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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Gabriele Rupflin Merrill entitled "The Decline and Fall of the Brazilian Empire." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Art, with a major in History.

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# THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE BRAZILIAN EMPIRE

A Thesis

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Master of Art

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to trace the multiple causes that led to the fall of the Brazilian monarchy. It attempts to analyze the traditional explanations while viewing the events from a comprehensive perspective.

The empire crumbled and gave way to a republic because the pillars of the monarchy, the army, church and large landowners, withdrew their support from the crown. Simultaneously, new forces were at work which discredited the imperial government and envisioned a republic. This study seeks to determine the reasons behind the shift in attitude between 1870 and 1889 which transformed supporters into antagonists.

As the three power groups became dissatisfied with the crown they altered their allegiance, believing that a republic would improve their private interests. Traditionally, historians have maintained that resentment influenced the several sections to withhold their support from the throne during the crisis when the republic was established. This assessment is primarily based on the fact that in 1888 the crown abolished slavery and the following year the slaveholders and landowners stood by as the empire fell.

It is this writer's considered opinion, however, that the above evaluation is inconclusive. Although the planters lost their slaves and suffered economic reverses, they still held political power as long as the empire lasted. With a change in the form of government the large landowners were aware that they would be forced to

yield their political leadership to the industrialists of São Paulo. Therefore, it seems logical to conclude that more than resentment motivated them in their attitude towards the government.

This study expects to show that the revolution of 1889, whereby the republic was established, was conservative in nature. The pillars of the monarchy changed sides because they believed that the crown had become too liberal and they feared more detrimental changes and reforms in the near future. The army feared reduction in numbers, the Church was afraid of more interference in their affairs, and the landowners wanted to prevent land reform. The Republicans with the motto of "Order and Progress" promised to help each of these groups; they put their fears to rest and were thus able, with the aid of the army, to change the Brazilian form of government.

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# INTRODUCTION

For millions of people in Europe and America democracy has been a major goal and they were willing to take every risk to achieve it. When people in the British colonies, in England, and in France felt oppressed by the ruling class, they rose in protest and demanded their rights. Out of the dissatisfied population notable men emerged who, with a sense of mission, led their followers to revolutionary concepts and daring deeds.

Although this has been the pattern for many countries it does not apply to Brazil. The Brazilians often aspired to a democratic system and wistfully envisioned the benefits it would bring them, but they were too apathetic to achieve it. With few exceptions some leader was expected to do the hard work and then present the results as an accomplished fact to the people. A change from an oppressive government was welcomed only as long as no sacrifices were demanded.

While most European colonies around the world had to fight wars for independence, Brazil became a nation with only nominal disruption. During the colonial period a few dissatisfied settlers grumbled and plotted against Portugal, but their ideas and publications were easily suppressed by the mother country. The disturbers were punished and their death, imprisonment or exile marked the end of any potential independence movement.

In 1808 the Portuguese royal family fled to Brazil from a conquering Napoleon, and elevated the country from the status of colony to equality with Portugal. While the French controlled the Iberian Peninsula, Brazil became the center of the Portuguese empire. Rio de Janeiro possessed few of the comforts that Lisbon offered, but material improvements were stimulated by the royal guests. Streets were cleaned, sewer systems installed, street lights erected, libraries and botanical gardens opened, and commerce was fostered by opening the ports to friendly nations.

Because of pressing politics in Portugal, King Dom João VI was forced to depart from the tropical "paradise" in 1820, but he left Brazil in the hands of his son Dom Pedro. In 1821 the Portuguese cortes, liberal at home but conservative abroad, reached the peak of its dissatisfaction with the prominence Brazil had attained in the empire and demanded that Dom Pedro return to the homeland to assume his duties as crown prince. Influenced by his wife and activist friends, the young prince declared Brazil independent on September 7, 1822.

In contrast to neighboring South American countries which struggled against Spain and sacrificed their manpower and economic resources, Brazil only had to dispense with a few Portuguese soldiers who weakly protested the political separation. No regular army was formed and the cost in lives and property was negligible.

After independence, in 1824, the country was granted a paternalistic constitution which established the government as a parliamentary monarchy patterned after England. The monarchy fell in 1889 as the result of the concerted actions of a few men. A republic was proclaimed and again neither war nor public participation characterized the transition.

In 1870, after reigning for thirty years, Dom Pedro II still enjoyed tremendous popularity. He had accomplished notable achievements and had support throughout the populace. By 1889, however, he had lost the approval of the three main pillars of his government: the army, the church, and the landowners, who were either neutral or actively assisted the Republican party. He was still admired and respected yet few adherents aided the retention of his throne. His abdication and exile sparked neither violence nor drastic reaction. People simply watched the events develop and continued their daily business with little concern. Why this apathy? The emperor had inspired many improvements in the country, he was open minded, kind and tolerant, and above all, most people truly liked him and regarded him as a father figure.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the events that led to the alienation of the three groups and thus permitted Marshall Deodoro da Fonseca to proclaim a republic on November 15, 1889. To understand what happened in Brazil between 1870-1889 it is necessary to assess Dom Pedro II and his personality and to evaluate the contemporary society and economy which serve as an explanation for the actual events.

# CHAPTER I

## DOM PEDRO II

Dom Pedro II assumed the throne in 1840 at the age of fourteen, when the country suffered distressed conditions following nearly a decade of interregnum. Several regional rebellions had to be pacified -- in Maranhão in 1841, in Minas Gerais and São Paulo in 1842, in Rio Grande do Sul in 1845, and in Pernambuco in 1849.[1] Brazil was still a backward country. The living had not improved noticeably since colonial days and Dom Pedro realized that a strong modernization plan was imperative.

During the first decade of his life, the blond blue-eyed prince had been greatly influenced by his governess, Dona Mariana Carlota Verna de Magalhães Coutinho, a Portuguese aristocrat. She was an educated and cultured woman who told her charge that a Christian sovereign must have as his goal the happiness of his people. Piety, justice, and charity should be among the virtues of any ruler who hoped to do well.[2]

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[1]Hubert Herring, A History of Latin America from the Beginnings to the Present (New York, 1968), 836.

[2]Mary Wilhelmine Williams, Dom Pedro the Magnanimous, Second Emperor of Brazil (New York, 1966), 27.

As a boy Dom Pedro studied under many tutors who tried to teach him all an emperor needed to know. The first instructor of the royal pupil was José Bonifácio de Andrade who had influenced the prince's father to declare independence in 1822, and who now exerted a great deal of influence on the young mind. Although the tutors differed in their political ideas and beliefs, they agreed on one point: the young man had to be molded in a manner that would make him different from his father.[3] In this endeavor they were successful; he became an open-minded and intellectually well-rounded ruler.

Dom Pedro was a scholar who enthusiastically dedicated himself to art, science, and philosophy. He preferred to study rather than to govern and he often said that if he were not an emperor he would like to be a teacher. His desire to learn prompted him to be a world traveler. He visited most European countries several times and toured the United States during the centennial celebrations, being intrigued by his experiences. However, in spite of his curiosity he never visited all of the Brazilian provinces, a defect that was resented and criticized.[4] Many observers drew the conclusion that the emperor, while attracted to other places, had an unforgivable lack of interest in his own country.

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[3] Ibid., 42.

[4] Rocha Pombo, História do Brasil, a República, 5 vols. (São Paulo, 1959), V, 305.

Dom Pedro was intrigued with a variety of subjects and informed himself about new inventions, discoveries, and writings. He personally knew many prominent intellectuals abroad and earned their lasting respect. For generations Brazilians repeated what foreigners had thought about their ruler: Gladstone commented that Dom Pedro should be a model for all crowned heads of the world; Pasteur regarded the emperor as a man of science; Lamartine called him the philosopher king; and Victor Hugo named him the grandson of Marcus Aurelius.[5] In recent years some critics have condemned these flatteries as unsubstantiated legends since evidence to support them is scarce. There is proof, however, that Dom Pedro corresponded with Hugo, and that he had a lengthy conversation with Nietzsche on an Austrian train.[6] While in Europe he received many decorations, awards, and honors from scientific and literary societies, such as the Order of the Garter and a membership in the Natural History Section of the French Institute.[7] All this praise and recognition did not impress Dom Pedro's critics who regarded the emperor as a dilettante. They maintained that he could much better carry on a monologue than answer questions because nobody dared to contradict

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[5]Manoel Oliveira Lima, Formacáo da História da Nacionalidade Brasileira (Rio de Janeiro, 1944), 239.

[6]João Camilo de Oliveira Torres, A Democracia Coroada: Teoria Política do Imperio (Rio de Janeiro, 1957), 525.

[7]Anfrísio Fialho, "The Emperor Pedro II, A Favorable View," in Richard Graham, ed., A Century of Brazilian History Since 1865, Issues and Problems (New York, 1969), 24.

him or point out his mistakes. They admitted that his intellectual interests were widespread, but held the opinion that his knowledge was only superficial.[8]

During Dom Pedro II's reign many physical improvements occurred. Roads were constructed, a railroad system was developed, ports were built and steamships began to arrive. Amazon navigation was opened to all nations, cities were improved by gas illumination and better sewage and water facilities, telegraph and submarine cables were installed, and a great deal of attention was devoted to the expansion of the educational system. The emperor believed that education was the only true road to progress and modernization, and therefore took a personal interest in the various projects. He visited schools and talked to the children, sometimes giving scholarships for advanced studies to intelligent but poor students, regardless of their background. The Imperial Academy, founded by Dom Pedro, educated the best minds in the country and helped form an intellectual elite.[9]

His democratic ideas were not limited to education alone as he opposed all forms of luxury and displays of wealth. The emperor preferred the company of modest people who were intelligent and

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[8]Alan K. Manchester, "Dom Pedro II, the Democratic Emperor," in Lawrence F. Hill, ed., Brazil (Los Angeles, 1947), 47.

[9]Gilberto Freyre, Order and Progress, Brazil from Monarchy to Republic (New York, 1970), 103.

interested in learning to those who were nouveau riche, pompous, and mediocre.[10] There was no hereditary nobility in the empire, titles being bestowed upon those who had performed outstanding public services, as a token of appreciation by society to a worthy citizen. These distinctions were sought as rewards in the same manner others seek pecuniary recognition. Critics chided that every third person in the empire claimed a title, making the whole system appear ridiculous, but by 1889 there were only seven marquises, ten counts, fifty four viscounts, and three hundred and sixteen barons.[11]

Moreover, no glamorous court life enlivened Rio de Janeiro, so excitement had to be sought in Europe.[12] Dom Pedro always remained a serious and pensive man who did not enjoy parties. As a result he seemed to be old at the age of twenty and impressed people as being moody and tired. He liked staying at home best of all and there seemed to be no youth, gaiety, and joy at the Braganza court.[13] The monarch was against all display of uniforms and despised any form of military pageantry. He disliked senseless ceremonies and abolished several old traditions such as hand kissing. He insisted on close contact with his people and held daily audiences to provide accessibility to the throne.

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[10]Lima, Formação da História, 257.

[11]Torres, A Democracia Coroada, 445.

[12]Freyre, Order and Progress, 62.

[13]Ibid., 64.

Dom Pedro's reign brought much needed stability to Brazil, without which the country might have disintegrated. It appears, however, that in later years, Dom Pedro's unwillingness to change with the times turned stability into political and economic stagnation.

## CHAPTER II

## POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE EMPIRE

The Brazilian Constitution of 1824 had created a parliamentary monarchy vaguely modeled after the British system. It provided for the three traditional powers, the executive, legislative and judiciary, and included a fourth one, the moderative or poder moderador. This power was granted to the emperor who arbitrated among the parties and made final decisions in all matters concerning governmental policies. It was the key to political organizations, giving him the right to select Senators, convoke Parliament, dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, appoint and dismiss ministers, and grant amnesties.[14] Dom Pedro was assisted by an advisory council selected for life, which made suggestions affecting major resolutions, but the advice was not necessarily followed.[15] The fourth power was regarded by many people as desirable, and they preferred entrusting it to Dom Pedro rather than to have a court, comparable to the United States Supreme Court, that would be endowed with the poder moderador.[16]

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[14]Herman C. James and Percy A. Martin, The Republics of Latin America (New York, 1923), 119.

[15]June E. Hahner, Civilian-Military Relations in Brazil, 1889-1898 (Columbia, S.C., 1966), 32.

[16]Percy A. Martin, "Causes of the Collapse of the Brazilian Empire," Hispanic American Historical Review, IV (February 1921), 23.

Parliament was divided into two houses, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The emperor nominated Senators for life, a right that gave him a great deal of power. There was, however, a respect for public opinion coupled with the desire to preserve a powerful crown; Dom Pedro selected each Senator from a list of three men who had received the largest number of votes in a popular election.[17] The number of Senators, who were representative of the provinces, was fixed at one half the number of Deputies. Each province had between two and six members in the Senate, depending on the population figures.[18]

Two parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, dominated the political affairs of the empire, and despite their nomenclature, shared many similarities. By 1870 they had developed more into social clubs than political institutions and no real differences divided their interests.

Under the Constitution the emperor designated a prime minister who was empowered to choose a cabinet. In theory, the party which won a majority in the election was placed in power and from it the prime minister was nominated. In practice, however, the situation was quite different. Since elections were usually won by the party already in power the emperor first chose the prime minister and then

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[17]Lima, Formação da História, 225.

[18]James and Martin, The Republics, 119.

elections were held. Because of electoral fraud and corruption Dom Pedro had to interfere and bend the rules or else a power monopoly would have developed. During his forty-nine year reign, the emperor dissolved the assembly eleven times to gain support for a new cabinet and had thirty-six different prime ministers.[19] Whenever the party out of power clamored loudly enough, the emperor used his moderative power to substitute a prime minister from the opposing party, the Chamber was dissolved, and new elections were held. The dissatisfied party then received an opportunity to make changes and to improve matters. In the event that the governmental crisis centered in the cabinet the ministers were replaced by other members from the same party.[20]

The fall of a cabinet did not endear the emperor to either party. The "outs" were angry and openly criticized and berated the monarchy. The "ins" were not particularly thankful knowing that soon the tables might be turned again. The frequent attacks on the throne by the political parties weakened the monarchy and undermined the system of which both the Conservatives and Liberals were integral parts.

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[19]E. Bradford Burns, A History of Brazil (New York, 1970), 155.

[20]Hélio Vianna, História do Brasil, 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1965), II, 137.

A change of parties was not always followed by a change of policy. Both parties were controlled by large landowners who, as a class, usually desired the same course of action. They all opposed land reform and the removal of property qualifications for voting. Clashes between the two parties, most of the time, were a matter of personality rather than principle.[21]

The Conservatives supported law and order and centralized power; the Liberals desired progress and reform, and more autonomy for the provinces.[22] The proposals of one party were often carried out by the other, such as the abolition of slavery which was advocated by the Liberals and implemented by the Conservatives.[23]

By 1870 it was manifest that Parliament was quite inactive. Both parties had private interests closer at heart than the good of the country, and it often became necessary for Dom Pedro to interfere in favor of the public welfare. He was censured for not working harder to achieve the various indispensable reforms, but he might have antagonized the ministers even more and accomplished less.[24]

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[21]Burns, A History of Brazil, 155.

