the late 1950s to the early 1970s—the New Left sought another way to contest the order of the current regime (48). Bypassing the dichotomy between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary movements, they avoided the armed struggles defended by the "Old Left" as the only option to overcome the dictatorial regime and engaged in countercultural practices. To varying degrees, Brazilian contracultural intellectuals and artists shared the goal of their North American counterparts to challenge prevailing social norms. However, their sources of Brazilian discontent were somewhat different, as they emerged in response to the patriarchal family structure, the morality enforced by the Catholic Church, the authoritarian government, and the failure of the Cuban Revolution to impact the country's armed insurgency.[79] Mendonça's song, which gives its name to the title of this chapter, concatenates the feelings of countercultural artists and intellectuals—known as *tropicália*—including their desire for rebelliousness and revolution in a post-utopic Brazil:

Rompi tratados traí os ritos
Quebrei a lança lancei no espaço
Um grito, um desabafo
E o que me importa é não estar vencido

[78] For more information on the utopian disenchantment of the 1960s in Latin America, see: Sorensen, Diana. *A Turbulent Decade Remembered: Scenes from the Latin American Sixties*. Stanford University Press, 2007.
[79] In Brazil, the feeling of disillusionment with the guerrilla tactics used by Cuban revolutionaries came from the assassination of Carlos Marighella in 1968 by the São Paulo police. Marighella was an iconic figure in the Brazilian resistance who maintained contact with Fidel's government during the military dictatorship.

Minha vida, meus mortos meus caminhos tortos
Meu sangue latino minh'alma cativa (*Sangue Latino,* Mendonça).

The images of breaking of treaties, screams, and outbursts allude to a feeling of suffocation experienced by the generation of artists who lived during the military dictatorship. Mendonça's song argues that hope is only present in the effort to survive and remember *meus mortos*, those who died for the same ideal of freedom that he and other artists like him held. This memory is stamped in the speaker's own identity: his *sangue latino e alma cativa,* or Latin blood and captive soul. It is evident that the binary of the nouns *sangue e alma* refers to the biological and transcendental characteristics of the song's persona. But the adjectives that define the speaker are not so clearly opposed; *latino* and *cativo* are by no means antonyms. When choosing to place these adjectives in opposition to one another, Mendonça implies that the persona's rebelliousness is in his *latinidade*. Manifested in the materiality of the singer's blood, this *latinidade* is more an instinct for survival in the face of a reality that represses and suffocates, than a thorough and premeditated expression. Thus, despite possessing a captive soul that does not make room for the imagery of an armed revolution like that envisioned by the orthodox Marxist left of the country, the persona of the song also embodies the desire for resistance in its Latin identity.

When commenting on the *latinidade* of the Brazilian countercultural movement known as *tropicália* in his article *Cultura e Política 1964-69*, Robert Schwarz writes:

> Aliás, cultivado a "latinoamericanidad"—em que tenuemente ressoa o caráter continental da revolução [Cubana]—o que no Brasil de fala portuguesa é raríssimo, os tropicalistas mostram que têm consciência do alcance de seu estilo. De fato, uma vez assimilado este seu modo de ver, o conjunto da América Latina *é* tropicalista. Por outro lado, a generalidade deste esquema é tal, que abraça todos os países do continente em todas as suas etapas históricas,—o que poderia parecer um defeito. O que dirá do Brasil de 64 uma fórmula igualmente aplicável, por exemplo, ao século XIX argentino? Contudo, porque o tropicalismo é *alegórico*, a falta de especificação não lhe é fatal (Schwarz 77-78).

For the critic, the *latinidade* of the *tropicália* is characterized by its ability to aggregate different countries and different time periods to give shape to an idea/concept. In other words, for Schwarz, the very conception of Latin America as a space imagined by *tropicália* does not follow an order, but exists only as a non-hierarchical, heterogeneous, multiplicitous, and acentered rhizome.[80] The patchwork fabric that composes the Brazilian countercultural movement is, in Schwarz's view, a reflection of its allegorical style which seeks a way to insert Brazil in the continental context through a multitude of images. This allegorical aspect of the *tropicália*—analyzed by Schwarz through a Benjaminian reading—gives the movement an inventory character where the documented materiality emerges only as "escolhos da história real" (Schwarz 78).[81]

Following Schwarz's analysis, Augusto de Campos argues for the *latinidade* of the *tropicália* in its particular musical strain: "Fundindo vários ritmos latino-americanos, inclusive a cumbia colombiana, Gilberto Gil, com a colaboração de Capinam, realizou esplendidamente um projeto acalentado por Caetano: o de criar uma música que integrasse toda a Latino-América, com sua problemática comum" (170). Thus, using the combination of rhythms present in the

[80] For more information, see: Deleuze, Gilles, and Guattari Félix. *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. University of Minnesota Press, 1983.
[81] For more on Walter Benjamin's concept of allegory, see: Benjamin, Walter, and Howard Eiland. *Origin of the German Trauerspiel*. Harvard University Press, 2019.

work of artists from the movement, Campos demonstrates the same allegorical aspect. In the midst of his analysis of the role of parody in the artistic production of the *tropicália,* Celso F. Favaretto also briefly mentions how the tendency of perceiving "toda América Latina as tropicalista, não chegou a desenvolvimentos maiores, permanecendo demasiado genérica a extensão de sua visada" (95-96). Without developing his argument around the issue, he explains that this generalization of *tropicália's latinidade* was due to the fact that the movement fails to address the historical diversity of Latin American countries as well as the "distância entre a colonização espanhola e a portuguêsa" (Ferreto 96).

Working against the grain of this argument regarding the generalization of the *tropicália's latinidade*, this chapter will explain how the use of a collage of fragmented history made by artists of this generation is not as random as perceived by Schwarz, Campos, and Favaretto; rather the compilation of historical allegories made by artists and intellectuals of the *tropicália* attempts to fulfill failed projects of the Brazilian left to popularize and establish more concrete ideological bases in the country as demonstrated in previous chapters. In the development of my argument, I start from the idea that the intellectuals and artists of Brazilian counterculture movements were able to tap into the "structures of feelings" of the national context, bringing out the "residual ideology" of the revolutionary past in already existing continental relations due to these artists' advantage of having experienced the development of an organized left in the country.[82] That is to say, the historical collage that made up the *latinidade* of *tropicália* often referred back to Brazilian past literary expressions that supported progressive revolutionary movements that only gained thrust nationally in their contemporary dialogue with the zingiest of the region. In this respect, artists and intellectuals from the time provided a different take on the historical differences between Brazil and Spanish America established in previous national essays, such as those by Eduardo Prado, Joaquim Nabuco, and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. We can see this not only in literary and cultural expressions, but also in essayistic works such as *América Latina: a pátria grande* (1986) by Darcy Ribeiro. With this in mind, I argue that just as the Cuban Revolution was a product of historical events unfolding in Cuba, the reason for its reverberation in Brazil in the form of a national acceptance of a Latin American identity was, likewise, a product of a national conversation that had been going on since the mid-nineteenth century. The Latin Americanism of the 60s and 70s in Brazil should not be seen as only a result of the popularity of the revolt organized by the guerrillas of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara among members of the left, as Schwarz and Campos sustain. Rather, its reverberations in songs such as *Sangue Latino* had their rebellious roots in the country's revolutionary Romanticism, which reemerges throughout the 20th century during moments of significant structural changes including the coexistence of the old and the new, and the meaning of civilization and barbarism.

Singing a Revolutionary Romanticism

> Na verdade, eu não tinha nada na cabeça a respeito do tropicalismo. Então a imprensa inaugurou aquilo tudo com o nome de tropicalismo. E a gente teve que aceitar, porque tava lá, de certa forma era aquilo mesmo, era coisa que a gente não podia negar. Afinal, não era nada que viesse desmentir ou negar a nossa condição de artista, nossa posição,

[82] For more information, see: Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford University Press, 1977.

> nosso pensamento, não era. Mas a gente é posta em certas engrenagens e tem que responder por elas ("História Da Música Popular Brasileira" 10).

It is thus that the singer and composer Gilberto Gil introduces the beginning of his musical production in an interview with Abril Cultural magazine in 1971. Gil's demonstrates a lack of aesthetic intentionality that was experienced by several artists and intellectuals of the time who—like the Bahian singer—internalized a certain critical but apparently noncommittal modern sensibility that mixed hippie behaviors and pop music with a revival of a Brazilian archaism known as "cafonismo". This cacophonous mixture of the local and the universal, the new and the old created a subtle mockery of the authoritarian and patriarchal structures of Brazilian society, which resonated with students, activists, and intellectuals from the left who actively disagreed with the contemporary military regime. Influenced by the new international rhythms being heard more and more around the country, Brazilian artists were confronted with the musical standards established by national festivals, such as the one that debuted Gil and Caetano Veloso onto the Brazilian national scene in 1967. In this way, the beginning of the musical bent of the Brazilian counterculture movement was rather a response to the desire to express itself in a modern way that contradicted the national standards of the time than a thought-out aesthetic project. It was the artistic outcome of a new turn in the musical sphere, one which brought out old but also contemporary discussions on colonialism.