[22]James and Martin, The Republics, 120.

[23]Burns, A History of Brazil, 155-57.

[24]Williams, Dom Pedro the Magnanimous, 243.

Dom Pedro was a liberal monarch who did not impose his will arbitrarily against the advice of his cabinet. After 1850 the country began to enjoy freedom of the press and open discussion replaced the ubiquitous violence of the 1840's.[25] The emperor's goal was to increase democracy in Brazil although this objective was not shared by the upper classes. He was a republican at heart but refused to change the form of government because he believed that the people were still too uneducated and politically unprepared for a drastic change. It was widely assumed that radical alterations would bring about economic, social and political disintegration.

Dom Pedro would have liked to model the Brazilian government after the British parliamentary system where ministers were capable, independent men and not servile agents. One of his main ambitions was to have an assembly that would be truly representative of the electorate.[26]

All parliamentary elections seemed a farce; the people exercised only an indirect vote to elect their representatives, and it was no coincidence that the party in power usually won the majority in the Chamber. By 1881 Dom Pedro realized that reform was

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[25]Burns, A History of Brazil, 155.

[26]Manchester, "Dom Pedro II," 46.

urgently needed and the best course seemed to be to introduce the direct vote. In this manner the emperor could appeal to his subjects without intermediaries and would no longer be dependent on landowners, clergy, and military for approval. Dom Pedro attributed all evils in the country to the lack of direct elections and said on one occasion:

> Our primary necessity is freedom in elections; without it and without the freedom of the press the constitutional system cannot be a reality; the ministry that allows the lack of these principles is the biggest enemy of the State and the Monarchy.[27]

A change in the electoral system required a constitutional amendment but the emperor refused to endorse this procedure. If he called a convention for what was considered a desirable change, the assembly, once in session, could also change other things for which many clamored, such as the ending of the life feature of the Senate and the abolition of the poder moderador. For this reason Dom Pedro tried to simply pass a new law; in 1881 the Electoral Reform Bill provided for the direct vote and the vote for non-Catholics and freedmen.[28]

While Liberal Aparício Saraiva served as prime minister the new law worked successfully but with the return of the Conservative Baron of Cotegipe corruption resumed.[29] The first election under the

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[27]Torres, A Democracia Coroada, 523.

[28]João Pandia Calogeras, A History of Brazil (Chapel Hill, 1939), 250.

[29]Ibid., 252.

new law occurred in 1882. The Chamber was almost equally divided between the two parties (with the Liberals having a slight majority) and seemed to reflect public opinion. In 1886 Cotegipe became prime minister, the Chamber was dissolved, and new elections were called. Old political practices returned and Cotegipe was pleased when once again the Conservatives held a large majority.[30] The conclusion drawn from this incident was that although the system was good it could only work when less partisan men were in command. The Conservatives were again in power, regardless of public opinion, until Dom Pedro used his moderative power once more to select a Liberal prime minister.

During Dom Pedro's reign Brazil experienced more freedom than the Spanish American republics. The emperor seemed to be kind, highly moral, and magnanimous, seeking ways to obtain the greatest good for the largest number of people. During forty-nine years no person was deported or prosecuted for political reasons, and no restrictions inhibited freedom of speech or the flow of ideas.[31]

Dom Pedro lacked the ability to make important and drastic decisions, a characteristic needed in great statesmen. He preferred to let governmental problems drift, to let time take care of them

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[30]Manchester, "Dom Pedro II," 46.

[31]Torres, A Democracia Coroada, 527.

rather than to seek a solution through his own initiative.[32] At this time the country needed progressive reforms and a strong leader who was willing to sponsor changes even if enemies were created in the process.[33] His inability to make decisions earned him a great deal of criticism and the unflattering title of "Pedro Banana." In the long run he antagonized more people by doing nothing than any reforms would have done. Many of his supporters claimed that the emperor did not act decisively because he did not possess enough power, to which his critics replied that Dom Pedro had power enough but that he chose to use it only to preserve the old rather than to introduce the new.[34]

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[32]Lima, Formação da História, 222.

[33]Freyre, Order and Progress, 62.

[34]Fialho, "The Emperor Dom Pedro II," 19.

## CHAPTER III

## THE ECONOMY

The Spanish-speaking Latin American countries were traditionally urban in nature. From the beginning towns had been the center of life and power, and most vecinos aspired to be urbanized. This tendency did not characterize Brazil; its inhabitants put down deep rural roots and were not overly concerned with cities. While Spaniards were attracted to the New World by the treasures of the Aztecs and Incas, the Portuguese colonized as landowners. During the first two centuries of Brazil's history no signs indicated that the interior held mines rich with gold, silver, and gems, so adventurers settled on the coast and carved out their estates. Royal land grants or sesmarias were given to applicants who met qualifications (mainly willingness to cultivate the land) and the boundary lines were intentionally left as vague as possible. Consequently, owners plotted against each other rather than against the crown.[35]

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[35]Warren Dean, "Latifundia and Land Policy in 19th Century Brazil," Hispanic American Historical Review, LI (November 1971), 607.

In Portugal a shortage of land enhanced its possession as a status symbol; it was more permanent and of greater value than gold and other treasure. Real estate transformed any man into a gentleman of substance and prestige. This tradition was transferred to Brazil where former adventurers became respected landowners. They were called fazendeiros and until the late 1870's enjoyed both local influence and power in national politics because they were the mainstay of the country's economy.

The large plantations or fazendas developed initially in the Northeast of Brazil and were dedicated exclusively to sugar production. Years later they spread to the Paraiba Valley in the provinces of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais. Fazendas were self-sufficient units not unlike medieval manors that sheltered a population of several hundred people. The owner lived on the estate with his wife and children and offered livelihood to an extended family and numerous relatives. In addition the plantation consisted of slaves whose number varied from twenty to over three hundred, several artisans of various skills, and a priest who ministered to spiritual needs. The estate had a school, a church, a graveyard and a sugar mill where syrup was produced during harvest time. The Portuguese crown encouraged these sugar plantation with special privileges because they brought in large revenues.[36]

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[36] Ibid., 606.

The fazendeiro controlled local politics and his wish was tantamount to law. He was often uneducated but still displayed some appreciation for culture, art, and luxurious living. His male children were sent to Coimbra, Portugal, and later to universitites in Brazil, where they became lawyers, doctors, officers in the army and navy, and members of the higher clergy.[37] Through these sons the power of the fazendas was exercised in national politics. Since local elections were controlled by the landowners it was not difficult to elect a son to the national Chamber of Deputies where he spoke for his class interest.

Although cash was not always available in abundance, the landowners, if at all possible, bought a town house where the family could reside part of the year to enjoy the meager local entertainment. In sharp contrast to Spanish American cities, Brazil's cities, with the exception of Rio de Janeiro, were remarkably provincial. Cultural events were infrequent, fashions lagged several years behind the capital, and people were noticeably unsophisticated. Until 1888 even provincial capitals were merely large "villages."[38]

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[37] J. F. Normano, Brazil: A Study in Economic Types (New York, 1969), 72.

[38] Francisco José Oliveira Vianna, Evolução do Povo Brasileiro (Rio de Janeiro, 1956), 108.

The second half of the 19th century brought depressed times for the sugar growers. Cuba had become a serious competitor in the world market, sugar beets had been cultivated in Europe, and Brazilian exports declined sharply. At the same time cotton met serious competition from the Southern United States. The Northeast gradually lost its economic strength. The export of cacao, maté, rubber, tobacco, hides, and rice increased, but they were produced on a smaller scale and could not achieve a role of real importance.[39]

The only crop that agricultural Brazil could produce in substantial quantities to replace "King Sugar" was coffee. This crop was produced in São Paulo where the soil and climate were ideal, and by 1880 this province was supplanting the Northeast in wealth and importance. Coffee had one decisive advantage over all other agricultural products: the plant is a permanent tree and does not have to be replaced every year, thus reducing the amount of capital needed to install and maintain a plantation. It had begun to be cultivated in the 18th century before the Haitian revolution. With the French island removed as a possible competitor, Brazilian planters experimented with coffee as an export crop.

São Paulo was selected due to its favorable climate and soil, and because the area had a surplus of labor. After the gold and gems industry of Minas Gerais collapsed, thousands of slaves, whose owners

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[39]Celso Furtado, Formação da Economia do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1961), 132.

no longer had any use for them, came to São Paulo seeking employment. In addition to these advantages the region was close enough to a port to make mule transportation of the product feasible.[40]

The first signs of a shift in economic dominance were revealed when the Northeastern fazendeiros began to sell their slaves to the South. Since sugar no longer brought profitable financial rewards, growers had to decrease excess expenses and superfluous slaves. Even the prestige that went with ownership of a large number of Negroes no longer sufficed as a reason to keep the workers. Internal migration began in 1851 and lasted for about thirty years; it was then prohibited by the provincial governments.[41] Between 1851 and 1881 the coffee planters' need for workers led them to buy all slaves available. Finally, the Northeast was left with the old, the sick, the lame, the women and children; able bodied males became a rarity.

By the mid 1880's the sugar planters had obviously lost their economic influence but they still firmly held their political power. During the last decade of the empire they would lose this influence as well.

In addition to the political changes resulting from the rise of coffee, other changes also occurred. To link plantations with ports, railroads were built at a rapid rate to improve communications with

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[40] Ibid., 133.

[41] Robert Conrad, The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888 (Los Angeles, 1972), 48.

the interior. Coffee planters differed radically from sugar growers in that they soon accumulated capital that could be invested outside the plantations. Banks were founded which led to a better organization of credit, a wider circulation of currency, and more investments in communication and industry.[42]

In spite of political independence from Portugal in 1822, Brazil remained economically dependent on European nations. The country had not yet emerged from its colonial economy of supplying advanced nations with raw materials and agricultural products in exchange for manufactured goods. Tariffs were extremely low making foreign products attractive while simultaneously hindering opportunity for native industries to develop. Small factories encountered overwhelming problems in their attempts to grow. They were also inhibited by high transportation costs which made national consumer goods more expensive than imported items. A few small factories fought for survival by producing hats, tobacco, soap, cast iron, and a few other items. Production, however, was too small for real significance.[43] Even the smallest articles from pins and needles to lady's stockings had to be imported, Great Britain being the principal supplier.

After 1870 a change came over the country chiefly as a result of the war of the Triple Alliance against Paraguay. Many Brazilians began to read French and English writers who supported the middle

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[42]Burns, A History of Brazil, 142.

[43]Werner Baer, Industrialization and Economic Development in Brazil (Homewood, Ill., 1965) 13.

class to the detriment of aristocratic values. Brazilian intellectuals believed that their country should change, as exemplified by Europe, and they clamored for modernization.[44]

Political and financial troubles in Europe, moreover, coupled with the promise of land and riches in Brazil, during the decade of the 1870's and after, attracted European immigrants to the tropics. Thousands were employed on the coffee plantations where, in spite of the internal slave migration, the shortage of labor remained the paramount problem. But not all foreigners became agricultural workers, as hundreds arrived with sizeable savings and many became merchants and bankers. Their knowledge of the tastes and needs of their fellow countrymen enabled them to provide the latest newcomers with items they were used to at home. Business blossomed for the European merchant who soon decided that the desired products should be manufactured in Brazil itself. Industry developed in São Paulo producing practical items that served native needs. For instance, heavy woolen cloth manufactured for the London climate was quite unsuitable in the Rio de Janeiro heat.

The foreign bankers were as successful as the merchants. European agricultural workers were frugal, saved a portion of their income, and tended to favor the business of their original countrymen.

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[44]Richard Graham, Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850-1914 (Cambridge, England, 1968), 33.

The wave of immigrants changed Brazil's economic life and future. Foreigners brought in capital for investment as well as technical skills for new enterprises.[45] Factories were initiated at favorable locations and employed workers who earned wages and created a ready market for manufactured products. But not only foreigners provided the capital for this new industrial boom. São Paulo's coffee growers were more frugal than Pernambuco's sugar planters and therefore were able to accumulate considerable assets to be invested in the factories.

For many years industrialists petitioned for protective tariffs but their appeals were rejected. The complaints became more insistent after 1871 when São Paulo's new wealthy middle class began to expand the entrepreneurs' group. Some government officials, who represented the landowning class, argued that Brazil should not become industrialized, that the country should continue with traditional agriculture and mining.[46]

In 1879 the national treasury faced a financial crisis. Sugar crops were not as profitable as in the past, and coffee had not yet reached the zenith of its potential. As a result of this distressed situation agricultural spokesmen were willing to compromise with industry. Higher tariffs were passed grudgingly, yet both groups remained dissatisfied.[47]

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[45] Nícia Vilela, A Luta Pela Industrialização do Brasil (São Paulo, 1961), 41.

[46] Ibid., 48.

[47] Ibid., 49.

In the 1880's the importance of manufacturing increased once more when agricultural prices declined, and the production of sugar and cotton decreased markedly. Industrialists now capitalized upon the misfortunes of the landowners. They demanded higher tariffs, stating that the Brazilian economy would never prosper as long as it depended upon an activity as vulnerable to foreign exchange as agriculture. Furthermore, they predicted that coffee, although prospering at the moment, might soon follow the fate of gold, precious stones, cotton, and sugar; that is, after a relatively short period of boom there would be a bust. The decline in agriculture was already causing rural unemployment and large numbers of farm workers were drifting into cities where they turned to prostitution and theft to support themselves. A few were fortunate enough to become street vendors selling fish, vegetables, and trinkets. The entrepreneurs argued that only industry could salvage these wandering people and make honest men and women out of them. The rural aristocracy began to fight for its future, fearing that if industry was subsidized they would lose both capital and manpower. To their aid came wealthy members of import businesses, who argued that higher tariffs would deliver consumers to the mercy of half a dozen industries.

Public opinion began to support the manufacturers, not only because of a desire to modernize but also from a new surge of nationalism. It appeared that the only people making large profits from Brazilian consumers were foreigners, particularly the British, who took their money out of the country. In addition, most banks were owned by aliens to whom natives had to beg for loans. These circumstances stirred a great deal of resentment against imported goods.

When in 1886 coffee prices fell sharply causing a national financial recession, public opinion definitely supported higher tariffs. People believed that few imports would help the balance of trade and would eliminate the importer, generally a foreigner, who made huge profits that were taken out of the country.[48]

One of the main spokesmen for industry was Felício dos Santos, the editor of O Industralista, published in Rio de Janeiro. His opinion influenced thousands of people when he criticized the government for its liberal laissez-faire ideas. He maintained that industry had to be subsidized and that a healthy industrial economy would entail many advantages. As concrete examples he mentioned that Brazil would gain economic independence, foreign manpower and capital would be attracted, the urban idle would find employment and thus decrease social ills, and last but not least, the country would be free from the dangers of monoculture. As more people began to support these ideas industry expanded and slowly but surely foreign products were replaced by native ones.[49]

Although the country as a whole supported industry and the progress it implied, many people still believed that Brazil was essentially an agricultural country and should remain so. This idea was shared by the emperor himself, who did not understand modern economies and disliked drastic changes. An example of this reluctance

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[48] Ibid., 53-62.