In *Uma literatura nos trópicos*, Silviano Santiago discusses the tension "entre o civilizado e o colonizado bárbaro, (...) entre a Europa e o Mundo Novo, etc." (Santiago 10). Premising his argument on the idea that the victory of Europeans in the New World occured through the violent imposition of ideology, Silviano explains his view of Latin America as a simulacrum that wants to be more similar to the original, when in fact its originality is not found in the European model but in the country's origins erased by the conquerors: "A maior contribuição da América Latina para a cultura ocidental vem da destruição sistemática dos conceitos de unidade e de pureza" (Santiago 16). That is to say, the search of Latin American literature and cultural production for the history of minorities effaced by the imposition of European ideology forced them to combine old and new in order to encompass the whole of the encounter/colonization and separation/independence of the two worlds. Thus, without explaining in an imperative way, Silviano defines a certain sense of Latin American unity through the attempt to overcome the colonial trauma that, for centuries, has affected the region as a whole, leaving marks on its hybrid cultural and literary productions. In a similar manner, the artists of the *tropicália* combined the Brazilian past and present with the past and present of other countries in the region in an organic and less codified way, especially emphasizing historic moments during which their independentist and revolutionary Romanticism emerged.

Leaving aside the differences between Lusitanian and Spanish colonialism established in past national essays, José Carlos Capinan and Gilberto Gil wrote *Soy loco por ti, America* at the request of Caetano Veloso. The song, which brings back the Romantic figure of the independentist leader and poet who inspired the Cuban Revolution, José Martí, combines Portuguese and Spanish in a mixture of the Brazilian northeastern *baião* and Cuban *rumba,*: "Soy loco por ti, América/ Yo voy a traer una mujer playera/ Que su nombre sea Martí/ Que su nombre sea Martí..." ("Soy Loco Por Ti America" Gil and Capinan). The change of genre combined with the decision to reference to Martí reflects the need for Brazilian artists to avoid mentioning the socialist uprising in the neighboring country due to government censorship at the time. Thus, when introduced to the unnamed "hombre muerto" ("Soy Loco Por Ti America" Gil and Capinan) who represents the people, we are led to believe that he is Martí.

However, as Veloso later mentions in an interview with the newspaper *Globo*, the "hombre muerto" is actually Che, who died a year prior to the song's writing in 1967: "Dei essa frase a Gil e Capinan, pedi que fosse uma homenagem a Guevara [...] Como na época não podíamos botar o nome dele, já que a Censura iria vetar, usamos a frase 'el nombre del hombre muerto'" ("Caetano Fala" Veloso). In this respect, references to the past revolutionary romanticism in the songs of the *tropoicália* appear to be tactics to address present issues and criticize the government while circumventing the artistic censorship of the time. The use of characters from Spanish American Romanticism such as Martí to reference a present-day revolutionary spirit on the continent was accompanied by references to similarly important historical Brazilian figures. In *Sugar Cane Fields Forever* and *Um frevo novo,* Veloso respectively mentions to two of the most prominent poets of the Brazilian revolutionary Romantic school of *condoreirismo*: Joaquim de Sousândrade and Antônio de Castro Alves.

As I discuss in Chapter One, in *O povo ao poder* (1864), Castro Alves calls for the people to congregate in the public square in order to protest against the authoritarianism of the moderate power exerted by Dom Pedro II, while alluding to the implementation of a democratic system:

A praça! A praça é do povo
Como o céu é do condor
É o antro onde a liberdade
Cria águias em seu calor.
Senhor!... pois quereis a praça?
Desgraçada a populaça
Só tem a rua de seu...
Ninguém vos rouba os castelos
Tendes palácios tão belos...
Deixai a terra ao Anteu (Castro Alves, 504).

While juxtaposing the images of Castro Alves's poem with contemporary elements in *Um frevo novo* (1977), Veloso demonstrates a desire for the return of the right to assemble and exercise democracy in public spaces, which was prohibited during the military dictatorship in Brazil:

A praça Castro Alves é do povo
como o céu é do avião
um frevo novo, eu peço um frevo novo
todo mundo na praça
e muita gente sem graça no salão
Mete o cotovelo e vai abrindo o caminho
Pegue no meu cabelo pra não se perder e terminar sozinho
O tempo passa mas, na raça eu chego lá
É aqui nessa praça que tudo vai ter de pintar ("Um Frevo Novo" Veloso).

The encounter between new and old sentiments regarding the desire for public demonstrations is clear in Veloso's parody of Castro Alves's poem. In the sky, an airplane hovers in the place of the condor. Furthermore, Castro Alves was historically important for creating the imaginary of the plaza as a democratic space in Brazil, but in Veloso song, the plaza is no longer any plaza but specifically the plaza in which the bronze statue of the poet stands: Castro Alves plaza. In the same manner, the new *frevo* referred in the song was popularized after the creation of the street carnival in Salvador in the 1950s. Traditionally not a rhythm of the city of Salvador, the new *frevo* was accompanied by an electric guitar, mixing the old traditional marching band rhythm with rock instruments. Its creators, Adolfo Antônio Nascimento (Dodô) and Osmar Álves de

Macêdo, were also the inventers of the *trio elétrico*, a float equipped with high-power sound system that promoted a more democratic form of carnival in Salvador. Dodô and Osmar expanded the street carnival of Salvador and made it more popular than the *carnaval de salão*, private spaces only accessed by the elite of the city.

The increase in the popularity of a more democratic form of carnival accompanied by the rhythm of an electric *frevo* increased the mingling of different classes. The plaza of the poet, constructed in 1922 and situated along the route of the street carnival in Salvador, also held a historically democratizing force. Castro Alves Plaza has always been a space for politics, where demonstrations of protest organized by students and intellectuals started. Thus, Veloso expresses the desire to exercise democracy in public spaces while also drawing attention to the antiquate and anti-democratic elitism of the *carnaval de salão.* His technique relies on evoking Castro Alves's revindication of the democratic place of the plaza in contemporary times, along with referencing a modern, inclusive form of carnival.

The time period Veloso was writing the song was analogous to the emergence of the abolitionist movement and the republican party in the country during the last decades of the nineteenth century in Brazil. During that time there were many humorous caricatures in newspapers and plenty of political gatherings focused on overcoming the Imperial power supported by the landowning class and also seeking measures to implement a democratic political system. Hence the return of revolutionary Romanticism during the 1960s and 1970s was one that, according to Michael Löwy, manifested itself in the "experiência da revolução como festa, nas palavras de ordem irônicas e poéticas pintadas nos muros, no apelo à imaginação e à criatividade coletivas como imperativo político, em fim, na utopia de uma sociedade liberada de toda alienação e reificação" (204). Thus, together with the discourse on political freedom and its connection with democracy, issues of racial prejudice, and with them the narrative of slavery, began to be revisited within Brazil.

After the 1964 coup, the national-popular discourse—especially the ideal of racial democracy and the vision of a democratically-integrated and mestizo people promoted by the sociologist Gilberto Freyre—was appropriated by the conservative right and instrumentalized within the state apparatus for the purposes of political propaganda and the implementation of cultural policies that prevented contesting order and national unity. This co-optation of the discourse of miscegenation by the country's military government made some intellectuals on the left question the harmonious character of the classic founding narratives of cultural encounters such as that between masters and slaves present in Freyre's work. Thus, although it might seem paradoxical for 1960s countercultural thinkers to turn to the work of writers from the imperial period who were averse to reconciling master and slave, in fact it was a logical response to the authoritarian ideological cooptation of miscegenation as a national ideal.

A clear reference to *Strawberry Fields Forever* by The Beatles, the song *Sugar Cane Fields Forever* has Veloso and Sousândrade as authors in the album. Like Castro Alves, Sousândrade was among one of the few Romantic writers who depicted the clash between landowners and slaves during the second empire, defending the heroism of the inhabitants of the *quilombos,* a society of runaway slaves. In a passage of his epic poem *O Guesa*, he writes: "Oh! lá vão pelos montes perseguidos / Da liberdade os magicos heroes! / Ninguem lhes ouve a dor, que 'são bandidos' / Eia briosa! engrandecei!" (179).[83] The African culture of the *quilombola* communities mentioned by Sousândrade in his poem is presented by Veloso through a choir of

[83] In the same manner, Castro Alves wrote a poem and an incomplete play dedicated to *Palmares*, one of the first *quilombos* established in Brazil in 1605.

women singing traditional *sambas-de-roda* that depict black communities in Brazil. Alternating with the choir, we hear Veloso's voice repeating the words: Sou um mulato nato/ No sentido lato/ Mulato democrático do litoral ("Sugar Cane Fields Forever" Veloso). "Lato" means wide, dilated, or broad, while "nato" refers to the legitimacy granted from being born into a place (the coast of Bahia). The juxtaposition of the words "nato" and "lato" emphasize the local/regionalist and broad/universal character of the "mulato", while giving him the authenticity to detach himself from the original narrative of miscegenation promoted by Freyre in the early twentieth-century. Thus, the racial democracy Veloso attributes to himself as a *mulato nato no sentido lato* is different than that used by the state to justify its unity. By making himself—a recently exiled opposer of the government—an example of the mestizo integration of the Brazilian people, Veloso questions the cooptation of Freyre's discourse of racial democracy by the military state, while reminding the listener through the alternating choir that this idea is predicated on the integration of the black population into society.

In addition to dialoguing with Sousândrade's poetic themes, Veloso plays with the poet's experimentalism: the overlapping of information that—according to Allen Tate—"trata-se de um monólogo de muitas vozes" (Tate in Campos 56). In the musical composition, the experimental character of Veloso's work connects to the Beatles' song, regionalized through the substitution of "Strawberry" for "Sugar Cane". The choice of *Strawberry Fields Forever* to establish a bond with the British band is extremely rich. In every way, this is an absolutely unique song: lyrics, melody, arrangement, and form. In the song, an "appendix" that appears a few seconds after the apparent end of the performance, adds a psychedelic tone. This appendix is created with an early fade out, before the actual end of the track, when it is already in the instrumental section. The result is a short stretch in silence, followed by a short continuation, which in Veloso's work happens more than once during the transitions between the voices. With these techniques, Veloso creates an interesting resonance between the modern and the traditional that generates a comparative analysis between the *tropicalista* project and Brazilian *modernismo*.

As Veloso himself stated in his memoir, *Tropical Truth*, after an encounter with the Brazilian *concretista* poet, Haroldo de Campos: "The [*modernisatas'*] idea of cultural cannibalism fit the *tropicalistas* like a glove. We were 'eating' the Beatles and Jimi Hendrix" (156). But it was not just the rhythms of North American and British rock that were being "devoured" by the *tropicalistas*, since rhythms of Spanish American origin such as cumbia were visibly present in Veloso and Gil's music. This cannibalization of foreign elements so characteristic of the *modernista* movement was a reflection of increased social consumption at the time.

In the beginning of 1960, there was an emanant wave of positivity in relation to the country's political and economic life due to the acceleration of material development and the emergence of a leftist government that promised to make significant changes in education and land distribution. The construction of Brasilia, the arrival of television and other domestic appliances, and the commercialization of air travel all increased a feeling of speed and fragmentation during this time. Together with the experience of accelerating time, an increased emphasis on visual elements begged for a new aesthetic that would abolish traditional verse. At that time, the *concretista* movement emerged, created by Haroldo de Campos, Augusto de Campos, and Décio Pignatari. Like *modernismo* at the beginning of the twentieth century, concretism was an avant-garde movement that criticized capitalist society from within—that is—through its "digestion". *Tropicália* dialogued with both movements in this consummatory aspect, and thus borrowed certain aesthetic resources from them such as the synthetic overlaying of

fragmented voices and the influence of foreigner rock bands, as seen in *Sugar Cane Fields Forever*. The proximity between *modernismo* and *concretismo* was one of the reasons that literary critic Rachel Price considered both Sousândrade and Martí writers with "concrete" traits in her *The Object of the Atlantic*.

Sousândrade was considered an early modern writer by various Brazilian intellectuals of the 1970s due to a noticeable presence of satire and parody of the apolitical romanticism of the German-influenced *indianismo* in his work,[84] but he also made constant use of "permutations on a single word" (Price 93), a characteristic of the *concretista* aesthetic. Despite the confluence of *modernistas* and *concretistas* styles in Sousândrade's work, he is historically situated among the French-based Romantic movement known as *condorerismo*, the same movement in which Castro Alves participated. But how do we explain the appearance of Castro Alves alongside Sousândrade in the production of the *tropicália* given the seemingly different aesthetics of both writers?

For Price, in witnessing the change from empire to republic, Sousândrade and Euclides da Cunha both documented the change in the language of nationalism from one in which writing encodes the outward expression of interiority to one in which it reproduces the outward aspect of conflict, a shift "between sentimental to external architecture" (104). Within the aesthetic configuration that separates interiority romanticism from a more exterior/concrete writing, one might situate Castro Alves in the first form of national expression given his premature death and inability to see the implementation/sedimentation of the Republic in the turn of the century. However, if one is attentive to Castro Alves's epigraphic dialogues with the introspective decadents of the *ultromantismo,* it becomes evident that his exterior/concrete political interests connect his work to the aesthetic Price highlights in the oeuvres of Sousândrade and Da Cunha. Hence, their constant dialogue with the newspapers of the time.

As the Campos brothers have mentioned, Sousândrade's play with words of different languages related to how his work dialogued with national and international journalism—especially those headlines announcing the political and social convulsions of the time—communicating the "noções nervosas, quase telegráficas, extermamente sensíveis, e de uma sensibilidade moderníssima, capaz, por exemplo, de fundir num rápido *flash* os movimentos proletários da Comuna de Paris e das greves norte-americanas" (49). Castro Alves's poems such as *O século* (analyzed in the first chapter) also dialogues with the national and international press. This was also true for Martí, who overlapped on political commentary with Sousândrade as both wrote for newspapers in the United States around the same time.[85]

Moreno Fraginals draws attention to how these authors' consideration of the news reflected that "[i]n process of the conversion of competition into monopoly, characteristic of the final third of the nineteenth century, the monopoly of information is a component of a monopoly of market" (29). In addition to revealing the competition for a monopoly of market tendencies, the constant representation of debates in the newspapers reflects the sensitivity and intervention of the poets in relation to the political-economic shifts happening at the time. Hence, as was

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[84] In the words of Price, the Campos brothers "along with the literary critic Luiz Costa Lima, celebrated Sousândrade as a modernist before his time" (79). Sousândrade was perhaps the first to use satire in order to mock the German Romantic strand that gave rise to the apolitical, Pocahontas-like, *indianismo* in Brazil. Years later, the modernist manifesto, *manifesto antropófago*, would refer in its iconic motto, "Here our meal comes hopping", to the image of the German explorer Hans Staden—who in 1557 published a lurid account of his escape from being eaten alive by Tupinamba cannibals—to explain at once the demise and cannibalization of foreigner influence.

[85] For more information, see: Price, Rachel. *The Object of the Atlantic: Concrete Aesthetics in Cuba, Brazil, and Spain, 1868-1968*. Northwestern University Press, 2014.

argued in my first chapter, the temporality experienced by these poets in their expectation for the abolition of slavery and end of the monarchy was almost prophetic in its future-facing tendencies. A similar attention to what is to come affected the utopian verve of the mid to late 1960s when the *tropicália* movement emerged.

Alegria, Alegria, an iconic song of the time released on the album *Tropicália* and produced by Veloso in 1967, begins with a newscast-like vignette. The artifice immediately catches the audience's attention by evoking a feeling that something important is about to be announced, as if the music itself took part in the disputes between the monopoly of information. Later in the song, Veloso sings "O sol nas bancas de revista me enche de alegria e preguiça. Quem ler tanta notícia" ("Alegria, Alegria" Veloso). For a contemporary listener, the passage seems to completely denote the opposite of Veloso's interest in the news of the time, as he seems to describe a person strolling by newsstands brightened by "o sol", or the sun, happy but filled with too much laziness to read anything. However, for a crowd of boys in Rio at the time, that verse of *Alegria, Alegria* referenced *O Sol*, the newspaper that Reynaldo Jardim had just launched. This reading solves the problem of the apparently incoherent line about how the sun was broken up into crimes, presidents' faces, and so forth: "*O Sol* se reparte em crimes/ Espacionaves, guerrilhas/ Em cardinales bonitas [...] Em cara de presidentes/ Em grandes beijos de amor/ Em dentes, pernas, bandeiras/ Bomba e Brigitte Bardot" ("Alegria, Alegria" Veloso).

A school newspaper, *O Sol* was made by interns and headed by heavyweights like Reynaldo, Carlos Heitor Cony, Ana Arruda, Otto Maria Carpeaux, Zuenir Ventura, Martha Alencar, and collaborators like Nelson Rodrigues, Chico Buarque, and Ziraldo. Inevitably, it was short-lived, and only circulated for four or five months. Nevertheless, everyone who worked on it would become well-known. The content of the news varied from political messages to entertainment, but its composition as a whole was clearly inclined towards supporting the Brazilian left. Thus, a few months before the release of *Soy Loco Por Ti America* in the album *Tropicália*, one of the headlines taking up most of the first page of *O Sol* announces the possibility of Che being alive in bold letters.


SOL

CHE pode estar vivo

ENTRADA FRANCA PARA MENOR NA ESCOLA DO CRIME

AMERICA LATINA NA CORRIDA ARMAMENTISTA

Figure 4. Page of the newspaper *O Sol*

In addition to clearly dialoguing with the music recorded by Veloso and composed by Capinan and Gil, the speculation about Che's whereabouts demonstrates how the Latin American abolitionist and republican zeitgeist that affected the production of left-leaning intellectuals in Brazil during the 1960s and 1970s was similar to the one that had affected the *condoreristas*

Romantic poets, Sousândrade and Castro Alves, in the past. Thus, the predominant return of this Romantic current in the production of the *tropicália* was not random, it had its roots in the leftist political unconscious of Brazil's relation with its Spanish American neighbors.

The Hunger for a Latin America Within

While drawing on his impressions of the film *Terra em Transe* (1966) produced by Brazilian filmmaker Glauber Rocha, Veloso expressed the importance of that moment for his conception of the *Tropicália* movement: "As far as *tropicalismo* owes anything to my actions and ideas, the catalyst of the movement may be found in my experience of Glauber Rocha's *Terra em Transe* (Land in Anguish)" (*Tropical Truth* 57). In the Bahian composer's first impressions of *Terra em Transe*, we can already trace a clear point of contact between Rocha's movie and the *tropicalista* project: the need to unveil the "unconscious aspect of our reality" (Veloso 57). At the crux of our reality's unconscious, for Rocha, was an issue that went beyond national borders: hunger. Thus, from the beginning of *Estética da Fome*, a manifesto that questions the European point of view of South American Art, Rocha defines hunger as an aspect of Latin America:

> Dispensando a introdução informativa que se tem transformado na característica geral das discussões sobre a América Latina, prefiro situar as relações entre nossa cultura e a cultura civilizada em termos menos reduzidos que aqueles que, também, caracterizam a análise do observador europeu. Assim, enquanto a América Latina lamenta suas misérias gerais, o interlocutor estrangeiro cultiva o sabor dessas misérias, não como um sintoma trágico, mas apenas como um dado formal em seu campo de interesse ("Estética da Fome" 165).