[49] Ibid., 63.

was the government's refusal to help Irineu Evangelista de Souza, the Viscount of Maua. A self-made man, a formidable industrialist, banker, congressman, and diplomat who controlled a vast economic empire, Maua had improved and modernized the country through governmental contracts, introduced steamships on the Amazon, constructed factories, and developed gold mines.[50] The depression of the early 1870's, originating in industrialized countries, finally reached Brazil in 1875 and led to the bankruptcy of the Bank of Brazil and Maua's personal bank. Viscount Maua faced tremendous financial difficulties and held the money of thousands of people who had entrusted their savings to him for investment. He applied to the government for a loan to save his empire but was rejected by hostile ministers and an even more hostile emperor. Many investors were wiped out financially in the subsequent collapse. The official reason for the rejection was the idea of laissez faire, although the antagonism of the landowners was an obvious factor.

By 1889 Brazil's economy was undergoing dramatic changes, as industry rose in importance and cities grew in size and attractiveness. In spite of these changes, accelerating since 1870, Brazil was predominately an agricultural nation during the reign of Dom Pedro II. Plans for modernization were being implemented everywhere, with the tacit approval of the emperor, but the crown still represented the viewpoint of a colonial economy. Despite his efforts to be aware of

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[50] J. F. Normano, "Viscount Maua as Seen by an Admirer," Richard Graham, ed., A Century of Brazilian History Since 1865, Issues and Problems (New York, 1969), 45.

change, Dom Pedro was not very successful in understanding the importance of industry in a modern nation. He failed to integrate the industrialist into the monarchical system and simultaneously alienated those groups that were part of it. He was too conservative for the liberals and too radical for the conservatives, thus ending with the support of neither.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE CHURCH

The Brazilian Constitution of 1824 united State and Church, recognizing the crown's right to the patronado -- the power to supervise and review the clergy, to nominate bishops, and to ban papal bulls if so desired.[51] The patronado was not a Brazilian innovation as it had been introduced into Portugal in 1759 by the Marquis of Pombal, who broke relations with Rome from 1759-1765.[52]

The Church was a highly influential institution among the people and the emperor remembered this when using his power in ecclesiatical matters. Both sides respected each other and neither abused its power. The clergy regarded itself as an arm of the State and its members were appointed to their positions by the politicians. Several clergymen even became involved in politics, an example being Diogo Antônio Feijó who administered the regency government between 1835-1837.[53]

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[51] Martin, "Causes of the Collapse," 10.

[52] George C. A. Boehrer, "The Church and the Overthrow of the Brazilian Monarchy," Hispanic American Historical Review, XLVIII (August, 1968), 381.

[53] Ibid., 382.

In the early 1870's Dom Pedro became concerned about the steady decline in clerical morality. Rules were too lax or disregarded and members of the clergy lived scandalous lives, offering a bad example to their congregations. In addition, standards of education were declining to the point where some could hardly read. The emperor realized that reforms were mandatory and that men of strong character and energetic activity were needed in the ranks of the upper clergy to deal with the degenerated conditions. With this in mind, he nominated Dom Vital de Oliveira as Bishop of Olinda who appeared to fulfill the requirements for such an important position. A young man who displayed high standards of morality, Dom Vital had studied in Europe and was well trained, extremely energetic, and eager to reform the Church. However, his reform program included returning the Church to the direct influence of Rome, something which Dom Pedro had not foreseen.[54]

In 1868 Pope Pius IX published a papal bull in which he condemned Masonry. It was a reaction against the role Masons had played in the European revolutions of 1848. The Brazilian Masons, however, had never presented a problem of any kind and knowing that the conditions in Brazil were different from Europe Dom Pedro resolved not to publish the bull.[55]

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[54]George C. A. Boehrer, "The Church in the Second Reign, 1840-1889," in Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards, eds., Conflicts and Continuity in Brazilian Society (Columbia, S.C., 1969), 125.

[55]Charles Willis Simmons, Marshal Deodoro and the Fall of Dom Pedro II (Durham, N.C., 1966), 68.

Dom Vital in his zeal for reform decided not to comply with the emperor's orders and to do what he thought was right. While studying in Europe he had observed the disturbances to Church and State caused by the Masons and his experiences had left a deep impression on him. Soon after his nomination as bishop he announced the contents of the papal document and began to take active steps to implement it, initiating a campaign to end Masonry in the country.

In 1871, immediately after the passage of the Rio Branco law, the Law of Free Birth for Negro slaves, the Masonic lodges of Rio de Janeiro planned festivities to celebrate the historic event. The scheduled speaker was a priest who, like many other clergymen, was a member of the lodge. Dom Vital, however, sent orders forbidding the priest to make his speech and commanded all clerical members to have no further dealings with the Masons.

The Baron of Rio Branco, grand master of the Masonic Order in Brazil, decided to unite all Masons in an attack against the Church and, in their view, its irrational policies.[56] A vigorous campaign of attacks on the clergy was mounted and Dom Vital was defamed and severely criticized. The bishop retaliated by banning the Masons from the irmandades, the civil and ecclesiastical brotherhoods. With papal approval Dom Vital announced that the brotherhoods would be interdicted for one year and compelled to expel their Masonic members; if the orders were ignored all members of these organizations would be excommunicated.[57]

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[56]Calogeras, A History of Brazil, 237.

[57]Simmons, Marshall Deodoro, 69.

By 1873 the Masonic question had become an open conflict between government, Masons, and irmandades on one side and the Church on the other. In spite of the criticism, Dom Vital insisted that he represented the authority of Rome and claimed the superiority of Church over State. His singlemindedness antagonized the public which was becoming increasingly anticlerical and supported the brotherhoods.

Many representatives in the Chamber of Deputies spoke out against the Church claiming that it was threatening public order. They took the opportunity to attack the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and declared that Catholicism was a false Christian Church.[58] The majority of the people and even the clergy were against him but Bishop Vital had one strong supporter, Dom Macedo Costa, the Bishop of Pará, who shared his ideas and defended him in public. As the irmandades had no intention of following the bishop's orders, they appealed to the Minister of Justice who ordered Dom Vital to withdraw the interdict, and when this was not done Dom Vital and Dom Macedo were imprisoned. "The government's case rested upon political grounds, of the supremacy of civil law and royal courts over those of the Church," commented one contemporary analyst.[59]

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[58]Boehrer, "The Church and the Overthrow," 389.

[59]E. Bradford Burns, ed., "The Trial of the Bishop of Olinda," in A Documentary History of Brazil (New York, 1966), 264.

The struggle for supremacy between Church and State presented an unprecedented and uncomfortable situation for the government. It decided that the best course to follow was to attempt to work things out smoothly with the Church. Baron Penedo, one of Brazil's best diplomats, was sent on a mission to Rome. He asked the pope to direct Dom Vital to comply with the constitution and to counsel the bishop that it would be better for all parties involved if Church and State could work together in harmony without disturbing the status quo. Pope Pius agreed that the bishop had been a bit rash in his action and was determined to help, convinced that the charges would then be dropped. He wrote out orders to Dom Vital, showed them to Baron Penedo who notified the government, and sent them to Brazil. Before the papal document was published, however, the two bishops were tried and condemned to four years imprisonment at hard labor.[60]

The decision of the court was based on the judges' disapproval of discrimination against Masons and disobedience to royal orders. In addition, they held that Dom Vital had interdicted the irmandades without either a hearing or a trial, a right possessed by every Brazilian.[61]

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[60]Simmons, Marshal Deodoro, 70.

[61]Burns, A Documentary History, 265.

During the entire controversy between Church and State, public opinion had supported the cause of the brotherhoods and the Masons but after the trial the mood of the country changed. No staunch Catholic could condone the action of the State in actually incarcerating two members of the clergy. In addition, the Pope denied sending and the bishops denied receiving any form of censure and orders to obey the constitution.[62] The representatives in the Chamber also began to alter their position. They reasoned that the two clergymen had been imprisoned for disagreeing with the crown and that the same could happen again and possibly to them.

The growing Republican party tried to make an issue of the situation. In spite of their anticlericalism they supported the Church because it was fighting the monarchy. They did not totally compromise their principles, however, as they never made an alliance with the bishops and soon after the sentencing dropped the subject.[63]

Princess Isabel, a devout Catholic, influenced her father who commuted the bishops' sentence to two years without hard labor. This action, however, did not assuage the situation, as the Church was still irreconcilable and the liberal element was antagonized by the leniency of the crown.

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[62]Only years later was the papal message found among the papers belonging to the bishop.

[63]Boehrer, "The Church and the Overthrow," 390.

The results of the crisis deeply disturbed the society of Brazil. The interdict was lifted from the irmandades, but Masons were barred from their membership and the clergy was forbidden to join the lodges.[64] The supremacy of the State over the Church was established but the government lost prestige and supporters during the squabble. The Church lost its confidence in the monarchy, withdrew its unqualified support and began to listen to the Republicans who promised greater independence for the clergy.

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[64] Simmons, Marshal Deodoro, 72.

## CHAPTER V

## THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Until 1870 the Brazilian monarch was beloved, admired, respected, and supported by almost all the people. That year, although it witnessed the conclusion of the divisive Paraguayan war, also served as a line of demarcation between two eras. It marks the beginning of dissatisfaction and discontent among many groups, initially from the Church, but soon followed by the army, the landowners, and the growing middle class. People who were dissatisfied with conditions in general and with the monarchy in particular found support and sympathy among the Republicans.

The history of the Republican party in Brazil is a story of independent local chapters, each embracing the same general ideas but lacking central unity. A National Republican Party was not formed until 1887. Therefore, when discussing the Republicans before 1887 the geographic area should be mentioned, as the fate of the parties differed in various provinces. While the group in Rio de Janeiro, for example, struggled to maintain its identity, those in São Paulo succeeded in organizing active individual chapters.[65]

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[65] George C. A. Boehrer, Da Monarquia a Republica: Historia do Partido Republicano do Brasil, 1870-1888 (Rio de Janeiro, n.d), passim.

Prior to 1870 Brazil alternated between two political parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals. Although advocating reforms while in opposition, once in power the Liberals were remarkably inactive and consequently many people began to doubt their honesty and sincerity. Neither party had specific goals or programs; both were only interested in acquiring and keeping power. Since a political party was more like a social organization composed of families who were usually friends, political fights on the floor of the Chamber resembled personal feuds among opposing clans rather than clashes between ideological beliefs.[66]

Republicanism was not a new idea in Brazil; during colonial times there had been advocates for independence from Portugal and the creation of a separate Brazilian nation under a civilian government. The subject came up as early as 1640 when, after spending sixty years under Spanish rule, Brazil once again passed to Portugal. The transition was accomplished to a great degree through Brazilian native effort in fighting against Spain while Portugal, intent upon its own struggle for independence, scarcely cared about the fate of the colony. The Dutch were occupying part of Brazil at the time and the colonists were able to expel them without any aid from the mother country. A feeling of nationalism developed in Brazil and only Portugal's strong colonial administrative measures were able to suppress it. Republicanism as an idea was specifically mentioned in 1710 during the war of

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[66]Manoel de Oliveira Lima, O Império Brasileiro, 1822-1889 (São Paulo, 1927), 241.

the Mascates, in 1789 during the Tiradentes conspiracy in Minas Gerais, in Bahia in 1817 and in 1837 during the Sabinada revolt, and in Rio Grande do Sul during the civil war of 1835-1845.[67]

The first Republican political organization grew out of dissatisfaction with the political parties existing during the second empire. A Republican Club was founded in Rio de Janeiro on November 3, 1870, publishing a Manifesto. Printed in the official organ of the club called A República, whose editors were Quintino Bocayúva and Salvador de Mendonza, it stated that no valid reason existed why Brazil should always have a monarchy and carefully analysed the government's difficulties. The deplorable conditions of the country were depicted, and it emphasized that in a republic the elected officials would be responsible to the people while under a monarchy the crown was responsible only to itself. They hastened to add, however, that they contemplated no violence and that they felt sure all changes could be brought about peacefully with the support of the people.[68] Fifty-eight of the club's members signed the Manifesto; it is not known how many founding members did not affix their signatures.[69]

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[67]Afrânio Peixoto, História do Brasil (São Paulo, 1944), 315.

[68]Boehrer, Da Monarquia à República, 128-213.

[69]Ibid., 34.

The Republicans were careful not to antagonize anybody and therefore did not embrace the ideas of equality of all men, only equality of opportunity. They desired a government patterned after that of the United States, with three separate powers. Their plan was specific in some instances, however, as they advocated the concepts of equality under the law, freedom of conscience, separation of Church and state, right of private property, freedom of assembly, freedom of work, right to petition, freedom of education, abolition of privileges, freedom of the press, and Habeas Corpus.[70] Furthermore, they indicated that the Chamber would no longer be subject to dissolution and that the Church would be deprived of some of its privileges.[71]

The members of the club insisted that their goal was evolution and not revolution. It was hoped that their ideas would be widely disseminated and freely circulated to convert the people, so that through elections the Chamber would eventually be dominated by Republicans who would then proclaim a Republic.[72] They pointed out that the Brazilian people had never formally approved the form of government, that it had been imposed upon them by the circumstances of independence and monarchical paternalism.[73]

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[70] Ibid., 222.

[71] Burns, A Documentary History, 248.

[72] Boehrer, Da Monarquia à República, 226.

[73] José Maria dos Santos, Bernardino de Campos e o Partido Republicano Paulista (Rio de Janeiro, 1960), 13.

A República was printed at first three times per week with the purpose of publicizing the inconsistencies and weak points of the government. One year later, in September, 1871, the paper became a daily. The Club was not united, however, and dissension soon appeared under a more radical Republican, Aristides Lobo. Dissatisfied with Quintino Bocayuva, Lobo broke away with a group of followers and formed the Republican Party. Two antimonarchical groups, however, could hardly expect to survive and in 1875 they reunited as the Clube Republicano Federal or the Federal Republican Club.[74]

Despite the proceding activity, Rio de Janeiro never became the center of Republican activity because it was the seat of the monarchical government. Favorable feelings for the crown were very strong and A República was violently attacked, both physically and in the press. After several attempts at destruction the editors realized that they could not continue their publication and closed in 1877.

Between 1877-1880 the Republican party reached its nadir in Rio de Janeiro. In 1878 the Liberals regained office and power and many adherents who had abandoned that party to join the Republicans now returned to their old party. Bocayuva and his group feared that all their members would defect, particularly if the Liberals should implement the proposals advanced by the Republicans. Many minor

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[74]Boehrer, Da Monarquia à República, 41.

partisan newspapers were published attacking the government but none reached as widespread an audience as had A República. Their propaganda was quite ineffective and no Republican was able to win in the elections. The party never recovered; as late as 1888 it was disorganized and small in number.

In São Paulo the prospects for the new party were more favorable. Immediately after the Manifesto was published in 1870, many Paulistas became enthusiastic supporters of the Republican creed.

On January 17, 1872, a commission was organized with the purpose of outlining firm plans for future action. On that occasion not much was decided except that the monarchy should be terminated regardless of the means employed to do so. In 1873 another commission determined that it was time to make a pronouncement on slavery, one of the most important issues of the period. Fearing to antagonize planters as well as abolitionists, they resolved that slavery was a social and not a political problem and left the individual provinces to decide the issues.[75]

By 1874 the Republican Party in São Paulo possessed two daily newspapers: the official party organ Correio Paulista, and A Província de São Paulo which had a wider circulation and whose editor clarified the ideology of the party. After much deliberation and discussion A Província published, in 1874, the basic tenents of the party

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[75] Ibid., 78.

including greater decentralization of power, freedom of education, a temporary rather than a life senate, an independent judiciary, direct elections, election rather than nomination of provincial presidents, public education as opposed to parochial, civil marriages, civil registration of births and deaths, secularization of cemeteries, freedom of religion, separation of Church and State, and abolition of slavery by the provinces (optional) with full financial compensation.[76]

While never fully supporting the cause of abolition in public, most Republicans were abolitionsts in private; they carefully mentioned reimbursement to gain the good will of the planters. The rare exceptions were Joaquim Nabuco and José do Patrocínio who, although Republicans, were strong abolitionists and in 1888 abandoned the party to support the monarchy to show their gratitude for the law concerning emancipation.[77]

When the Liberals returned to power in 1878 the Republicans in São Paulo, as in the case of Rio de Janeiro, lost many members. The leaders, Manuel Ferraz de Campos Sales and Prudente de Morais, seriously considered joining the government to help it implement their ideas. After much deliberation they decided against cooperation. From their point of view this turned out to be a wise move because they soon recruited many new members. The decision to remain a distinct party definitely separated the Republicans from the Liberals.[78]

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[76] Ibid., 80.

[77] Ibid., 275.

[78] Ibid., 89.

While the party stagnated in Rio de Janeiro and did not fare much better in the other provinces, it grew rapidly in São Paulo, the reason being that São Paulo's population was different from the rest of the country. This province contained a large number of foreigners, working on plantations and in industry, and possessed a growing middle class, highly influenced by European literature, that believed a republic was the only road to progress.

When the Electoral Reform Bill was passed in 1881, the Republicans received a great deal of credit since they had advocated the measure since 1874. In spite of their successes, however, they were unable to win any elections until 1885 when they garnered two seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Even as late as 1888 they failed in their attempts to gain representation in the Senate.

In 1888 the Republicans suffered an indirect defeat which showed once again that they were far from reaching widespread popularity. A petition was circulated asking for a Constitutional Convention to alter the succession law. The heir to the throne, Princess Isabel, and her husband were unpopular with many people and the princess was viewed unfavorably as successor because she was believed to be under the influence of the Church and her French husband. All Republicans supported the petition wholeheartedly. They were defeated, however, as the petition failed to receive sufficient signatures to be considered. After the abolition of slavery in May, 1888, the party renewed its attack on the empire in general and against the princess in particular. Many new converts became members, increasing the number of chapters in São Paulo from thirty-seven to forty-nine.

In the provinces of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo the party only grew moderately; in Bahia, a conservative area, it was a failure until 1888 when one paper began to be published. In the Northeast the Republicans were insignificant while in Rio Grande do Sul they were well-organized but lacked followers.[79]

In 1888, when the party reached its zenith, it remained disunited. The previous year the dispersed provincial parties had finally combined into a national organization, but ideological differences still prevailed. A radical group aimed to end the monarchy immediately, while a moderate wing preferred to await a more propitious time. Even the moderate group was divided as some sided with Antônio Silva Jardim, who wanted a dictatorial republic, while others followed Quintino Bocayúva, who favored a democratic one.[80] Jardim advocated a strong president with centralization of power, one who would be chosen by acclamation at first but later through elections. The president would be supported by a national assembly whose duty would be to allocate money.

Jardim refused to recognize the authority of Bocayúva within the party and was encouraged by a small number of followers. The majority of Republicans, however, supported Bocayúva and agreed that a democratic republic, one that would give the provinces greater autonomy, would be a more desirable goal. It was suggested that a

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[79] Ibid., passim.

[80] Ibid., 198.

plebiscite be held within the party and the members would then chose a leader since the situation of divided authority could not continue. Jardim agitated against such a measure, claiming that it would only divide the party even more. The plebiscite was held in May, 1889, and Quintino Bocayuva won by a large margin.[81] This proved to be a wise decision for the Republican cause as a whole because the public was hardly willing to exchange the "dictatorship" of the crown, as it was called by the Republican press, for the dictatorship of a president.

In spite of the nationwide effort to convert the population to republicanism, by November 15, 1889, the support they actually received was not remarkable. There were a total of two hundred and thirty seven local Republican chapters and seventy four papers of which only a few were dailies. In August, 1889, when the last election under the monarchy was held, only two Republicans won seats in the Chamber.[82] However, one must be careful when considering these figures. Keeping in mind that elections were not always honest and that many people did not bother to vote, the influence of the Republicans might actually have been larger.

Although the Republicans mercilessly attacked the monarchy as a form of government, they generally did not berate Dom Pedro on personal grounds until 1889. He was respected and loved, and few Brazilians believed that a change in the form of government would be accomplished while he was alive. His daughter, however, was a

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[81] Ibid., 207-11.

[82] Vianna, Historia do Brasil, 219.

different matter. She was disliked by many influential people who did not want to see her on the throne under any circumstances. When Dom Pedro received criticism it was directed against him as the head of the government rather than toward his person. The tenor of the comments ran as follows:

> The emperor, who is a good, kind gentleman, a democrat interested in everything pursues his own interests while the ills of the country continue. The government is preventing the provinces from developing their resources and is hindering the activities and energies of the people.[83]

Although open praise for him decreased in frequency, only a few critics ridiculed him in public. These insulted his parents and called him a charlatan, a fake scientist, and a bad poet.[84]

One of the most prominent Republicans and a severe critic of the government was Rui Barbosa from Bahia. He had been a strong abolitionist until 1888 and then turned his entire effort to the Republican cause. As the editor of a newspaper, Diário de Notícias, he was in a position to influence a large number of people.

A learned man who studied law and took great pride in being the owner of the largest English library in the country, Rui Barbosa had developed a talent for eloquent speeches that appealed to his hearers, particularly to the young. Barbosa grew up under paternal guidance admiring English constitutionalism and American liberty. Although he did not necessarily want a republic in Brazil, he insisted

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[83] Boehrer, Da Monarquia à República, 242.

[84] Ibid., 244.

on having personal liberty and individual guaranties.[85] He advocated the right of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, Habeas Corpus, the right of trial by jury, a supreme court, and laissez-faire.[86] One of the customs he admired most in England and in the United States was equality before the law, for which he battled in Brazil. He often said "there are three supreme protagonists in Western Civilization: Judea, the cradle of monotheism and Christ; Greece, the creator of arts and philosophy; and England, the spring of representative government and the mother of all free nations."[87]

Barbosa voiced a widespread opinion when he attributed many of Brazil's problems to the fact that the country was predominantly Catholic. Having read Max Weber he believed that Protestant countries could achieve progress more easily because Protestantism neither tries the soul nor exhausts the people morally in the way Catholicism does.[88] He was also a follower of Comte and advocated the state's duty to help science in its development. It should be taught in all schools when education became mandatory.[89]

At the time of the sharp controversy between Church and State several Republicans had suggested that an alliance be made with the Church to attract more Catholics to the party. But the idea was not

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[85]Homero Pires, Anglo-American Political Influences on Rui Barbosa (Rio de Janeiro, 1949), 27.

[86]Ibid., 42-55.

[87]Ibid., 59.

[88]Ibid., 41.

[89]Rui Barbosa, Trechos Escolhidos (Rio de Janeiro, 1969), 33-35.

accepted; although they supported the Church in principle during the controversy, the paper A Província resumed its attacks as soon as the skirmish subsided. In 1875 the daily questioned the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and the infallibility of the Pope.[90] After 1880 the attacks on the Church were less frequent but still occurred; in 1882 an anticlerical dictionary was printed. Some Republicans were extremely insulting toward the Church and the clergy but most of them accorded it a certain amount of respect while considering it an outdated institution.[91]

It is quite revealing to observe the Church's attitude toward the Republicans; its changes during the 1870's are a comment on how it felt toward the monarchy. In 1871, in a Catholic newspaper of Rio de Janeiro, O Apóstolo, the Republicans were attacked as partisans of the Masons and it was charged that both were conspiring to take away the liberty of the Church. When in 1873 the bishops were imprisoned O Apóstolo altered its tone and called for an honest Republican party in Brazil, not because the Church shared its ideas, but because times changed and one had to change with them. The Church made common cause with the Republicans although members of the clergy in general did not join the party.[92] After the trial of the bishops, when the Republicans resumed their attacks on the Church, the clergy returned

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[90]Boehrer, "The Church and the Overthrow," 391.

[91]Boehrer, Da Monarquia à República, 393-95.

[92]Ibid., 396-97.

to the fray. They claimed that the Republicans were corrupting the youth, making them dissidents and free thinkers, not through conviction but rather because young people follow what is fashionable. This perhaps indicated that although dissatisfied with the crown, the Church considered it the lesser of two "evils."

While members of the clergy had actively supported earlier Republican movements, such as the conspiracy of Tiradentes in Minas Gerais, the revolt in Pernambuco in 1817, and the Farroupilha revolt in Rio Grande do Sul in 1835-1845, they did not do the same in the 1870's.[93] The Church held a grudge against the emperor but could not bring itself fully to support the Republicans who were known for their anticlericalism. The clergy seemed to dislike Dom Pedro and the ministers, and to fear the Republicans, while hoping that Isabel, a devout Catholic, would soon come to power.

Brazil had a tradition of republican ideas and in spite of being suppressed, they always surfaced again. The Republican party that appeared during the second reign was never strong enough nor numerous enough to bring about substantial changes by itself. As late as 1889 it had very little support at the polls and its hopes for change through evolution were still far from becoming a reality. And

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[93] Ibid., 399.

yet, the movement accomplished a great deal. Its propaganda helped undermine the government; it influenced the military which was in a position to conduct a revolution, and influenced the population enough so that when the change came it was passively accepted. The Republicans' work was not formidable in terms of deeds, but they helped corrode the governmental foundation until it crumbled.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE ARMY

Brazil was unique among the Latin American countries in many respects; she differed in size, unity, political stability, and form of government. Furthermore, Brazil had not been forced to fight a long war for independence and thereafter never needed to build up a strong army. Dom Pedro II was not a military-minded man and objected to the idea of having a large armed force. He strongly disliked uniforms, swords, and all display of military pomp and ceremony. But in 1865, when Brazil formed the Triple Alliance with Uruguay and Argentina in a war against Paraguay, the emperor realized that an immediate increase in the number of troops was necessary. As a result of the war the military establishment grew steadily in size, strength, and importance.

In 1871 the victorious troops returned to Brazil and were cheered by the crowds; for the first time in their independent history the Brazilians recognized men who had distinguished themselves in war and who were worthy of their admiration. The soldiers were considered, by themselves and by others, to be the savior of the nation, and they were in no mood to let the country forget that they were heroes.

The war exerted many positive as well as negative effects upon the country. The need for enlisted men had prompted the army to offer freedom to any slave who joined its ranks. Several thousand

Negroes took advantage of this opportunity for de facto emancipation and were thus able to rid themselves of a lifelong bondage. The war served as a revelation for many people:

> The urban classes became aware of the inadequacies of the ruling elite of the landed aristocracy; of the technological backwardness of the country, the vastness of the sparsely settled areas and the outworn slave labor system; of the inefficiency of the bureaucracy filled through nepotism. Young officers were disenchanted because the country was ridiculed abroad for having a monarchy and slavery.[94]

Before the Paraguayan war the army received little attention from the government and had passively accepted its minor role; after 1871 the officers were no longer willing to remain in the background. Their desire for recognition, power and prestige, and their feeling of being neglected and mistreated by an ungrateful government, led to frequent clashes. The examination of a few of these conflicts between the army and the government serves to show how, slowly but steadily the military increased its influence at the expense of the crown.

The first crisis occurred during the war, in 1868, when the well-liked Liberal, Zacarias Goes e Vasconcellos, was Prime Minister.[95] Dom Pedro appointed the Baron of Caxias, who possessed excellent military credentials, as the commander in chief of the Brazilian armed forces in Paraguay while the Liberals would have preferred one of their own men in the top command. Dom Pedro disregarded their dissatisfaction

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[94]Graham, A Century of Brazilian History, 5.

[95]Simmons, Marshal Deodoro, 16.

because he insisted on assigning the best available talent to this important post. Zacarias was a strong party man but not an equally experienced statesman; he was interested in the success and glory of his party, rather than the future of the country.[96]

Caxias had to work in harmony with the Minister of War, the Liberal Muniz da Silva Ferraz, who refused to acknowledge the Baron's authority. Since Caxias was indispensable the minister was forced to resign, an action which was resented by the Liberals. A press campaign insulted and ridiculed the Baron who was held personally responsible for Muniz's resignation; he was severely criticized for his actions on the front.[97] Caxias was greatly annoyed and threatened to resign. Dom Pedro realized that he could not allow such a chaotic situation to continue during an active war and on July 16, 1868, the Prime Minister was forced to resign. Since Liberals enjoyed a majority in Parliament, the emperor followed tradition and requested the Prime Minister's advice before choosing a successor. Zacarias refused to cooperate, which implied that no other Liberal was competent to take his place.[98] The emperor then called on the Conservatives to form a government and thus unleashed the fury of the Liberals, who blamed Dom Pedro for the situation rather than Zacarias.

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[96] Calogeras, A Historia do Brasil, 231.

[97] Ibid., 228-30.

[98] Ibid., 232.

Several observers expressed the opinion that this episode actually marks the beginning of the end for the monarchy. The Liberals called Dom Pedro a skillful and crafty dictator, and a feeling of antipathy towards the throne developed. A group of disgruntled politicians organized the Clube Radical, which included Godoye Vasconcellos, Liberato Barroso, Rangel Pestana, and Gaspar da Silva Martins.[99] Many of their ideas were similar to those of the Republicans:

> They wanted the abolition of the moderative power, of the Council of State, and of slavery; they proposed that the national guard be curtailed; education should be available for all and there should be free elections; they advocated religious freedom, freedom of association, direct suffrage, and separation of police and courts; a temporary Senate, and elected provincial presidents.[100]

The Radical Club never became as important as the Republican party. However, it offered its members an opportunity to voice their dissatisfactions with the government while remaining within the monarchical system. Without this outlet for political protest many radical Liberals might have joined the Republicans.

After 1871, following the conclusion of the Paraguayan War, Dom Pedro felt no further need for a large military establishment and seriously considered reducing its numbers. But the slightest suggestion of such a move unleashed a flurry of objections; the "saviors of the nation" appealed to the people who were indignant at the injustice with

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[99] Simmons, Marshal Deodoro, 15.