Presented in Genova in 1965, Rocha's manifesto denounces European nostalgia for primitivism in its reading of South American Art. Right at the beginning of the narrative this becomes clear, as Rocha expresses an awareness of the classification—that emerged after the Second World War and was managed by so-called first world nations—of Brazil as an underdeveloped country.[86] In this classification, which once again brings back the discourse on civilization and barbarism, hunger is taken as one of the main attributes of the latter. Thus, clustered together with the underdeveloped bloc, Rocha's Brazil is both barbaric and Latin American.

Rocha's aesthetics of hunger were crafted around a broader debate around decolonization, and launched the idea of an aesthetic of violence as an expression—on the part of the colonized—to make their existence understood by the colonizer. A form of rebellion against the colonizer's exploitation, violence is—for Rocha—part of the process of awareness of the colonized: "violência antes de ser primitiva é revolucionária, eis o ponto inicial para que o colonizador compreenda a existência do colonizado: somente conscientizada sua possibilidade única, a violência, o colonizador pode compreender, pelo horror, a força da cultura que explora" (Rocha 169). Therefore, this innovation in *Cinema Novo*, of which Rocha was the leading figure, had as its objective the defense of a cinema that—as a product that emerged from the country's poverty—would be a call to arms for the young intellectuals from the left.

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[86] For more information, see: Bagchi, Amiya Kumar. *The Political Economy of Underdevelopment*. Univ. Press, 1993.

Veloso declares his empathy with poet Paulo Martins's feeling of anguish in *Terra em Transe*, and takes the task to resolve the character's dilemma upon himself: "When the poet in *Land in Anguish* declared a lack of faith in the liberating energy of 'the people,' I heard this not as an end to possibilities but rather as proclamation of what I needed to do" (*Tropical Truth* 67). The movie, which clearly places the question regarding the political role of the intellectual at the heart of the narrative, mixes Brazilian history with that of other countries in Latin America. In the introduction to the collection of Rocha's letters Ivana Bentes writes that, for the Brazilian filmmaker, "[o] transe é transição, passagem, devir e possessão" (26). That is to say that to enter into a *transe* one has to experiment and know the Other from within. This possession that allows for the knowledge of the Other—which in the case of the movie is the rural men of Brazil and Latin America—comes by evoking the African diaspora and the religion of *candomblé.* Hence, the image of the ocean and the sound of *iorubá* greetings to the *orixá* of the river *Ewá* that overlap in the first scenes of the film are followed by the captions: "Eldorado, país interior, Atlantico." Eldorado is precisely the mystical space hidden within Brazil, the Atlantic country. Within Eldorado, the (allegorical) political history of Brazil and Latin America merge in the flashback and long poetic narration by the poet and political journalist, Paulo Martins.

At the time, Rocha was conceptualizing *Terra em Transe* in 1966, he was trying to understand the "failure" of the political programs and reforms launched by the populist presidency of João Gular (Jango) in the beginning of 1964—a few months prior to the military coup d'état—that promised to open up the road for the growth of socialism in Brazil. According to Irma Viana, among some of the reforms launched by Jango and his intelectual collaborators such as Darcy Ribeiro "estavam a reforma agrária e a reforma universitária, cujo objetivo era provocar amplas transformações na estrutura social do país, privilegiando as classes menos abastadas" (162). Thus, in the face of the almost-guaranteed promises of social change made by Jango's bright new government, the coup orchestrated by the military came as a major disappointment for intellectuals of the time, who saw instantiation of Jango's government as political progress that was partially the result of the effort they had spent on past cultural projects.

How do we explain the failure of the left to secure a socialist government given the cultural projects implemented to support its existence? If there was a failure in the cultural project of the left, that meant that there had to be a significant shift in its aesthetic and interventions as a whole. Thus the great anguish that afflicted the poet Paulo Martins in *Terra in Transe* was an attempt to understand how culture, art, beauty, and the revolutionary dream could overcome reality: "Quando a beleza é superada pela realidade. Quando perdermos nossa pureza nestes jardins de males tropicais. Quando no meio de tantos anêmicos, respiramos o mesmo bafo de vermes em tantos poros animais" (Rocha). For Rocha, among one of the main problems of the Latin American left preceding the military coups was its alliance with populist candidates who did not have the courage to carry an armed revolution in order to protect the country from authoritarian regimes.[87] His disappointment with the left's support of populist governments is exposed right at the beginning of the film in a flashback of the left militant journalist and poet, Paulo Martins. In the movie, Vieira is a populist leader who shared ties with Martins. They make an alliance in order to elect Vieira, who eventually wins the presidency. However, Vieira's mandate is deferred by his opposer, the authoritarian leader Porfirio Diaz. In the scene, the poet

[87] For more information, see: Xavier, Ismail. *Alegorias Do Subdesenvolvimento: Cinema Novo, Tropicalismo, Cinema Marginal*. Ed. Brasiliense, 1993.

questions Vieira's decision to give in to Porfirio Diaz's threats and allowing for what would be the beginning of a dictatorial state, instead of fighting for the electoral results.

Much like in the work of nineteenth-century writers such as Castro Alves and Sousândrade, the political and cultural life of Spanish America is represented as allegorical fragments in the work of Rocha via Spanish names of characters, quotes of poems by writers such as the Argentine José Hernández, and references to political figures such as the Mexican dictator Porfirio Diaz. Through these images, Rocha places various references to Spanish America's past within Brazil.

Figure 5. Selected scenes of *Terra em Transe*

Porfirio Diaz is represented in *Terra em Transe* as a political figure with the desire for the absolute and he embodies the imperial origins of Brazil—his presidential election as a royal coronation, and he is constantly association with Catholic symbols such as the chalice, the cross, and the black inquisition flag. Diaz is framed as the origin story of the bourgeoisie class; the "rotten roots" to which Paulo Martins refers. Rocha's choice to use the Mexican dictator as a point of reference to dialogue with the imperial origins of the contemporary bourgeoisie class in Brazil also indicates his hope for the future of an organic peasant uprising in the country such as the Mexican revolution that ended Porfirio Diaz's government in 1910.

For Rocha, such an uprising could only occur if faith and hope were reinserted into the heart of society. However, the faith that gave rise to revolutions in the past was also responsible for the growth of fascism. As Bentes explained, "[p]ara fazer a Revolução ou instaurar o fascismo é preciso crer, paradoxo da modernidade que reduz a 'pós-modernidade' a uma questão decisiva: não se crê em mais nada, o que torna a Revolução inútil e o fascismo uma aberração" (31). But the return of a fascist state in Brazil after the coup of 1964 called for the return of a revolutionary faith. Hence, Paulo Martins's controversial statement intercalates with the static image of Sara directing herself to the camera and clearly talking about the tortures executed by the military state in Brazil at the time:

> Paulo: Mas eu recuso, a certeza, a lógica, o equilíbrio... Eu prefiro a loucura de Porfirio Diaz...
> Sara: Assim é tão fácio.
> Paulo: Fácil? Rompendo com tudo e com todos? Sacrificando as mais fundas ambições.
> Sara: O que sabe você das ambições? Eu queria me casar, ter filhos, como qualquer outra mulher. Eu fui lançada no coração do meu tempo. Eu levantei nas praças o meu primeiro cartaz. E eles vieram, fizeram fogo, amigos morreram, me prenderam. Me deixaram muitos dias em uma cela imunda, com ratos mortos e me deram choques elétricos. Me seviciaram e me libertaram com as marcas. E mesmo assim, eu levei meu segundo, terceiro, e sempre cartazes e panfletos, e nunca por orgulho. Era uma coisa maior, em

nome da lógica, dos meus sentimentos! E se for as ambições normais de uma mulher normal... De que outra ambição posso falar que não seja de felicidade entre pessoas solidárias e felizes?

Paulo: A fome do absoluto (Rocha).

In this scene, reality appears to pierce the fictional fabric affecting the poet and Sara. In this respect, Martins's desire for the irrational, the absolute, the madness of Porfirio Diaz, is more a manifestation of Rocha's opinion regarding the response of the pre-dictatorship government of the leftist João Gular, or Vieira in the movie. For Rocha, as well as for many other leftist intellectuals and artists of the time, João Gular should have used armed force to respond to the threats of the military instead of agreeing to sign a transferring of power like Vieira did at the end of the film. From a broader point of view, the discussion between the two characters revolves around the definition of love (the force for the revolution) as reason or madness, civilization or barbarism. For Sara, love is the only motivation for someone to continue to protest despite the desire for comfort, security, and peace: "Era uma coisa maior, em nome da lógica, dos meus sentimentos". For Paulo Martins, love is the madness that drives the force of the revolution and leads someone to persist in a cause by all means: "Me recuso a certeza, a lógica, ao equilíbrio".

Although displaying two sides of the same coin in the scene, "a *discordia concors*, a harmonious discord, a tension internal to a larger whole or truth" (Price 107), the definition of revolutionary love—for Rocha—seems to lay in the embrace and acceptance of madness, as he made clear in his essay *Eztetyka do Sonho* (1970): "A ruptura com os racionalismos colonizadores é a única saída. As vanguardas do pensamento não podem mais se dar ao sucesso inútil de responder à razão opressiva com a razão revolucionária. A revolução é a anti-razão que comunica as tensões e rebeliões do mais irracional de todos os fenômenos que é a pobreza" (Rocha). For Rocha, only the madness of love can rupture an imperialist force that is unable/unwilling to understand, through reason, the pain of those who are oppressed. Faith and violence are two forces capable of calling for revolutions and demonstrating indignation towards injustice, and these forces were present within the works of past abolitionist poets such as the Romantic *condoreiro* cited by the characters of the film:

Vieira: O país precisa de poetas. Dos bons poetas, revolucionários, como aqueles românticos do passado...