[100] Ibid.

which the government treated their war heroes. The emperor did not seem fully to understand the role of an army in a modern state. He only knew that he did not like the military and saw no reason for it to continue to grow and prosper during peacetime.[101]

Reassured by popular support, the army was emboldened to make a few changes. The Clube Militar was organized where officers could air their grievances; its leader and president, Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, emerged as the most influential military figure. Another change was the separation of the Military School from the regular college in Rio de Janeiro, to give the army more independence. The new school eventually became a hotbed of republicanism. The students were strongly influenced by Benjamin Constant, a math teacher, who was a Republican and advocated Comte's positivism. While older officers still respected the monarchy and only wanted to secure privileges by opposing the government's position, the younger officers felt no real attachment to the crown. They respected Dom Pedro but not his office and denigrated the two principal parties as corrupt and inefficient. On the other hand neither party liked nor supported the military; in retaliation the officers, influenced by positivist and republican ideas, turned against the entire monarchical system.[102]

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[101] Calógeras, A História do Brasil, 222.

[102] Ibid., 244.

During the years of the Paraguayan War a drastic transformation occurred in the mentality of the military men. Their long contact with the La Plata republics revealed the kind of power the army wielded in other countries. The strong dictatorship of Francisco Solano López in Paraguay attracted their admiration while Dom Pedro's form of democracy was regarded as weak. Paraguayan and Argentinian influences were not only expressed in the fashions the officers adopted (they returned with oily hair and wide pants) but also in their ideas. They were no longer satisfied with sitting around the barracks whiling away the time with idle chatter; they wanted more political power and influence, a raise in salary, and more rapid promotions.

Military men were permitted by the Constitution to be members of Parliament while still on active duty, a provision that eventually created problems because of disparities between the politicians' and the army's code of conduct. While insults, lies, and defamation of character were part of a day's work for a politician, the officers, whenever they thought their honor was impugned, wanted to debate the issue in public through the press, to clear their names. In order to circumvent unnecessary clashes, the ministry issued avisos forbidding military men to participate in activities of a recriminatory nature. Officers, without exception, were prohibited from writing articles for a newspaper without the express permission of the Minister of War.

The avisos did not endear the ministers to the officers who already looked askance at politicians. "They looked upon non-military men as effeminate and weak. Their superiority stemmed from their self-denial, morality, and the austere simplicity and poverty of their life."[103] Legislators and ministers appeared to them to be ignorant, unscientific, incompetent, and with hopelessly outmoded ideas. The exalted opinion that the military had of itself was not based on reality; the Brazilian army was never known for its discipline. Since the war it had frequently been unruly and disregarded orders. An occasional reprimand by the government was necessary to keep officers in line, but such actions were not regarded by the army as disciplinary measures; they were often taken as a personal insult and an affront to the entire military. The punishment of one individual was turned into a "class" fight between the army, the oppressed, and the government, the oppressor.

Although neither political party felt comfortable with the military, both yearned for the support and endorsement of an important and popular general whose influence they hoped to use to control the armed forces. The Conservatives were attracted to Caxias, while Liberals solicited the support of General Osorio, also a Paraguayan veteran.[104] After Caxias died he was replaced in his party functions

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[103] Simmons, Marshal Deodoro, 39.

[104] Ibid., 46.

by Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca who proved to be less cooperative than the Conservatives had expected. He was vain and politically naive, a constant troublemaker who eventually was influenced and used by the Republicans for their own ends.[105]

After 1871 the relationship between the government and the army deteriorated steadily. The officers' constant nonconformity and disobedience to rules and regulations led to reprimands from the government which sparked attacks on the ministers and provoked counterattacks on the army. Relations became strained with hostility and anger on both sides.

In 1886 a severe crisis occurred, the first in a series of conflicts between the government and the military. Colonel Cunha Matos, while engaged in an inspection tour, found uniforms missing from a garrison in Piauí and his report to the Minister of War accused Captain José de Lima of dereliction of duty. Lima had a friend in Parliament, Deputy João Rezende, who cautioned the Minister, Alfredo Chaves, to be careful in his investigation, since the captain claimed that Matos had hushed up similar offenses when committed by his friends.

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[105]Joseph L. Love, Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882-1930 (Stanford, 1971), 30.

Cunha Matos assumed that the accusation was an attack on his honor and wrote an open letter to a newspaper which derided the deputy. Rezende berated Matos in Parliament and the officer wrote a second letter attacking not only the deputy but also the minister. Alfredo Chaves reacted to the personal attack and resolved that the accusations and retaliations had to cease. He ordered Cunha Matos detained in his quarters for forty-eight hours as a disciplinary measure. The charge was disobedience against the avisos which forbade military men from engaging in public debates in the press without ministerial permission. The offender took his punishment and matters would have ended there but Baron Pelotas reopened the topic in the Senate by saying that the punishment of Matos was an affront to the entire army, and that the military should never be subjected to the despotic avisos.[106]

Shortly after this incident Sena Madureira wrote an article for the Jornal do Comercio and, as expected, was reprimanded. Under the influence of Baron Pelotas' speech he wrote that no minister had the right to give him orders and that he could only be punished by a court martial. Madureira received the full support of the military in his fight against the government. Acting in the name of the entire army, Marshal Deodoro called a meeting in Rio de Janeiro in January, 1887, to decide what should be done to help the officers. The meeting hall was

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[106]Pombo, Historia do Brasil, 312.

crowded with over two hundred officers and many civilians who supported the military. Sitting on the stage were the leaders of the movement, Marshal Deodoro, Sena Madureira, and Benjamin Constant, a teacher at the Military School and a leading Republican figure. Marshal Deodoro was the acting governor of Rio Grande do Sul at the time and threatened to resign if Madureira was punished.[107] The conference decided that the army would no longer accept governmental restrictions on their activities, since a supreme military council had found the avisos unconstitutional.[108] The meeting was important as it showed the unity of the army in their dissatisfaction and demonstrated the degree of support they could hope to receive from the population in their struggle.

In spite of the decision reached by the officers the Minister of War refused to revoke the restrictions and resisted all military pressure. The army, however, had strong supporters among the Liberals who, led by Silveira Martins, pressured Prime Minister Cotegipe and his ministry to change their attitude. The government lost the fight against the army, as it had in past incidents and would again in the future. Cotegipe's cabinet weathered the storm and did not fall, but the Prime Minister emerged, as he put it, "with some scratches on my dignity."[109]

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[107] Love, Rio Grande do Sul, 30.

[108] Pombo, Historia do Brasil, 313.

[109] Lima, Formação da Historia, 225.

In early 1888, another crisis developed when an officer, Leite Lôbo, was arrested while dressed in civilian clothing and, according to his account, was mistreated by the police. An investigation ordered by Cotegipe's ministry concluded that the arresting police lieutenant should be fired. When Leite Lôbo, supported by the military, demanded the dismissal of the chief of police, the minister bluntly refused to comply, but Isabel, acting as regent, condoned Lôbo's charges and this time the cabinet collapsed.[110]

Several other smaller crises and clashes between soldiers and police, and between the military and the government also occurred. Apparently the military won these conflicts by imposing its will and thus increased its power and prestige. The Republicans bolstered the officers' will and initiative by giving them their full support.[111] In addition the Republicans claimed that as long as a monarchy existed the army would be oppressed and restricted, but that in a republic the military would receive all the honors and privileges to which it was entitled.

Republican leaders were determined to attract the army as allies. If a republic were to be successful the support of the officers was mandatory; no new government could hope to take power, and hold it, without the approval of the armed forces. The disagreements between

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[110]Simmons, Marshal Deodoro, 91.

[111]Hahner, Civilian-Military Relations, 24.

the monarchical government and the army seemed advantageous as the ministers were winning half the battles for the Republicans by antagonizing the officers. The next move was to convince the military that a republic would be the solution for their problems. The main target for this campaign was Marshal Deodoro who was highly respected and admired among his fellow officers; when he was convinced that the monarchy's days were over a republic would follow automatically. This is what happened.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

Ever since colonial times political power in Brazil has rested in the hands of about four hundred thousand landowning families.[112] Their influence was not merely confined to their fazendas, inasmuch as the sons and other relations became municipal, provincial, and federal officials, held rank in the armed forces, were members of the professions, or moved to the capital where they participated in national politics. The rich landowning families preserved the monarchy and were the foundation of the Brazilian agricultural economy. They depended on slavery for their labor force and believed that abolition of that institution would curtail their economic and political power.

The first evidence of the presence of slaves in Brazil dates from the 1530's when Duarte Coelho brought some with his colonizing expedition. A letter is extant, dated 1545, written by Pedro de Gois, in which he petitioned the government in Lisbon for more slaves from Guinea. The number of slaves before the mid-sixteenth century is unknown, but 1550 marks the beginning of a regular traffic between Africa and Brazil with the arrival of a substantial shipment in Bahia.[113]

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[112] Manchester, "Dom Pedro II," 53.

[113] Rollie E. Poppino, Brazil: The Land and the People (New York, 1968), 162.

Many of the slaves were Mohammedans, oftentimes more intelligent and shrewd than their owners. Several blacks could read and write Arabic fluently.[114] The majority of slaves could be divided into three groups: the Sudanese, among whom were Yorubas, Dahomes, and Ashanti; the Moslems including Hausas, Tapas, Mandingos, and Fulahs; and the Bantu composed of Angolas, Congos and Mozambiques.[115]

The abolitionist idea in Brazil was not a phenomenon of the 1870's and 1880's. It had been in the minds of a few people for decades if not centuries. The first account of open protest against slavery dates from the 1780's, when Joaquim da Silva Xavier, better known as Tiradentes, condemned the institution in colonial Minas Gerais. Another prominent figure in opposition was José Bonifácio de Andrade e Silva who attacked the institution on moral grounds and proposed an end to the traffic. He, however, did not advocate precipitate abolition for fear of causing economic chaos.[116]

As early as 1810 a treaty was signed between England and Portugal to end the slave trade between Brazil and Africa. But the Portuguese made no effort to enforce the treaty and the trade continued to flourish. A new treaty, negociated in 1817, again attempted

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[114]Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942), 39.

[115]Arthur Ramos, The Negro in Brazil (Washington, 1951), 25.

[116]Poppino, Brazil, 162.

to end the trade but was equally disregarded to the chagrin of the British. In 1826, yet another attempt was made by England to restrict the market, but this time the treaty was signed between Great Britain and Brazil. Many Brazilians felt pressured into signing in order to receive England's recognition of their independence from Portugal. Some intellectuals intimated that the British had used their position of world pre-eminence to blackmail a new country. New slaves, however, continued to be brought in, as this treaty was not enforced either and the profits made by traders reached sizable proportions. To avoid the loss of shipments through British inspection, as the treaty permitted English searches on the high seas, United States and other nations' vessels were frequently used to transport the Negroes.[117]

Several valid reasons explain why the Brazilian government could not enforce the laws. Many law enforcement officers, guards and bureaucrats had relatives and friends in the trade and would voluntarily look the other way or accept bribes for connivance. The country did not possess an adequate Coast Guard to patrol the ports and coasts to watch for slave ships. And the government could not afford to offend or take action against the landowners whose private armies were needed to suppress regional rebellions.[118]

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[117]Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," Hispanic American Historical Review, XI (May 1931), 179.

[118]Poppino, Brazil, 196.

Attitudes began to change, however, and in 1850 the crown decided to end the slave trade by passing the Eusébio de Queiróz law which declared the trade to be piracy. The law was rigidly enforced and illegal trade rapidly declined.[119] One might inquire why this law was successful while previous ones had failed. Two important factors contributed to its effectiveness: Dom Pedro II firmly decided that the traffic should end and announced that no effort would be spared to enforce the law, thus implementing an increase in royal power; and, by 1850, public opinion had shifted and it seemed desirable "to dry out the source of labor supply."[120] Brazilians neither wanted English interference in their internal affairs nor the image of being slave trade supporters.[121]

Many Brazilians had travelled and studied in Europe and returned with more humanitarian ideas. Their writings in newspapers and pamphlets condemned slavery and exerted a great impact on the public, creating a desire to support the Eusébio de Queiróz law. The arguments for the propagandists included the following points: an ever increasing number of Africans made a potential mass rebellion more likely; the large number of blacks in the country was becoming far too influential in Brazilian culture, food, language, religion, music, and fashion; and the increasing number of slaves was a deterrent

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[119]Hill, "The Abolition," 174.

[120]Ibid., 175.

[121]Poppino, Brazil, 88.

which dissuaded Europeans, a more desirable element, from coming to Brazil. For these reasons and others, the traffic had to be stopped; and then, it was hoped, the number of slaves would eventually decrease sharply.[122]

With the abolition of the slave trade the Negro population, as had been predicted, began to decline. Contrary to the case in the United States, Brazilian slaves never reproduced in large enough numbers to supply the market. The planters had always imported more males than females, showing a preference for superior physical strength, and contact between the sexes had been discouraged because, until 1850, it was cheaper to buy than to breed. In addition to the low birth rate, a high death rate prevailed among the slaves, who caught disease easily, died of exhaustion, or committed suicide.

Much has been written about how Brazilian slaves were treated by their masters with conclusions ranging from cruel decimation to paternal kindness. The truth probably lies somewhere in between. There are records of a few harsh masters who did not hesitate to flog and mutilate their slaves. But other records reveal gentle owners who worked side by side with their slaves and treated them in a kindly manner. Many deep personal relationships developed between masters and slaves with mutual feelings of affection. This was often the case with women who stayed at home in close contact with

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[122] Ibid., 167.

house slaves and shared with them their most intimate secrets. On the other hand, some ladies used their slaves to vent their frustrations and disillusions as a few accounts depict mistresses who mutilated the bodies of their female servants over real or imagined liaisons. Indeed, many women had cause for such suspicions, since it was no secret that the master's children, both white and mulatto, grew up side by side under the same roof of a proud father. One might conclude that while slavery was a nefarious institution affecting negatively all who came in contact with it, its degree of bearability varied with the masters. If he happened to be kind the lot of the slaves was endurable; if he was a tyrant they lived in constant torment.[123]

When the slave trade ended slaves became more valuable, and slavery became milder over the years with less physical abuse and cruelty. Maltreatment occurred mainly when an absentee owner left an overseer in his place or when a rumour of an imminent slave rebellion tightened discipline.[124]

The planters in Brazil may be categorized into three groups in terms of their views on slavery. The first group was the traditional type, the patriarchal sugar planters who in the 1870's sold their surplus slaves to the South. In the mid 1880's, they were left with unsaleable slaves, the very young, the old, and the sick whom they

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[123]Gilberto Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves (New York, 1970), passim.

[124]Pierson, The Negroes in Brazil, 80.

began, slowly and voluntarily, to free. The second group was the hardcore slavocrat who dominated the Paraíba Valley with his coffee plantation. Since his economy was prosperous he saw no reason to end slavery and fought against abolition with all his power. The third group was the progressive planter, found mainly in São Paulo, for whom agriculture was a business and not a way of life. Having high profits in mind as his paramount goal, he did not hesitate to substitute immigrants for slaves.[125]

Although the Church as an organization did not usually help to improve the life of the slaves (individual priests did intercede with masters for better treatment upon occasion), it did improve their status slightly. After arriving in Brazil the Negroes were Christianized and allowed to go to church side by side with their masters. As members of the Church they were regarded as human beings with immortal souls, and the master was responsible for their salvation. The soul was more important than the body to the Church; while the former belonged to God, the latter belonged to the master who could do with it whatever he pleased.[126]

During the 1870's, a strong abolitionist movement developed under the leadership of Joaquim Nabuco, the son of a wealthy planter. Although he was the most active and outspoken leader, others also contributed to the cause. Among the politicians were Souza Dantas, who

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[125]Robert B. Toplin, The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil (New York, 1972), 9-14.

[126]Freyre, Masters and Slaves, passim; Pierson, Negroes in Brazil, 92.

committed the Liberal party to abolition, Antônio Prado, who stirred the support of São Paulo and thus broke the resistance of the entire South, and João Alfredo, the Conservative Prime Minister under whom the abolition law was finally passed in 1888.[127] Other active abolitionists included Ferreira Menezes, the editor of Gazeta da Tarde, Luís Gama, and José do Patrocínio, two freedmen, Rui Barbosa, a lawyer, and André Rebouças and Antônio Bento, both writers.

In 1871, Prime Minister Rio Branco passed the Law of Free Birth. This law tried to please all factions. It gave hope to the abolitionists and assisted the slavocrats by making abolition an evolutionary process. It numbered the days of slavery by freeing all children born to slave mothers, thus encouraging the expectation that all Negroes would be free by the end of the century. The newborn children were to remain with their mother's owner until the age of eight, when the master would have the option of keeping the youngster in his service until the age of twenty-one or of letting him go and receive three hundred dollars from a special emancipation fund. The law also emancipated state-owned slaves, and made it mandatory to free slaves who could pay for their freedom.[128]

Dom Pedro II had been against slavery ever since he became emperor in 1840, and had freed his personal slaves soon after his coronation. In spite of his humanitarian tendencies, he did not openly

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[127] Joaquim Nabuco, Minha Formação (Rio de Janeiro, 1966), 217.

[128] Poppino, Brazil, 172-73.

and radically oppose the institution of slavery. Although he felt sorry for each suffering human being, he considered the welfare of the nation as a whole as his first concern. He believed that an abrupt abolition would bankrupt the Northern planters and ruin the country's economy. The Rio Branco Law received his unreserved approval because it gave the slaveholders time to make the necessary adjustments and arrangements for a substitute labor force, while at the same time guaranteeing eventual freedom.

The law of 1871 appeased the abolitionists only temporarily; a few years later they were campaigning again for more drastic measures. They thought that abolition through free birth was far too slow. They reasoned that if a girl was born in 1871, one day before the law was passed, she would still be a slave; if she gave birth at the age of forty, in 1911, that child could be working for the planter until the age of twenty-one, or until 1932. It was argued that if a child were to stay with his mother's owner until the age of twenty-one, he would continue to be a slave for all practical purposes. He would be burdened with the mentality and lack of education so characteristic of slavery.[129]

The slavery issue shifted from the economic aspect to a moral and humanitarian one and was not restricted to any particular section of the country; the movement found support throughout the nation.

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[129]Toplin, The Abolition of Slavery, 52.

Attacks on the institution came from foreigners as well as from Brazilians; many countries chided Brazil as an uncivilized nation as long as slavery persisted. She was now the only major western country that still allowed slave labor.

The abolitionist movement was supported mainly by the urban middle class. Among the strongest adherents were professionals, journalists, writers, manufacturers, merchants, and industrial workers. The poor rural whites were not enthusiastic about the prospects of abolition. They depended on the slaveholders for their livelihood as tenants on small plots of land, and did not dare oppose the fazendeiros.[130] The poor urban whites, however, exhibited a different attitude. Although they feared competition from the freedmen in their jobs, such as coachmen, railroad conductors, fishermen, painters, harbor workers, and artisans, they did not hesitate to help fugitive slaves flee to Ceará and other free provinces.[131] But perhaps one reason behind the assistance was to send the competition as far away as possible.

During the 1870's and 1880's major economic changes took place in Brazil. Because of the decline of sugar exports, Northern planters were losing their economic power to the coffee regions of the South. The province of São Paulo experienced shortages of labor because of its growing coffee fields and its developing industry, and therefore

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[130] Ibid., 36.

[131] Ibid., 66.

absorbed all the slaves the North could spare. But slaves alone could not solve the problem, and many paulistas decided that the only permanent solution would be to attract enough immigrants to end the chronic shortage.

Private citizens resolved to take matters into their own hands and formed organizations which sponsored recruiting agents in Europe to induce farmers and workers to come to Brazil. Nicolau de Pereira de Campos Vergueiro headed one of these organizations, which advanced the passage money for those who could not afford their own way and who later repaid with labor. Vergueiro provided immigrants with free transportation from the coast to their destination, and supplied them with furnished houses, clothing, and provisions at cost. Until their debt was repaid they worked for the planter. Each colonist received a number of coffee trees in proportion to the size of his family and the profits from the harvest were shared with the employer. After the debt was paid the family could move away but had to give one year notice. Under this method each worker had a direct interest in the harvest which resulted in considerably higher yields and profits than under the slave system.[132] Because of the need for free labor, and the relative shortage of immigrants, most workers were well treated.[133]

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[132] Burns, A History of Brazil, 186.

[133] Warren Dean, The Industrialists of São Paulo, 1880-1945 (Austin, 1969), 44.

The Europeans who came to São Paulo did not have to make drastic adjustments, but many of those who went North could not endure the humid climate nor the tropical living conditions, and either left for Argentina or returned home. Others discovered that in certain areas of the country they could not successfully compete with slavery and also moved to more attractive places. Joaquim Nabuco pointed out that slavery was definitely hindering Brazilian progress as the institution scared away the progressive foreign element in whom the future lay. As long as slavery existed immigrants would not be treated with proper respect because in the mind of the people toilsome work was associated with slavery. Thus, Dom Pedro was charged with apathy and neglect towards the slavery issue on which the welfare of the country depended, and was criticized for not doing his utmost to end that institution while attracting more Europeans.

Many foreigners from the middle class arrived in Brazil with either a considerable amount of capital to be invested locally or with skills needed in agriculture and industry, but not all Europeans were a particularly desirable element nor were they all received with open arms. While the number of educated and resourceful foreigners willing to go to the tropics was not overwhelming, the agents from the paulista organizations could always find vagabonds and convicts who were eager to try their luck in America. These immigrants did not transfer progressive elements; instead they copied old and inadequate

techniques from the natives with extremely poor results.[134] Many formed societies apart, retreating into ethnic colonies separate from the Brazilians and refusing to associate with them.

While São Paulo's planters and industrialists welcomed foreigners, the Brazilian population in general shunned, scorned, and oppressed them.[135] One of Rio de Janeiro's newspapers editorialized:

> The Portuguese are the only foreigners who have well sounding names .... We want no intrusion of foreigners with barbarous names; ... we want no people who do not belong to our land; ... we have advanced well enough without a deluge of intruding and unnecessary foreigners and forward still! ... Brazil is great enough for the Brazilians.[136]

There are numerous accounts of instances when foreigners were mistreated and left to their own fate in a hostile country and Dom Pedro usually received the blame for these incidents. It was suggested that his own dislike for foreigners was the cause behind the Brazilians' xenophobia. The accusation seems unfair when one considers that his father was Portuguese, his mother Austrian, his wife Sicilian, and his son-in-law French. Europeans began to hear that many immigrants were mistreated and ostracized, and some governments, such as Germany, forbade their citizens to go to Brazil.[137]

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[134] Robert Clary, "Brazil Under the Monarchy," Hispanic American Historical Review, II (November, 1919), 601.

[135] Ibid., 602.

[136] Ibid., 604-5.

[137] Ibid., 601.

While the planters and industrialists of São Paulo were requesting and receiving more immigrant labor, the northern fazendeiros refused to change. They closed their eyes to the fact that the days of slavery were definitely numbered and failed to change with the times. After the Rio Branco Law was passed they should have begun a slow shift towards free labor, so that when slavery eventually ended they would have enough farm hands to continue their normal production.

Large scale immigration to São Paulo lessened the paulista desire for slaves and transformed many into active abolitionists. In 1887, more than ninety thousand Europeans arrived, of whom thirty-two thousand were Italians. This alteration in the population contributed to São Paulo's liberal thinking on most issues.[138]

When in 1880 the abolitionists organized the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society, the results of their continuous propaganda efforts could already be seen. Almost nobody was willing to defend slavery as a system, not even the slavocrats. The question being debated was how it should end, gradually or immediately? Dom Pedro agreed with the owners who believed in gradual emancipation, but the abolitionists and their increasing number of supporters were tired of waiting and wanted an abrupt end.

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[138]Conrad, The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 259.

Since the abolitionists had made their campaign into a moral issue, the slavocrats began to use practical reasons to defend it. They said that there should be respect for property in every society and that slavery was the cornerstone of Brazilian civilization. They pointed out that all great civilizations, beginning with the Greeks, had been built on slavery. Furthermore, they said, once slavery ended the freedmen would refuse to work because they were crude, lazy and ignorant. The owners pleaded for more time to replace them by immigrants. The freedmen would automatically turn to crime and vagabondage, vices that had to be prevented at all costs. A newspaper, O Cruzeiro, even stated that the animal instinct in freedmen was superior to reason.[139] The defenders of these ideas obviously chose to ignore reality because there were already thousands of freedmen in Brazil and the predictions had never come true.

The slow emancipation process seemed to work well, although not fast enough for Nabuco and his followers. The large number of freedmen was a result of the liberation given to black soldiers who fought in the Paraguayan War, personal manumissions, the freeing of state owned slaves, and the slaves' right to purchase their own freedom. Free blacks worked either in agriculture or in cities as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street vendors, or small shopkeepers.[140]

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[139] Toplin, The Abolition of Slavery, 130-53.

[140] Pierson, Negroes in Brazil, 67.

Manumission, a practice that was becoming more common, could be achieved in several different ways. A child could be bought by a compassionate person when he was baptized and then set free (tradition did not allow the owner to refuse such an offer); nurses and nannies, and other faithful servants were often liberated to show the family's appreciation for services rendered; and when masters died they often set their personal slaves free in their will.[141]

Many slaves were able to buy freedom for themselves and their families. This liberation could be accomplished in one of two ways: first, many slaves were allowed to work during their free time (Sundays and numerous religious holidays) on their own small piece of land and to save any profits earned; second, a number of slaves were Negros de Ganho, that is, they were barbers, carpenters, masons, porters, etc., and worked in towns. Their owners received a fixed amount from their income and the remainder was theirs.[142]

Other slaves belonged to brotherhoods or Irmandades composed of both free and slave members. These organizations would raise money and slowly buy the freedom of all their members.[143] The number of freedmen increased yearly. They were well accepted in society and under

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[141]Mary W. Williams, "Negro Slavery in Brazil: Benevolent and Humane," in Graham, A Century of Brazilian History, 56-57.

[142]Pierson, Negroes in Brazil, 67.

[143]Ibid., 67.

the law had equal rights with white citizens. Brazilian, as well as Portuguese society, did not make distinctions between black and white, only between slaves and free persons.[144]

Several laws, passed without much publicity, had the purpose of making slavery more humane. In 1869, one prohibited the separation of slave families and another ended public auctions. A law in 1876 forbade white fathers from selling their mulatto children, a practice that had been common.[145]

Abolitionist leader Joaquim Nabuco was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1878, where two years later he introduced a bill to end slavery within ten years. His suggestion was immediately rejected and the unpopularity of his idea was so widespread that he was not re-elected in 1881, nor in 1884. During these years, however, he worked constantly to change public opinion. His political career was reflected in this change as he returned to the Chamber in 1885, where he remained until 1889, when the empire fell.[146]

Nabuco indicated in his writings that Brazil's wealth was illusionary. Since the country depended on agriculture, economic income would vary according to world prices. The missing element in the country was well-developed industry which would tend to stabilize the

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[144]Williams, "Negro Slavery," 60.

[145]Carl N. Degler, Neither Black nor White (New York, 1971), 38-39.

[146]Calogeras, History of Brazil, 253.

economy. To achieve this goal, capital, skills, and manpower were needed but they would never be available on a sufficiently large scale as long as slavery existed. He held that the archaic institution handicapped the usage of laborsaving devices and methods to obtain more profit for less work. The soil was being brutalized, its fertility used up and, instead of reusing the fields, planters moved on to new ones. Large plantations hindered the development of communities and organizations with social obligations. As a result public works, such as schools, roads, bridges, and canals, failed to be built. But these were not all the ills caused by the system, as slavery prevented the rise of workers to a respectable position. In a society where slavery provided the main work force, laborers and artisans received little consideration. White citizens were reluctant to seek employment other than government jobs, being adversely affected by the lack of respect for work among the population. Even the whites were affected. Their labor was not needed because of the availability of slaves for menial jobs, and their only alternative was to become thieves, beggars, and prostitutes. Nabuco concluded that not only slavery but also latifundia had to be ended as a similar evil.[147]

The abolitionist movement in Brazil may be divided into two phases. From 1879-1884, the abolitionists were unaided by outside assistance and their only effective weapon was propaganda, but from

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[147] Joaquim Nabuco, "Negro Slavery in Brazil: The Chief Obstacle to Development," in Graham, A Century of Brazilian History, 70-75.

1884-1888, "the agitation passed from the streets and the press to the halls of parliament and became a political issue."[148] The Liberals were converted to the cause in 1884, and the Conservatives in 1888.

Most plantation owners constantly feared a slave rebellion. Although a major uprising never actually took place, a few small ones occurred. Most of the blacks who participated in them were either new arrivals from Africa or blacks who had very little contact with whites, mainly free Negroes, Negros de Ganho, or field hands. But there was usually a loyal house slave who informed his master, who then took the necessary precautions to deal with the potential rebels.[149]

Many of the slaves who worked in the fields never learned to speak Portuguese. Instead they developed Nagô, a mixture of African dialects and a few Portuguese words. This separate tongue led to further isolation of the field hands, and when freedom finally arrived they were handicapped in adapting to Brazilian society.[150]

When in 1880 the abolitionists launched a revitalized campaign to end slavery, the southern provinces began to be uneasy about the economic situation of the North. For almost two decades slaves had been sent South from the sugar fazendas, and the paulistas feared that if they acquired most of the northern Negroes, the fazendeiros would

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[148]Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," Hispanic American Historical Review, XIII (May, 1933), 818.

[149]Pierson, Negroes in Brazil, 40.

[150]Ibid., 71.

no longer have a substantial interest in slavery and might turn to abolition with compensation to liquidate their monetary investment. To circumvent this possibility the southern provinces took active measures; São Paulo passed a law forbidding any further internal slave migration, and Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais passed a trade regulation by which taxes on incoming slaves were double their value.