Paulo: Vozes que levantaram multidões...

Sara: A praça, a praça é do povo, como o céu é do condor...

Paulo: Faremos majestosos comícios nas praças de Alecrim (Rocha).

The longing for Romantic writers from the past followed by a quote from the Brazilian abolitionist poet's verses is not surprising, as Rocha himself "gostava de se comparar ao poeta Castro Alves, morto aos 24 anos e nascido na Bahia no mesmo dia que ele, 14 de março, e como ele um 'amante das antíteses e das hipérboles'" (Bentes in Rocha 21). Like other abolitionist Romantic writers of his time, Castro Alves depicted scenes of slavery where the impossibility to overcome the abyss of injustice stirred men into either the path of rebellion and vengeance or the search for divine righteousness, such as is seen in scenes of the *Navio Negreiro*:

Senhor Deus dos desgraçados!/ Dizei-me vós, Senhor Deus!/ Se é loucura... se é verdade/ Tanto horror perante os céus... [...]/ São os filhos do deserto/ Onde a terra esposa a luz./ Onde voa em campo aberto/ A tribo dos homens nus.../ São os guerreiros ousados,/ Que com os tigres mosqueados/ Combatem na solidão.../ Homens simples, fortes, bravos.../ Hoje míseros escravos/ Sem ar, sem luz, sem razão... (Castro Alves 97-98).

With this in mind, it is clear how Rocha's claim that one need's an irrational force—such as that expressed by Romantic *condoreiro* Castro Alves—to have a revolution comes into fruition. There is a Romantic pulse in Paulo Martins's defense of madness as the consciousness of injustice and disappointment with the loss of the revolutionary potency of faith: "A minha loucura é a minha consciência e a minha consciência está aqui no momento da verdade, na decisão da luta, mesmo na certeza da morte [...] Assim não é mais possível a ingenuidade da fé, a impotência da fé" (Rocha). For Manoel Barrós, one of the most prevalent features of *Terra em Transe* "es la cita de poeta" (34).

In the scene that precedes the recitation of Castro Alves's poem, while trying to convince Vieira to run against Porfirio Diaz for presidency in order to make a difference in the lives of communities in the countryside, Paulo Martins quotes *La vuelta de Martín Fierro* (1879) by the Argentine Romantic poet, José Hernández: "Es el pobre en su orfandad / de la fortuna de desecho / porque nadie toma a pechos / el defender a su raza; / debe el gaucho tener casa / escuela, iglesia y derechos" (Hernández in Rocha). Once again in a work of the *tropicália*, Brazilian revolutionary Romanticism is put in direct dialogue with its counterpart in Spanish America. In this case, it is the figure of the intellectual that becomes the vessel where this conversation is contained.

Interestingly, a few years after Brazilian intellectuals fled the dictatorship to live in other Latin American countries, the Uruguayan literary critic Angel Rama wrote his thesis on the power of reason and written discourse in the historical formation of Latin American societies, *La Ciudad Letrada* (1984). In his work, Rama integrates Brazil into his depiction of the development of the political life of Latin America, contradicting many previous Brazilian national essays. While writing about the modernizing role of the city in the development of the countryside, Rama mentions the anthropological work present in the narratives of Romantic writers of both regions. As an example, he uses Argentinian José Hernández's poem, recited by Paulo Martins in *Terra em Transe*: "in his prologue to *El gaucho Martín Fierro* (1872), José Hernández gives a detailed description of his research on the people and social customs that he depicted in his book" (Rama 62). Behind this reading of Martin Fierro as an anthropological text, is Rama's analysis of the position of the Romantic intellectual as a mediator of the subaltern's voice. Like Castro Alves, Hernández tries to intervene in the needs, sufferings, and misfortunes of men not previously represented in politics of the *polis*. Paulo Martins uses the same Romantic resources in his appeal for aid addressing the hunger of the rural men, but realizes that his speech is unable to change the direction of the political life, proving that revolutionary reason did not help politicians understand the misery of those in need. Hence the crisis of the intellectual that leads him to seek—in the denial of reason—his own destruction: the suicide of Paulo Martins at the end of the film.

The aesthetics of hunger as anti-reason represents the intellectual's desire to completely blur his role as an intermediary voice between the mass and the *polis* by highlighting image of the subaltern in his work. This anti-reason and its connection to the subaltern is also a key element of *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol* (1964). Prior to the launch of *Terra em Transe*, *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol* already brought up Paulo Martins's belief in faith and violence as important elements in the concretization of a revolution under an authoritarian military state. In the film, Rocha deals with two forms of social contestation in the face of the authorities' negligence of the material conditions of the *sertanejos*' life. These two forces are religious *messianism* and the outlaw life in the *cangaço*, which respectively represent *Deus* and the *Diabo*. Although Rocha chooses to portray these two movements by borrowing Christian symbols based

on Manichaeism, he does not put the movements in direct confrontation. Instead, Rocha works with the two separately, one after the other, following the journey of Manuel and his entry into each one of the movements. However, Rocha's preference for the *cangaço* as a more effective form of rebellion against the local authorities is obvious. The film explores the negative side of messianism through a series of atonements that Sebastião asks Manuel to complete, and through the superhuman promises of a more comfortable existence he makes to a population saturated with suffering. At the end, the spectator comes to the conclusion that walking on his knees and sacrificing newborns will, in no way, change the material reality that condemns an entire population. In this respect, the public is pushed towards a historical materialist reading where the supernatural prevents the oppressed from being fully aware of their oppression, an idea which is reiterated in the soundtrack of the movie: "A terra é do homem, não é de Deus nem do Diabo" (Rocha).

For Rocha, despite being—like religion—a symptom of injustice and social inequality, violence has the transformational potential that religion lacks.[88] It is for this reason that he defended a Latin American aesthetic of hunger as an engine of revolutionary violence in the early stages of his career: "A fome latina, por isso, não é somente um sistema alarmante: é o nervo da sua própria sociedade […] o comportamento exato de um faminto é a violência" (Rocha 167-169).[89] Based on Rocha's understanding of violence, I argue Paulo Martins' desire for an armed revolution capable of shifting reality is comparable to the feeling of the *sertanejo* in *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol.* That is to say, the utopian revolutionary Romanticism of Latin American intellectuals portrayed in *Terra em Transe* was perceived as latent in the Brazilian *sertão* during the 1960s and 1970s.

According to Ismail Xavier, *Terra em Transe* drew and expanded on the reflection of a "hipotético ponto futuro que em *Deus e o diabo* [1963-64], havia pensado numa tonalidade distinta" (11). Both films were clearly linked when we consider their beginnings and ends: while *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol* starts in the *sertão* and ends with the image of the ocean, *Terra em Transe* starts with the image of the ocean and ends with the death of Paulo Martins in the *sertão*. The constant shift between the two spaces in Rocha's work symbolically represents the connection/tension between the cities on the coast of Brazil and the countryside, civilization of the *letrado* and barbarism of the mass.

Rocha's work resonates with the chronicle by Machado de Assis of the War of Canudos that I presented in the second chapter of this dissertation as both defend the need of the intellectual to re-signify the violence and barbarism of the *sertanejo*—claiming the reigon contains a continental Romantic revolutionary force desired by the *letrado*. Assis's chronicle in favor of hinterland pirates who crossed the not-so-peaceful ocean of the *sertão* stands out in his journalistic work. The author's protest of the persecution of the *sertanejos* of Canudos became a historical document marked Victor Hugo's *Chanson de Pirates* (1828), the poem which gave its name to the piece. As I argued in my second chapter, during the time Assis was writing, the bad practices of the newly implemented Republic in Brazil led some intellectuals to imagine the spirit of the country as monarchic while crafting a portrayal of Spanish America as a republican

[88] Here is clear how Rocha's reading of violence falls under a Marxist understanding of religion as a surface which signals a deeper social problem.

[89] It is worth noticing that Rocha chanted his view in *Eztetyka do Sonho* regarding the potential for change in the mysticism of religion, making especial remarks to its presence in the "raízes índias e negras do povo latino-americano" (Rocha).

barbaric Other. Around the same time, the Brazilian republican government counterbalanced this narrative by creating a monarchic Other in the image of the *sertanejos* living in Canudos.

Assis's choice to use a poem by Hugo disconnects of the image of the *sertanejo* from the idea of monarchy and barbarism promoted by the newly implemented Republic, while asserting how a true, positive revolutionary Spanish American republicanism still lingered in Brazil's *sertão*. An icon of the republican movements that emerged first in Spanish America and later in Brazil during the nineteenth-century, Hugo was a point of reference for the Romantic poets presented in *Terra em Transe:* Castro Alves and José Hernández. In Brazil, Hugo became associated with the *condoreiro's* Romantic school, and was admired by many contemporary republican figures in Brazil such as the writer of one of the most famous accounts on the War of Canudos, Euclides da Cunha.

Before they could be considered barbarians, Hugo's pirates were responding to the imposition of Christian values that did not correspond with their view of the world: "Nous emmenions en esclavage/Cent chrétiens, pêcheurs de corail;/ Nous recrutions pour le sérail/ Dans tous les moûtiers du rivage./ En mer, les hardis écumeurs !/ Nous allions de Fez à Catane.../ Dans la galère capitane/ Nous étions quatre-vingts rameurs" (277-278). In doing so, these pirates questioned the naturalization of the link between civilization, and "lack of violence" in Christian morality. Machado's choice to use a poem by a republican icon such as Hugo in order to write about the men of Canudos puts in question the barbaric nature of the *sertanejos'* monarchism by exposing the very barbaric nature of revolutions such as that which gave way to the rise of republicanism in Spanish America.

In the same manner, the fictional Latin American poet, Paulo Martins, and the *sertanejos* in Rocha's films question the civilizing narrative condemning violence in the rational discourse of the left and the right; a narrative that ultimately prevents people from defending themselves against exploitation and stops revolutions from taking place. Furthermore, the very correlation between the ocean and the *sertão* made by Rocha in both movies resonates with Assis's association between the *sertanejo* and the pirates in Hugo's poem. This connection demonstrates how the French Romantic revolutionary current that had influenced republican movements in Brazil and Spanish America and lingered in the *sertão* after the implementation of the first Republic at the end of the nineteenth-century could still be found in the hinterlands of the country during the 1960s and 1970s.[90] However, in Rocha's Latino Americanization of hunger, in his consciousness of the underdevelopment of the region, the true utopian republicanism of the Romantics that had influenced Brazil and Spanish America in the past became a Marxist craving to fill up the vast emptiness of the *sertão* with dreamed tempests.

Nationalizing a Latinamericanist Feeling

In an interview published in full by the magazine *Horizontes Antropológicos*, Darcy Ribeiro gives a detailed account of his career as an ethnographer, anthropologist, activist, writer, and political figure prior to and during the dictatorship in Brazil. In one of his numerous anecdotes, he explains the reason that led him to take a more active stand in relation to his object of study within the academic field. The initiative came from a meeting with the French anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss. Ribeiro reports that, during the meeting, he asked Lévi-

[90] Here it is important to mention the connection between José Martí, Sousândrade and Euclides da Cunha made by Rachal Price vis-à-vis her reading of their work through the lenses of the concrete movement of the 1960s and 1970s in Brazil. Without naming the *condoreiro* school's connection to the *sertão* or defining its Latin Americanization, Price work lays itself in the clear connation that exists among them.

Strauss for his opinion on his book *O Processo Civilizatório* (1968). The answer (a simple "it interested me") was followed by a comment that drew more attention to Ribeiro's ethnographic work than his interpretation of the material collected. Lévi-Strauss's statement prompted Ribeiro to inquire: "'Então tá, eu sou o coletor de material de campo e você faz a interpretação teórica [?]'" (Ribeiro 177). To which Lévis-Strauss replied: "'Não, a minha obra teórica não vai durar vinte anos, nem a sua, mas a etnografia vai, porque todos os bons registros do século passado são sempre reeditados'" (Ribeiro 177). In the French anthropologist's reply, the reason for the *tropicália's* critique of the Orientalism of the European intellectuals is clear. Loaded with a certainty of the cultural death of an indigenous community, Lévis-Strauss recognizes that the Ribeiro's work's value for posterity is the ethnographic record. This awareness, however, did not lead Lévis-Strauss to take a stand in defense of the indigenous communities he studied. In the face of this lack of effort on the part of the French anthropologist to help the Brazilian indigenous tribes, Rocha's criticism in *Uma Estética da Fome* (1965) is fitting, as it draws attention to of the fact that Europeans were only interest in the work produced by Latin American intellectuals and artists when it satisfied their nostalgia for primitivism (166). That is to say, Latin American intellectual work was only valued when its production re-affirmed the status of Europe as the zenith of the contemporary civilized world.

Like the crisis of the Latin American poet in Rocha's *Terra em Transe*, Ribeiro questioned his position as an intellectual in relation to the minority with whom he interacted and represented. The suffering of native men and women—who experienced the poverty and misery derived from their forced entry into a civilization that was not prepared to receive them—could not find a home in the intellectual, rational realm that classified and quantified experiences but did little to promote change:

> Começou uma atitude mais profunda em mim de verificar que o etnólogo que vai ao encontro dos índios, vai ao encontro deles como quem vai ao encontro do primitivo, do arcaico e poucas vezes tem olhos para ver o índio presente, o destino dele. E eu comecei a ver que é muito mais explicativo para um grupo indígena, sua condição de distância, do que o grau de conservação de sua cultura (*Entrevista com Darcy Ribeiro* 177-178).

Ribeiro's account shows the colonialist attitude of the ethnographer who meets the Indian much more as an archaic fetishized artifact that will make his name and promote his career than a living individual who suffers under the violence of the civilizing process. His observation is based on reading the work of other anthropologists who make no mention to the fact that "o índio está sofrendo, que a terra foi tomada, que a filha dele foi roubada, que a mulher dele foi estuprada" (*Entrevista com Darcy Ribeiro* 178). Within this context, intellectual activity itself serves as exploration. For this reason, Ribeiro insisted on politics and activism as areas that are inherently part of intellectual activity. Despite recognizing that the arrival of civilization in certain parts of the country would be inevitable, Ribeiro was nevertheless concerned with how it would develop and change each community. Thus, most of his essayistic works focus on how the technological advancements of civilization affected native communities in the whole of Latin America, and the violence and poverty caused in the process.[91]

[91]After his exile in Uruguay in 1964, Ribeiro inaugurated a series of six books called Studies of Anthropology of Civilization, of which The Civilizing Process, The Americas and Civilization and The Brazilians are part, always looking for a new epistemology in these books that would complement the vision Marxism of the development of capital in the understanding of civilizational evolution in the Americas.

In *América Latina: a Pátria Grande* (1986),[92] one of his many essays that address the issue surrounding the position of Brazil in Latin America, Ribeiro ends with the following remarks about contemporary threats to humanity:

> A maior ameaça que pesa hoje sobre a humanidade—ameaça que, felizmente, não é fatal nem inevitável—é, pois, a de mergulhar mais ainda na penúria até a exaustão, numa era de fome e de estupidificação. Tudo isso apenas para que os povos ricos fruam a riqueza acumulada e reativem uma civilização obsoleta, sem causa, sem missão nem apetite senão o de enricar. Sua última grandeza será a de endurecer os corações e tapar os ouvidos para assistir, impávida, à humanidade morrer de fome [...] Aqui, na calota de baixo do planeta, ninguém engordará inútil, nem se suicidará de tédio (*América Latina: a Pátria Grande* 125).

Located within the last section of the book entitled *Irracionalidade Econômica*, Ribeiro's Latin Americanism is clearly linked to that of intellectuals from the Brazilian counterculture movement, Rocha being one of them .[93] However, during the time the book was published, Ribeiro had already witnessed the fall of the leftist utopia in 1968. Hence his disillusionment with a possible "revolução do pobre" (123) in this section contrasts with Rocha's vision in some of his films. Ribeiro's lack of belief in the possibility of a proletarian uprising, however, did not alter his romantic revolutionism as he actively continued participating in the political sphere of the country, promoting advancements in the fields of technology and education long after the end of the dictatorship in 1985. Furthermore, his disenchantment with a proletarian uprising did not shatter the opinion he shared with artists of the *tropicália* regarding the need to cement a Latin American identity in Brazil in order to aid in the halting of neo-colonial practices in the region. Hence Ribeiro's idealization of the *Memorial da América Latina,* designed by the architect Oscar Niemeyer, and constructed in the city of São Paulo in 1989, coincides with the ends of the Cold War and of a socialist political front.

In most of his works, whether these predate or follow the utopianism of the 1960s, Ribeiro deconstructs a Brazilian tradition of national essays that extended from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century and challenges the supranational tradition of Spanish America. As Tracy Devine Guzmán points out while comparatively analyzing the writings of nineteen-century Chilean intellectual, Francisco Bilbao, in political and theoretical terms, "o projeto ribeiriano da unificação regional navegou contra a corrente do dominante pensamento latino-americano fora [e dentro] do Brasil" (8). One of the first Brazilian essayists to consistently insist on the inclusion of Brazil as part of Latin America, Ribeiro was heavily influenced by the Bolivarian Pan-Americanism that circled the region after the period of independences in the early nineteenth century. [94] According to Guzmán, this Bolivarian resurgence was cultivated in the 1960s and 1970s by "intelectuais dos dois lados da fronteira linguistica" (9), who aimed to foster not only a political union but also "um projeto compartilhado de construir uma nova consciência histórica, a qual seria formada e divulgada

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[92] Although published in 1986, the book was written in the midst of the dictatorship. In the preface, Eric Nepomuceno explains that most of the texts in *América Latina: a Pátria Grande* were originally published "nos meados dos anos 1970" (13).

[93] The title of this section is a clear reference to the work of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, who was Ribeiro's mentor during the time he graduated in sociology at the University of São Paulo (USP).