The steps taken by the South, unexpectedly had a contrary effect from their original intentions. Since northern agriculture had been declining for many years, the value of the slaves depended on southern markets. When these were closed, the blacks in the North became worthless and owners were transformed into abolitionists. Ceará was the first province to end slavery, in 1884, and was thereafter a haven for runaway Negroes.[151] The provinces of Goiás and Amazonas followed the example of Ceará, and in Rio de Janeiro thousands of blacks were liberated through intensified pressure. Abolitionists selected one city block per day and went from house to house pleading with the inhabitants to free their slaves.[152]

In Rio Grande do Sul the situation was similar to Ceará as many slaves had been sold to the central coffee plantations and the remaining ones, who worked in the jerked beef industry, were liberated with the condition that they would labor from one to seven years to compensate the owners for their losses.[153]

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[151] Conrad, The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 168-90.

[152] Ibid., 191.

[153] Ibid., 204.

Many owners all over the country became alarmed by the militant actions of the abolitionists and arranged manumission by contract. Thus, when a planter feared that his slaves might be induced to flee from his plantation by abolitionist propaganda, he concluded a contract with them. He named each slave in the document and stated that they should be free in a certain number of years. Most slaves agreed to this arrangement, although not all stayed as long as they had promised.[154]

Long before 1884, when Ceará began to offer asylum to fugitives, runaway slaves had been a constant problem for plantation owners. Over the centuries thousands had run away to quilombos, colonies composed entirely of blacks. The most famous of these was Palmares where a complete political and social order had been created. Many slaves, unfortunately, were caught and brought back by capitães de mato, jungle captains who, although often black or mulatto themselves, made hunting down slaves a profession.

In 1885, a law was passed which liberated all slaves over the age of sixty. A bill to free all sexagenarians with compensation had been proposed the previous year by Prime Minister Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas but it met such stern opposition that Dantas was forced to resign. Saraiva came to power and proposed a slightly different law; he had to resign as well but was followed by Cotegipe who also

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[154] Ibid., 191.

favored the liberation of all sixty-year-old slaves. In 1885 the Saraiva-Cotegipe law freed all slaves over sixty-five without compensation. While the original law designed by Dantas was acceptable to the abolitionists in 1884, one year later they were no longer willing to compromise and their outcries became more strident. The slave owners recognized then, although a bit late, that they should have accepted Dantas' proposal.[155]

In 1886 the lashing of slaves was legally forbidden and, as predicted, a decline in discipline followed. Influenced and aided by the abolitionists, blacks began to run away from the plantations by the thousands.[156] The mass defection of slaves and their exodus from the plantations could no longer be controlled by traditional means, i.e., by the police and capitães de mato. Some slaves acquired guns and killed overseers and police out of revenge. By 1887, more than a thousand slaves were hiding in the jungles near the city of Santos, waiting to be transported to Ceará by an organized underground. Their reason for gathering around that city was that slavery had been abolished there in 1886, and it was an ideal port to board the numerous northbound ships. The presence of the fugitives was no secret to the population of Santos as the inhabitants furnished them with supplies and protection.[157]

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[155]Toplin, The Abolition of Slavery, 102-9.

[156]Conrad, The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 237-39.

[157]Calógeras, History of Brazil, 257.

When the slaves fled en masse from the plantations during the year 1887-1888, the owners' only recourse to recapture them was to rely on the army. The military, however, strongly supported the abolitionist cause and refused to perform such a degrading task. The crown, at this time handicapped by strained relations with the army, was unable to impose its authority and thus failed to help the planters.

As more slaves fled from the plantations, many owners followed the example of Rio Grande do Sul and gave their workers contract manumissions. Others, aware that they could not hope to keep their slaves much longer, freed them outright on condition that they would remain until the annual harvest was gathered.[158]

By 1887 abolitionists were rather radical and their meetings often ended on a violent note when members scurried to attack conservative newspapers. Prime Minister Cotegipe finally banned abolitionist meetings, which served only to make their cause more popular. Judges also became more sympathetic to the movement. In cases of runaway slaves, they now insisted that the owners prove, to the satisfaction of the court, that the person in question was actually a slave.[159]

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[158]Conrad, The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 248-56.

[159]Toplin, The Abolition of Slavery, 192-97.

In May 1888, under the leadership of Conservative Prime Minister João Alfredo, all remaining slaves, a total of six hundred thousand, were freed unconditionally. As Dom Pedro was abroad, Isabel signed the Lei Áurea and earned the title of Redeemer. The abolitionists were jubilant. José do Patrocínio, one of the movement's leaders, kneeled before the princess, kissed her feet, wept, and delivered a speech to thank her.[160]

The slave owners did not participate in the overwhelming joy of the people. Prime Minister Alfredo distributed some titles of nobility to celebrate the occasion, and many slavocrats were among the recipients. Joaquim Nabuco regarded the recognition as a consolation prize and wrote in O País: "They /the titles/ seemed inspired by the Argentine Republic's generous idea of pardoning some criminals in celebration of our great day."[161]

The passage of the Lei Áurea, the Golden Law, in 1888 was the result of several factors. Abolitionist propaganda, both at home and abroad, had prepared public opinion for the step, particularly since Brazil was now the only major country that still condoned slavery. The cause was popular with many different segments of the population, including the young, the Republicans, the army, the middle class, and the workers. Among a population of approximately four million

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[160]Carolina Nabuco, The Life of Joaquim Nabuco (Stanford, 1950), 169.

[161]Ibid.

people only six hundred thousand were still slaves and about three hundred thousand were plantation owners. The remainder of the population had virtually no direct interest in slavery, and millions felt that they would improve their economic status once slavery was ended.[162] Other reasons for the passage of the law were the weakening of the owners' resistance, legislative action which had curtailed slavery since 1871, and the final step, the willingness of the crown to commit itself fully.[163] The main reason many of the deputies supported the emancipation bill was their realization that thousands of slaves had already run away and were destroying property; only abolition would end the chaos and restore order.[164] Considering the state of rebellion of both abolitionists and slaves, this was the only measure with the power to avert a possible civil war.[165]

The clergy, as a group, did not support abolition, although individual monasteries and clergymen endorsed it. The most outspoken members of the Church, in favor of freeing the slaves, were the bishops of Bahia, Maranhão, and Rio Grande do Sul.[166]

One grave mistake was made when the law of 1888 was passed. The owners considered their slaves as property, but the law made no provision for financial compensation. The matter was not mentioned by the abolitionists or by Isabel because they preferred not to turn

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[162] Burns, A History of Brazil, 199.

[163] Joaquim Nabuco, Minha Formação, 215.

[164] Conrad, The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 272.

[165] Toplin, The Abolition of Slavery, 245.

[166] Pierson, Negroes in Brazil, 54-56.

a noble issue, such as the freedom of human beings, into a business transaction. It was calculated that the slaves had already paid for themselves many times over with their years of labor. The deputies representing the planters did not mention the subject either because they did not want to seem unduly concerned with "small" and "petty" matters in such an important issue. Other deputies, representing the urban industrial middle class, believed it would be unfair if the generous owners, who had already freed their slaves, would have to help pay for the slaves of those planters who had refused to do the same. The entire problem was basically a misunderstanding, but it was a factor that Dom Pedro would not have overlooked had he been in Brazil.[167]

A number of sugar planters were faced with immediate bankruptcy, as they had failed to realize that slavery was doomed and had not made the necessary labor substitutions. They blamed the crown rather than their own shortsightedness for their economic collapse.[168] Their losses were substantial but the sugar economy of the North was already in decline long before the slaves were emancipated. Along with their human property the fazendeiros lost a great deal of political prestige and influence. A few joined the Republican party but most retired from public life. The planters from the South who had promoted immigration for decades were not hard hit by the 1888 law. They had already switched to a different labor force and their losses were only nominal.[169]

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[167] Toplin, The Abolition of Slavery, 255.

[168] Martin, "Causes for the Collapse," 16.

[169] Toplin, The Abolition of Slavery, 248-49.

The government immediately made loans available to ease the economic crisis and this measure kept many fazendeiros from bankruptcy. The planters who were beyond help, mainly because of their indebtedness, organized a campaign for indemnification. Although the Republicans promised financial aid if they came to power, Rui Barbosa and others declared that the only people who deserved indemnification were the ex-slaves. When Barbosa became a minister under the Republic he destroyed all records of ownership so that no one could claim any compensation.[170]

Abolition did not create a paradise for the Negroes. Before 1888 the slaves had received, from a liberal middle class, help to escape from their owners, but they had not been prepared for life as free people.[171] As long as they had been the principal source of labor, the Negroes received many privileges; as long as agriculture depended on them they received a great deal of attention.[172] But after slavery was removed as an obstacle to paulista progress, the blacks were left to their own fate.

The industrial centers attracted many former slaves who were neither trained for industrial work nor accustomed to urban life. Their standards and values were different from those of the city and

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[170] Ibid., 250-53.

[171] Florestan Fernades, The Negro in Brazilian Society (New York, 1969), 6.

[172] Ibid., 4.

numerous problems resulted. Many employers preferred to give work to immigrants rather than to blacks. The ex-slaves had a reputation of refusing to perform certain tasks, being unreliable in reporting to work, having a fascination for occupations that gave them status, and suffering prolonged phases of idleness. They seemed aggressive and resisted direct control or supervision or, at the other extreme, lacked incentive for competition with co-workers.[173]

In addition to their lack of training, the freed Negroes suddenly faced heavy competition in finding work. Immigrants did not mind modest jobs, and often were well-trained and skilled. Because of the problems encountered in the urban areas, most Negroes preferred to stay on the _fazendas_ and continue the work they had done before. Many slaves who had run away during the last months of slavery simply went to some other plantation in the area but nevertheless remained in agriculture.

Most of the problems following freedom had been forseen by Nabuco and his followers. Although they had done nothing concrete to help the freedmen in a new world, they planned to do so. Nabuco had said frequently that freedom would not mean much if the slaves did not also receive some land. Now that the major battle had been won, the abolitionists set out to achieve agrarian reform.[174]

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[173] _Ibid._, 13.

[174] Conrad, _The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery_, 276.

Their new goal worried the planters even more than emancipation. If the government could take away their slaves it probably also could take away their land. It appeared to many fazendeiros that the government could become too liberal and ruin them completely.[175] As a result of this reasoning some planters began to support the Republican party either directly or indirectly. The Republicans were viewed as a conservative group with the motto of "Order and Progress." They promised the planters full indemnification for their former slaves and guaranteed that under a republic there would be no agrarian reform.

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[175]Richard Graham, "Landowners and the Overthrow of the Empire," Luso-Brazilian Review, VIII (December, 1970), 47.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY

The conservative government of João Alfredo had to contend with many complicated problems immediately following the abolition of slavery. The threat of a racial revolution and a possible civil war had been ended but new issues arose after May 13, 1888.

The abolitionists were not fully convinced that their aspirations were attained. Nabuco and his followers now wanted to achieve some kind of economic freedom for ex-slaves by urging agrarian reform. At the same time, the planters were turning against the government because they believed it no longer worked for their interests, while the Republicans promised to solve the nations' problems, including the continuing complaints of the military.

Late in 1888, in an almost providential manner, the Prime Minister was presented with an opportunity to ameliorate the government's problems. Border tensions developed between Paraguay and Bolivia and the mobilization of their troops threatened the Mato Grosso frontier of Brazil. Two divisions of Brazilian forces were sent to protect the national borders and João Alfredo assigned Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca as their commander. Marshal Deodoro, who enjoyed tremendous prestige among the armed forces, was causing trouble for the government, and this opportunity offered an excuse to remove him from the capital.

In May 1889, Alfredo's government fell and Afonso Celso, Baron of Ouro Preto, became the new Prime Minister. Ouro Preto was a capable man and the continuance of the monarchy now depended on his ability to solve the accumulating problems. The theme of his government was reconciliation and reform: he extended the suffrage, gave more autonomy to the provinces by allowing local officials to be elected rather than appointed, provided for more educational opportunities, reduced import duties, and aided agriculture by offering loans to the landowners who had suffered financially through abolition.[176] These reforms appeased some of the fazendeiros and blunted several republican issues. The Republicans realized that they must act swiftly as the success of Ouro Preto's reforms would preclude a republic. The minister, in fact, set out to prove that it was possible to manage a monarchy with all the privileges and benefits of a republic.

In spite of his considerable ability to visualize what needed to be done to appease the changing mood of the country, Ouro Preto misjudged the extent of the military's dissatisfaction. Underestimating the army's potential to cause trouble for the government he recalled Marshal Deodoro from his outpost in Mato Grosso. Soon after the latter's return dissension broke out in Minas Gerais and the Prime Minister had to send troops to restore tranquility. The force chosen was the

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[176] Martin, "Causes of the Collapse," 37.

twenty-third infantry batallion, close friends of Deodoro who, upon his return, had spoken out against the government. The incident was viewed as a move to weaken the Marshall.[177]

Dom Pedro had been in ill health for several years and experienced a relapse in 1889. Following doctor's orders, he no longer worked as hard on governmental matters as in the past. His enemies implied that the real reason behind his semiretirement was that he no longer was capable of making decisions. Others intimated that he was influenced by his doctor and manipulated by his daughter and son-in-law. In May the Chamber of Deputies resolved to form a committee to investigate the situation and decide whether the emperor was still capable of ruling.[178] Rui Barbosa's Diário de Notícias endorsed this inquiry as did many other newspapers. But Dom Pedro's mental faculties still functioned, although the emperor had aged prematurely and was afflicted by many maladies. Isabel would not have to wait much longer to inherit the throne.

Princess Isabel's abolitionist sympathies had been evident long before 1888, as she had freed her personal slaves many years earlier. While she was extremely popular among the abolitionists after signing the Lei Áurea, and had earned the title of Redeemer, her popularity had declined sharply by 1889. Her name was mentioned frequently

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[177] Pombo, História do Brasil, 320.

[178] Williams, Dom Pedro the Magnanimous, 300.

after Dom Pedro's illness became acute. But strong criticism was levelled against her succession. The liberals implied that she was under the influence of the Church and expressed resentment at a return of ecclesiastical direction in government. In 1888 Pope Leo XIII granted her the Golden Rose for her role in the abolition of slavery; it was rumored that the alliance with Rome was now complete.[179]

While losing the liberals because of her religious views, Isabel failed to gain the full support of the clergy who still remembered the imprisonment of Dom Vital and Dom Macedo under the auspices of the monarchy. Having already lost the support of the landowners, who resented both her direct involvement in the abolition of slavery and the liberal policies of the government, she was unable to stimulate any sustained enthusiasm for her accession to the crown.

The abolitionists still expressed some gratitude, but their allegiance to the monarchy was only lukewarm. Their view is represented in the words of Joaquim Nabuco who wrote that he had not tricked the crown into deeds which eventually caused its fall; he had merely given them the opportunity to earn glory and recognition from posterity.[180] In 1822, the Braganzas had liberated the whites and in 1888,

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[179]Boehrer, Da Monarquia à República, 250.