[94] It is important to recognize that—although there is an association between Pan-Americanism and the political presence of the United States in the region—Ribeiro's conception of Pan-Americanism as a movement towards economic, military, political, and social cooperation is, like Bolívar's, more in tune with Martí's and Rodó's Latin-Americanism.

principalmente através do aparato educativo estatal" (9). This means that there was an active attempt to reinscribe Brazil as part of a collective imaginary of Latin America by departing from the moment in which it was shattered: the independentist period and the formation of the Brazilian Empire in contrast with the Spanish American Republics. The *condoreiro* Romantic school pursued the same objective, and attempted to remind the population of the failed republican revolutions of the past while living under the Imperial government of Don Pedro II in the mid nineteenth-century in Brazil.[95]

Still in *América Latina: a Pátria Grande,* Ribeiro writes: "Bolívar, lutando para tirar a América Latina do jugo espanhol, se perguntava que povo era aquele que se libertava" (67). In the context of the expansion of a neoliberal economy that emerged during the dictatorship, Ribeiro's emphasis on Bolivar's questions about what differentiates the newly formed Spanish-speaking nations in the Americas from European colonizers is fitting as it fostered the construction of cultural markers which would aid in the political independence of the region. As a question that takes into account cultural and ethnic aspects derived from the complex encounter between the different peoples in the Americas, the Bolivarian identity search posed by Ribeiro runs against the fragmentation of the region based on national borders. That is to say, his Bolivarian approach opposes a great part of the essayistic tradition of Brazil which emphasizes the difference between the nineteenth-century political history of the country and that of neighboring Spanish America

Ribeiro ventures into the analysis of elements which approximate and distance the countries of the region by beginning *América Latina: a Pátria Grande* by questioning the existence of a Latin America and subsequently answering that "[n]ão há dúvida que sim." At first, he defines Latin America as an archipelago of islands that communicate by sea and air. By doing this, Ribeiro deconstructs the binary that separates Luso-America from the Spanish-American unity established by essayist writers from both regions. This deconstruction favors the inclusion of Brazil as a component of the Latin American archipelago:

> Cada uma delas se relacionava diretamente com a metrópole colonial. Ainda hoje, nós, latino-americanos, vivemos como se fôssemos um arquipélago de ilhas que se comunicam por mar e pelo ar e que com mais frequência se voltam para fora, para os grandes centros econômicos mundiais, do que para dentro (*América Latina: a Pátria Grande* 3).

This deconstruction happens because, Ribeiro considers not only Portuguese and Spanish speakers as *latinos*, as writers before him, but French speakers as well. For Ribeiro, the binomial Luso-America and Spanish-America would be part of a smaller scale: that of Iberian peoples. This nuance in the epistemological understanding of the formation of the continent becomes extremely important to offering a different perspective than that of the essayistic tradition about the formation of Latin America as a Spanish-speaking cultural and political block that is separate from Brazil. [96]

In another subnational and provincial perspective, Ribeiro further fragments the mosaic of Latin America. Through this gaze, he takes into account both the diversity of European influence, and the diversity of cultures formed within the region after the colonization. To arrive

[95] I discuss this particular point in detail in the first chapter of this manuscript.

[96] Keep in mind that, during the beginning of the twentieth century, these classifications were still being thought out in the country, as Brazilian intellectuals were becoming more and more familiarized with the essayistic tradition of Spanish American intellectuals. One of the examples is the clear reference to *Ariel* (1900) by José Enrique Rodó in the some of the works by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda.

at the analysis of the latter, he takes into account the incorporation of minority groups, in particular indigenous peoples. For Guzmán, unlike other Pan-American theorists "que teriam ignorado ou eliminado os 'índios' […], Ribeiro insistiu que as culturas e sociedades autóctones poderiam e deveriam constituir um componente importante e vital da nova Pátria Grande" (4). He created a way of dividing the region based on a configuration of the new population that emerged from the encounter between colonizers and indigenous peoples: *povos testemunos, povos transplantados,* and *povos novos.* It is worth remembering that this division thought out by Ribeiro was part of his Marxist historic materialist approach to the economic development of Latin America. For Ribeiro, Marx's view on the development of capital (its slow transition from a feudal economy) could not be accurately translated to the Latin America reality. Thus, he attempted to understand the different civilizational processes that took places within the continent.[97]

In Ribeiro's classification, while the *povos testemunhos*—derived from the great Inca and Mayan civilizations and located in the Andean region, in Central America, and Mexico—carry within themselves two original traditions without being able to merge them, the *povos transplantados* preserve a predominantly European profile. The *povos novos*—among them Colombia, Venesuela and Brazil—correspond to a group that has no past to look up to and that live for the future. In general terms, they are made up of the confluence of "índios tribais, negros escravos e brancos ibéricos aliciados nas plantações tropicais […] que deram lugar a um ente étnico inteiramente novo, profundamente diferenciado de suas três matrizes e que ainda anda em busca de sua identidade" (Ribeiro 68). In this political division of Latin America—which mainly takes into account the formation of minority groups, such as the indigenous population, in their encounter with the colonizer—the influence of the Brazilian regionalist tradition is latent, an influence which predominated during Ribeiro's academic training in the mid-twentieth century and continued to be present in the work of contemporary artists from *tropicália* such as Gil, Veloso, and Rocha.

Hence Ribeiro's emphasis on the unification of religion as a product of the "homogenização que engloba mais de 90% dos latino-americanos" (9). But this is not a passive homogenization, like that envisioned by Gilberto Freyre years earlier:

> A que se deve esse poder unificador? […] A explicação está, talvez, nas características distintivas do próprio processo de formação dos nossos povos, que são sua intencionalidade, sua prosperidade e sua violência. Aqui, a metrópole colonialista teve um projeto explícito e metas muito claras, atuando da forma mais despótica. Conseguiu, quase de imediato, subjugar a sociedade preexistente, paralisar a cultura original e converter a população em uma força de trabalho submissa (Ribeiro 11).

For Ribiero, there is no civilizing project without violence. Likewise, there is no peaceful miscegenation. For this reason, the question that permeated his final work *O Povo Brasileiro* "Porque o Brasil ainda não deu certo?" (13) contrasted with the optimistic view of Freyre's account of why Brazil went down the right path. Thus, following the thought of the *tropicália* generation, who reviewed the country's social relations by returning to colonial issues such as Veloso in his *Sugar-cane Fields Forever*, Ribeiro sees the national formation as a process of imperial violence, the same violence that came back to afflict Brazil during the dictatorship. In making this claim in essayistic narratives, he nationalizes the Latin Americanism of Brazilian

[97] For more information, see: Benzi Grupioni, Luis Donizete, et al. "Entrevista Com Darcy Ribeiro." *Horizontes Antropológicos*, vol. 7, Nov. 1997, pp. 158–200.

artists and intellectuals of the time, incorporating the romantic revolutionism and its close connection to the national regionalism that propelled that zeitgeist.

Beside the clear influence that the Brazilian counterculture movement had in his political life and work, many critics view Ribeiro's integration of the country into Latin America as a result of his experience in exile. According to Haydée Ribeiro Coelho, during his exile in Uruguai between 1964 and 1968 Ribeiro "se reconhece como latino-americano" (212). Right after the military coup of 1964, Ribeiro left Rio Grande do Sul in a small plane in the direction of Buenos Aires. However, due to technical problems, he landed in the state of Salto, located 500 kilometers from Montevideo. The news of his presence in the country spread and Ribeiro was sought by local representatives who ask him the reason for his visit. Changing his plans of going to Argentina, Ribeiro tells them that he was seeking asylum in Uruguay. In the country, he led an active academic life. Ribeiro published in several Uruguyan periodicals such as *Marcha*, *Cuadernos de Marcha*, *Enciclopedia Uruguaya*, and *Víspara*, presented seminars, taught courses on his specialization at the Universidad de la República, and befriended intellectuals such as the literary critic Angel Rama, with whom he shared many intellectual exchanges, some documented in interviews such as that published under the title *Darcy Ribeiro: una generación brasileña* in the journal *Marcha* in 1964.[98]

Undoubtedly, much of Ribeiro's vision of Latin America came from his proximity to the culture of several countries in which he stayed. Ribeiro mainly concerned himself with Brazilian issues, but many of these were disseminated in Latin American countries as well. This dissemination made the connection between the regionalism in Ribeiro's conception of Latin America and that present in Rama's *Transculturación Narrativa en América Latina* visible. [99] Thus, although his presence in various countries of the region was important for the conception of Latin America in his work, Ribeiro's political and intellectual exchanges also had an impact on the work of his Spanish American counterparts who were also seeking the development of a stronger dialogue between Lusophone and Spanish-speaking regions of the continent, especially after the dictatorships that appeared later on in other countries of the region.

In a general sense, the Latin American dictatorships ended in the mid 1990s which explains a resistance towards the acceptance of the end of utopianism and romantic revolutionism by intellectuals committed to a Pan-American solidarity such as Ribeiro. Despite having conceptualized *América Latina: A Pátria Grande* years after the zenith of utopia verve, in the mid-1970s—when economic neo-liberalism was increasingly establishing itself and giving shape to post-modernity—Ribeiro could still be considered an utopian intellectual like Paulo Martins in *Terra em Transe*. In fact, given that Rocha's film allegorically portrays the conflict of the intellectual involved in the political life of Brazil during the transition from the populist governments of João Gular to the military dictatorship, Ribeiro would exemplify the Romantic intellectual in Rocha's film. Like the poet of *Terra em Transe*, Ribeiro participated in João Gular's government, having organized the projects for the agrarian and student reform that would have been implemented had it not been for the 1964 coup. This very engagement with the

[98] For more information, see: Rama, Angel. "Darcy Ribeiro: Una Generación Brasileña." *Marcha*, 29 May 1964, p. 31.

[99] According to Ribeiro Coelho, it is important to emphasize that "o enfoque do regionalism nos dois autores esteve presente na reflexão ocorrida nos seminários da Universidade de la República e permanecem em *As Américas e a civilização, Transculturación narrative en América Latina* e em *O povo brasileiro: A formação e o sentido do Brasil*" (222).

political life of the country was one of the romantic revolutionary traits Ribeiro carried with him past the end of years of the utopian verve in the 1960s.

According to João Paulo Aprigio Moreira, Ribeiro was one of the last representatives of a specific generation of Brazilian intellectuals who maintained a relationship with the country's political life:

> Muito embora Darcy Ribeiro tenha tido carreira docente, as contribuições de suas obras estão mais próximas de regras próprias de uma geração que não passou pelo processo de profissionalização da ciência, processo recente, parâmetro revelado também em sua obra ainda no tom ensaístico e circundando a temática de projetos nacionais, como de praxe à sua época de formação. A preocupação com o campo politico se torna mais relevante que questões teóricas discutidas dentro do próprio movimento de reprodução teórico disciplinar (Aprígio Moreira 2).

Although the post-modern end of the utopianism in the 1970s was followed by a transition of the intellectual role in society, moving from a strong participation in the State affairs to a more circumscribed role in academia with an increasingly discreet presence in public debates, Ribeiro remained a politically-involved intellectual in Brazil until the end of his life. This involvement was reflected in the essayistic style of his academic production, in which the past and future of the nation was thought out as part of a national project. By remaining linked to a past tradition that goes against the "mechanization" and loosing of social ties between the academic sphere and the political world, Ribeiro exposes how his revolutionary romanticism goes beyond the ideas explored in his books and essays, and became part of his beliefs in the place of education in the political life of the country. As Michael Lowy and Robert Sayre explain, the Romantics criticized the mechanization of modern institutions because for them, under this new order, a system becomes "artificial, 'inorgânico', 'geométrico', sem vida e sem alma" (62). For the Romantics, even the modern State "baseado no individualismo, na propriedade, no contrato e na administração burocrática racional, [se torna] uma instituição tão mecânica, fria e impessoal quanto uma fábrica" (Lowy and Sayre 63). Thus, Ribeiro not only followed a revolutionary romanticism through the adoption of Bolivarian Pan-Americanism that aimed at a unification of Latin America in his work, he did so as part of his political actions. Taking the place of the man in the public square—the one who stands between the *polis* and the masses—he incorporated the romantic spirit of the Brazilian *tropicália* and nationalized its Latin Americanism in the process. His actions had a great impact not only on the increase of cultural exchange between Brazil and Spanish America, but also on the creation of political initiatives such as that of the Mercosur (1991). Thus, the romantic spirit incorporated by this generation of artists and intellectuals could be none other than the *condoreirismo* that came from the French Romantic current, whose sense of collectiveness resonates so much with the myths of Latin American resistance:

> Latin American intellectuals have selectively adopted successive European doctrines to their own vigorous, internal traditions. If they did not adopt the individualistic Romanticism of Germany, but instead embraced the social Romanticism of the French and made Victor Hugo a hero in Latin America, it was because the French version dovetailed more neatly with the collective emphasis of Latin American culture (Rama 56).

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Conclusion

In the field of Inter-American relations, scholars have worked extensively on analyzing the political setting behind Brazilian public intellectuals' national project and their opposition to a Latin American project during the turn of the nineteenth century. Leslie Bethell, in his article *O Brasil e a ideia de"América Latina" em perspectiva histórica,* writes about how Brazilian intellectuals only started accepting a Latin American identity when the whole world start seeing the country as part of the region from the 1940s until the 1970s (305). Before that time period, Brazilian intellectuals used the history of the country to construct a national identity in opposition to that of Latin American: "[d]iferentemente da América Espanhola, a Independência do Brasil ocorreu de forma pacífica e o país se manteve unido sob a coroa" (Bethell 293).

National essays written by Eduardo Prado, Manuel de Oliveira Lima, and Joaquim Nabuco started emerging in response to the imperialist Pan-Americanism of the United States in the region and the anti-imperialist Latin Americanism of Spanish American countries. Although divided in their opinion on the growth of Anglo-Saxon imperialism in the region, most of these essayists still condemned their Spanish American neighbors. As a fervorous supporter of the monarchy and in opposition to the republicanism implemented in Brazil and Spanish America, Eduardo Prado questioned the solidarity amongst the southern neighbors and accused them of being barbarians. In *A ilusão Americana,* he says: "A fraternidade americana é uma mentira. Tomemos as nações ibericas da America. Há mais odios, mais inimizades entre elas do que entre as nações da Europa" (8). For Oliveira Lima, both the Latin Americanism of Spanish America and the Pan-Americanism of the United States were political initiatives equally sustained by false claims of solidarity. While Pan-Americanism was an attempt to *latinisar* the Monroe Doctrine and promote the hemispheric hegemony of the United States, Latin Americanism was a clear attempt of Spanish American countries to prevent a Yankee imperialism despite the enmity between the countries of the region: "Por enquanto a hegemonia, do Novo Mundo é uma só: é a dos Estados Unidos da América [...] O predomínio norte-americano deixaria de ser uma realidade se entre os países latinos do continente vingasse o espirito de solidariedade" (Lima 185-186). Despite his monarchism, Joaquim Nabuco was one of the few intellectuals who welcomed the intervention of the United States in the southern hemisphere. However, like all his contemporary intellectuals, he was completely opposed to an alliance with the Spanish American front. For Nabuco, an alliance would detrimentally influence Brazil's the economy: "Eu poderia tomar outra prova da imaturidade da república—as suas finanças. Não é verdadeiramente estranho que a nova república [o Brasil] tenha ido copiar o seu sistema financeiro da Argentina" (11). Altogether, the impression these accounts left on the Brazil's political history were clear: Brazilian public intellectuals were majorly opposed to the acceptance of a Latin American identity until the 1960s and 1970s when the Cuban Revolution gained academic support in the country.

In assonance with Bethelle's work, Robert Patrick Newcomb draws attention to the fact that Brazilian public intellectuals of the late 19th and early 20th centuries used the essay to define a national identity for the country that was opposed to the supranational essay of Spanish America (7). Echoing the idea essayist Sérgio Buarque de Holanda expresses in *Raízes do Brasil* (1936), Newcomb explains that after Portugal and Spain moved away from the center of European imperial power and towards political and economic marginality, "the vibrant Luso-Hispanic literary and intellectual dialogue of earlier times definitively gave way in favor of a shared gaze towards the new centers of global influence" (3) such as France and the United

States. By restating Buarque de Holanda's remarks, Newcomb implies that the answer to the reinitiation of a possible Luso-Hispanic dialogue would have to depend on going back into the past of the Iberian world. However, another option that I defend throughout this work appears to be possible: an intellectual dialogue can be traced through the analysis of francophone influences in both regions. Due to Brazil's imperial past, establishing a Luso-Hispanic dialogue through shared francophone republican ideals would imply looking into the history of failed republican revolutions that emerged before the independence of the country in 1822 and before the artistic manifestations of republican writers who started publishing during the mid-nineteenth century. Among some of the most known republican writers of the mid-nineteenth century are the *condoreiros,* Romantic poets Antônio de Castro Alves and Joaquim de Sousândrade.

It is not a surprise thus that—in her review of the genesis of the Brazilian concrete movement—Rachel Price traces the aesthetic and ideological connections between Sousândrade and the Spanish American nineteenth-century *modernista* writer José Martí: "Like José Martí, the Brazilian poet Joaquim de Sousândrade spent much of the time between 1880 and 1885 in New York City. The two writers together documented the rising importance of speculation on Wall Street while covering broader changes throughout the Americas" (76). Sousândrade remained virtually unknown until the mid-twentieth century, when the creators of concrete poetry in Brazil, Haroldo and Augusto de Campo, rediscovered him and revived his work through an analysis of its Baroque elements. In Price's argument regarding the concretism in Sousândrade's work*,* he follows a reversed logic that uses the de Campo's brothers' reading of Baroque elements in Sousândrade's work in order to understand the aesthetic of concrete poetry. For her, at the heart of the Baroque language of figures such as Sousândrade, one can detect hermeticism, playfulness, and a relationship with the media present in the Brazilian concrete poetry of the 1960s and 1970s. Without mentioning Castro Alves or the *condoreiro* Romantic school to which Sousândrade belonged to, thus Price bridges the literature of the nineteenth century to the Caribbean Latin Americanist "structure of feeling" of the 1960s and 1970s in Brazil.

The work of this dissertation adds to the comparisons made by Price by considering the possibility of—rather than comparing two time periods—tracing the genealogy of a Latin Americanism in Brazil across time though one of the most prominent voices of the *condoreiro* Romantic school, Castro Alves. According to various scholars, the work of Castro Alves represents the beginning of a great change in Brazil: the entrance of the country into a different social and political configuration that was already taking place in other nations of the continent. In the words of D. Martins de Oliveira, Castro Alves was unsurpassed in his sensibility to and concern with the "vida político-social, de relação com a pátria e as nações do hemisfério" (152). He was in tune with the movement to abolish slavery and implement republics in different countries on the continent, and he knew that Brazil would eventually follow the same steps. Hence the overlap of images of past republican revolutions and the Peruvian Andean mountains in his poems. His work—marked by the indignation he felt towards social injustice and expressed through antitheses, hyperboles, and apostrophes—has influenced and continues to influence many Brazilian writers and artists. Among some of them there are Euclides da Cunha, Jorge Amado, and Glauber Rocha—all who shared a political radicalism motivated by a deep concern for social injustice in regions such as the North and the Northeast of the country. Thus, by inserting the francophone universalism of the *condoreiros* into the northeast region of Brazil, these writers bring Latin Americanism closer to the regional representation of the country.

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