[180]Joaquim Nabuco, Minha Formação, 232.

they received the chance to do the same for the blacks. But, in spite of the abolitionists' lack of enthusiasm for the monarchy and their criticism of the government, they feared that a republic would bring instability to the country.

Another reason many Brazilians did not desire Isabel as the next ruler was the influence of her French husband, the Count D'Eu, who was generally disliked. Whenever an unpopular decision was made by the government he was accused of manipulating behind the scenes. He was derided as proud and snobbish, as a man who refused to associate with Brazilians and to learn the language properly. The count possessed a quiet and reserved nature, but he did learn almost perfect Portuguese; if he did not participate more frequently in conversation it was because of his deafness. Since he was the brother of the Duke of Orleans, the impression was widespread that his political ideas were archaic and that he still believed in the divine right of kings. The press claimed that he would call himself Gaston I and protrayed him as ambitious and rather violent.[181]

Not all Republicans agreed on the method to be used to bring about a Republic. While many believed that it should be an evolutionary process, a slow conversion of the people until all elected members of Parliament were Republicans, other asserted that a revolution

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[181]Boehrer, Da Monarquia à República, 249.

was the only feasible method. For this radical step the support of the army would be needed, and positivists such as Benjamin Constant had slowly been converting officers to Republicanism for years.

In these times of political tension, the positivists found a favorable audience for their law and order slogans. Dom Pedro's rule with Ouro Preto as Prime Minister was in their opinion too liberal; the country had not yet recovered from the upheaval caused by the abolition of slavery. What Brazil needed, according to Benjamin Constant, was a strong president rather than a parliamentary system; a government that could firmly control the country, stop the liberal tendencies, and march towards progress.

In the second half of 1889, several small incidents occurred that publicly embarrassed the government. In October, a Chilean ship was anchored in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro and to honor the visiting officers a royal ball was sponsored by the crown. On that occasion Benjamin Constant claimed the attention of the celebrants and, without any apparent reason, attacked the government and defended the armed forces. The army acclaimed Constant as a national hero for his patriotic oration.[182]

A parliamentary assembly was scheduled for November 20, to appease the military. Among the reforms to be adopted were a reorganization of the armed forces, an increase in military salary, and the

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[182]Pombo, Historia do Brasil, 321.

purchase of new equipment. The Republicans realized that if they desired to keep the support of the military they must act swiftly.[183] Therefore, a rumor was circulated in Rio de Janeiro to the effect that Dom Pedro would abdicate in favor of his daughter on his birthday December 5. At the same time Prime Minister Ouro Prêto was reorganizing the National Guard, which was interpreted to indicate that the government planned to regain some of the prestige and power it had lost to the regular army. Upon hearing the rumor of Dom Pedro's anticipated abdication, lieutenants Sebastião Bandeira and Mena Barreto persuaded Marshal Deodoro that the time to act had arrived. A plan to overthrow the government had to be hatched in the military academy where Constant had convinced a few officers that this would be the best course to follow. He had also decided that the only man who could make a successful attempt to end the monarchy was Marshal Deodoro, who commanded the respect of his fellow military men and disliked Ouro Prêto.[184]

Constant and his followers realized that their plan needed to be executed soon. If they waited until Isabel was empress, it would be too late because she could present greater resistance to a revolution than her elderly father. Bandeira and Barreto convinced Deodoro to lead the revolution.

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[183] Santos, Bernardino de Campos, 80.

[184] Boehrer, Da Monarquia à República, 283.

The rebellion was scheduled for late November, but a fresh rumor circulated on November 14, started and spread by Major Solon, that Deodoro, Constant, and Quintino Bocayuva were to be imprisoned.[185] The army acted immediately! On the same day, late in the evening, the palace forces mutinied and marched to the War Office where Ouro Preto was holding a cabinet meeting.[186]

The next morning Ouro Preto and his ministry were forced to resign after being surrounded by Deodoro and his troops. Floriano Peixoto, who was trusted by Ouro Preto, commanded the troops inside the building but refused to obey the Prime Minister's orders to attack Deodoro's forces. The only person who tried to resist was the Minister of the Navy, Baron Ladario, who was shot in the leg and became the only casualty of the revolution.

With the resignation of Ouro Preto, Deodoro seemed satisfied. He wanted a conference with Dom Pedro to let him know the preferences of the army in the selection of the next prime minister. The government would have been in the hands of the army for all practical purposes, inasmuch as the power to select and dismiss prime ministers would have given the military complete control. But Dom Pedro refused to receive Deodoro and named as provisional Prime Minister, until the situation could be resolved, the Liberal Party leader of Rio Grande do Sul, Silveira Martins, Deodoro's arch-enemy. This nomination set the Marshal

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[185] Pombo, Historia do Brasil, 332.

[186] Hahner, Civil-Military Relations, 30-31.

into a rage; he had not wanted to overthrow the empire and had been satisfied with ending Ouro Preto's ministry, but now he changed his mind. In his opinion Dom Pedro was no longer in power; he had been manipulated, because the emperor would never have been this unfair and unjust to the military. As Dom Pedro seemed only a figurehead, Deodoro withdrew his objections to a new government and on the same day established a Republic. Actually Dom Pedro was the one who selected the new Prime Minister, but it seems that the emperor was unaware of the hostility between the two men.[187]

The advent of the Republic marked the end of the large landowners' political power. The old aristocracy and titled nobility had to step down and make room for new groups such as São Paulo's industrialists and the army. Military and academic honors became popular. Titles of generals, colonels, or doctors became the aspiration of officeholders and were attainable by either ability or the right connections.[188]

Dom Pedro was notified about the governmental changes and informed that he and his family had twenty-four hours to leave the country. Passively, the emperor accepted the decision and left on the Alagoas, with neither animosity nor rancor, only a deep feeling of

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[187] Simmons, Marshal Deodoro, 110.

[188] Freyre, Order and Progress, 173-74.

sadness. He wrote Deodoro a note expressing his eternal love for the country, his concern for its welfare, and his good wishes for a prosperous and happy future.

When the fall of the monarchy was announced Dom Pedro was already aboard the Alagôas and the people, although surprised, accepted the change as an accomplished fact. In distant Maranhão and Bahia there were token demonstrations and minor protests.[189] The only resistance came from freed slaves who for a few days attempted to save the monarchy. While estranged race relations had been easing up to this time, the days following November 15 witnessed the development of a potential race war. Only one man died, however, a Negro in São Luís.[190]

Since the military had accomplished the change of government, it seemed natural that a military regime should follow. Officers were appointed to high positions, the freedom of the press was limited, and military courts replaced civilian courts. Understandably the Republicans felt that they had not yet achieved their goal; not until 1894 was the government returned to civilian rule.

As soon as the end of the monarchy was announced, newspapers in Brazil and around the world published their opinions. The Gazêta

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[189]Burns, History of Brazil, 204.

[190]Freyre, Order and Progress, 9-11.

da Tarde of Rio de Janeiro, predicting that the new government would lead the nation to greatness, praised the army for the lack of bloodshed while installing "Order and Liberty." Rui Barbosa's Diario de Noticias declared that the Republic was necessary to obtain social order and to guarantee constitutional rights. The general tone of foreign newspapers was one of regret for the fall of the empire. The New York World held that there was no place in America for an emperor, while the Herald lamented that Dom Pedro's liberalism and desire to do good had led to his downfall. The New York Times viewed the fall of a liberal monarchy with apprehension and encouraged the Republic to follow the footsteps of the emperor. In Latin America, particularly in Argentina, the press regretted Dom Pedro's fall, with the exception of those who voiced the view of businessmen; these anticipated the end of Brazilian monetary supremacy. The Correio do Povo of Rio de Janeiro tried to answer the sympathy Dom Pedro received from abroad by pointing out that while the emperor was a lover of science and art, and a liberal thinker in general, he was quite different from his illiterate subjects. He had not done a great deal to improve their lot.[191]

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[191] Ibid., 29-44.

On November 15, 1889, an era ended in Brazil. Due to Dom Pedro's efforts the period had been characterized by moderate progress and uncommon stability. A new era was ushered in, but progress did not evolve at a much faster rate for the problem-ridden country. Brazil was never again to experience the exquisite stability that had been taken for granted during the restful reign of the Braganza monarch.

# CHAPTER IX

## CONCLUSION

In 1870 Dom Pedro II was in full control of the Brazilian empire but during the following nineteen years he gradually lost his power and influence. The main question, therefore, is: what happened? Was the fall of the empire the result of a slow erosion of power and prestige or was it the result of a precipitate coup d'etat staged by dissatisfied army officers? After reviewing the available evidence only one answer is possible: the events between 1870 and 1889 contributed to the decline of the monarchy, leading eventually to its abrupt termination.

The year 1870 serves as a demarcation line between two eras in Dom Pedro's reign. In that year the Paraguayan War ended and alerted the Brazilian public to the sprawling country's internal shortcomings. The war demonstrated that the economy was stagnant, communication and transportation were woefully inadequate, and the average citizen felt chagrined that it took Brazil, reinforced by two sizeable allies, five years to defeat tiny Paraguay. Obviously, changes were needed and while the monarchy achieved considerable progress during the following two decades, dissension flourished and could not be appeased.

Numerous factors contributed to the end of the monarchy, none of them strong enough alone to explain the fall, but together they accomplished the task. The first link in the chain of events was the imprisonment of the two bishops after they disobeyed governmental orders. The Church felt hostile towards a government that controlled it so completely. Almost simultaneously the army became dissatisfied with the lack of privileges and attention it received. The unrest of the officers grew stronger as the years went by and culminated on November 15, 1889, when the emperor abdicated the crown. During the previous two decades a new group of dissenters developed, the Republicans who presented the disgruntled elements in society with a political alternative. Although exhibiting vague theories and ideas, they nonetheless offered a plan to establish a republic based on order and progress. In the realm of speculation, it is sometimes surmised that if Isabel had not been unpopular or had had an acceptable husband that the events might not have transpired as they did. Many people remained loyal to Dom Pedro while expressing distaste for his daughter.

One of the major causes of the fall of the empire was the alienation of the planters. One may inquire why did they withdraw their support? Traditionally, it has been maintained that the planters faced financial ruin and a decrease of political power and consequently let the monarchy collapse. The fazendeiros' economic difficulties, however, began long before abolition, and after May 1888, they received many federal loans to help reestablish their estates. Besides, the mass flight of slaves from the plantations and the unrest of early 1888

clearly demonstrated that drastic action had to be taken by the government to prevent race war. Assuming that the planters still resented the monarchy, what was their alternative - only a republic? But why would they want a republic? The Republicans had indicated that with a change in the form of government the political power structure would change as well. The influence of the planters would be replaced by the industrialist, inasmuch as republicanism was an urban movement with little affinity for the rural aristocracy who for generations had oppressed the growing middle class. In conclusion, it does not seem logical that the planters would show an irrational dislike for the empire and willingly discard the prestige and power which they still held just to spite the emperor. Such sentiments could perhaps be understood if they had helped overturn the government in May 1888, or shortly thereafter, but the revolution occurred eighteen months after abolition, so tempers had time to cool. If pique was not the reason for their lack of support, perhaps fear was the motive.

Joaquim Nabuco and other abolitionists believed that the slaves needed not only freedom but land, and therefore advocated agrarian reform. When abolition was legislated in 1888, Nabuco realized that his work was not yet over; he continued campaigning for the freedmen's right to property. This led the planters to fear the redistribution of their land. These fears increased when Ouro Prêto became Prime Minister. As a liberal he attempted to implement changes to

demonstrate that a republic was not needed to sponsor reform. While the monarchy seemed to be leaning towards liberalism, and the fazendeiros expressed serious misgivings concerning the future of their estates, the Republicans offered a solution. Inspired by Comte and positivism, the Republican revolution would be conservative in nature, and law and order would be preserved while setting the stage for progressive development. Furthermore, the Republicans promised that agrarian reform would not be enacted. The planters would have to acquiesce as industrialists managed the country, but they would be permitted to retain their land. Rather than risk loss of their property, the landowners withdrew their support from the monarchy and allowed the empire to face its end alone.[192]

An important question often asked about the fall of the empire is what exactly was the role of the military on November 15? Did the Republicans use the army to achieve their purposes, as they needed the officers' support, or did the army use the Republicans to disguise their motives, to give respectability to the revolution instead of the criticism which would accompany a military coup? Was the army the tool of the Republicans or vice versa? While both explanations could be defended it appears that the two groups complemented each other. No Republicians actually participated in the revolution; in fact, they were as surprised as the rest of the population. The military had not consulted them and had not revealed its plans. The weight of

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[192]Graham, "Landowners and the Overthrow of the Empire," 44-56.

evidence indicates that Deodoro's movement was a military coup that used republicanism to justify its actions. And yet, without the Republicans, November 15 would not have been successful. For twenty years the Republicans had influenced the military and familiarized both officers and civilians with new ideas. When the monarchy fell, no pressure group expressed resentment nor even regret. The Republicans supported the military in its grievances, inflamed the dissatisfaction among the officers, and indicated that the traditional ways should be rejected in favor of an alternative course of action. The army was presented with a concrete plan to form a new government. While Benjamin Constant converted young officers to republican ideas, newspaper editors such as Rui Barbosa conditioned the urban middle class to accept modern ideas of government.

It must be emphasized that the revolution of November 15, 1889, was conservative in nature. The army wanted to establish order and eliminate many of Dom Pedro's liberal policies. Ouro Preto seemed almost a radical as tumult and disorder wracked the country. The military believed that Brazil needed a strong hand that would enforce law and order while at the same time preparing for progress.

In regard to the lack of popular support for the exiled monarch, three factors should be remembered as contributing to this apathy. The Republicans had recruited converts in the cities and many adherents believed that a republic was tantamount to progress. Others, who were defenders of Dom Pedro, took no action when they beheld

the emperor accepting his fate passively. Had he attempted to fight for his throne, he probably would have found a great deal of support among his subjects. And a final factor for the apathy can be found in nationalism; Indianism had just been revived and foreign influence was being reduced to a minimum. In this atmosphere many people felt ashamed of their form of government; to them it resembled the Portuguese colonial past. They were particularly embarrassed about being the only monarchy in America, and their national pride could only be restored by a change in government.

After 1870, while Brazil was still prosperous and stable, many problems began to surface. The country needed modernization, and while Dom Pedro did much toward this goal, it was not enough. Dissatisfaction was generated by the lack of industry, inadequate communications, archaic politics, and slavery that held back the national economy and the growing middle class. By 1888 the crown had lost the support of its main pillars: the Church resented governmental influence in ecclesiastical matters, the military craved more freedom of action and higher honors, and the landowners decried the loss of their slaves and feared the deprivation of their land.

Capitalizing on the problems of the monarchy the Republicans took advantage of the discontent and propagandized their plans for a better future. In the paradise they promised old problems would be solved and no new ones would emerge.

The general dissatisfaction in the country, the unpopularity of Princess Isabel, and Republican propaganda were reasons enough to cause the fall of Dom Pedro. A liberal monarchy gave way to a conservative military rule whose motto, "Order and Progress," was emblazoned on the new Brazilian flag.

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