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O Brasil imperial. 3 Vols.

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A Celebration of Brazil's Imperial History

These three volumes address the history of the Brazilian monarchy in three separate phases: 1808–1831, 1831–1870, and 1870–1889; that is, from the exile of the Portuguese court to the abdication of the first emperor, from the Regency through to the end of the Paraguayan War, and from that conflict to the monarchy's fall. Each is made up of eleven chapters, written or co-written by 36 different historians.

Anthologies are notoriously difficult to edit. Colleagues are often hard to hold to deadlines or hesitant to accept suggestion or correction, and the results often vary considerably from chapter to chapter. This three-volume example is unusually strong, however, a triumph for the general level of scholarship, the breadth of coverage, the clarity of writing, and, as José Murilo de Carvalho remarks in his graceful introduction, significant of the nation's achievement over the last generation or two. It can be taken as a celebration of Brazilian history as written and taught over this time. The references alone would make it indispensable for graduate student or professional alike, and the prose and approach are often so welcoming that the layperson might profit. While it is clear that Grinberg and Salles did not exercise an overbearing direction (the varying approaches, lengths, and level of success suggest that they limited themselves to selecting their colleagues and topics), they should be congratulated and thanked for a unique triumph in the historiography.

The precedents for these volumes are two. The indispensable series, *A história geral da civilização brasileira*, edited by Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda and then Boris Fausto over the 1960s and '70s and the magisterial Brazil chapters in the *Cambridge History of Latin America*, most completed in the 1980s (with the most recent contributions done as recently as 2008), edited by Leslie Bethell. The first was written as a narrative for laypersons and scholars alike by specialists, both Brazilian and American, with a minimum of references. The second provides a dense analysis and synthesizing narrative by specialists from three continents; the prose suggests it was written for other scholars and graduate students, and, although it is largely lacking in references, each chapter is buttressed by a very useful bibliographical essay covering research in all of the requisite languages. The anthology at hand varies from both its predecessors. With one exception, Dale Tomich, all of the authors are Brazilian. Some of the pieces are based upon both primary and secondary sources, all of which are referenced (there are no bibliographies). Many, like the authors of the *CHLA*, synthesize and reference secondary sources alone; indeed, many of the works cited are the most recent works done, in unpublished theses and dissertations. Regrettably, there are often surprising lacunae in the citations; reference to significant contributions in English varies from author to author, but is often missing or uneven, and, quite often, older works in any language are neglected. Often, it could be described as an anthology written by

and for Brazilian scholars of this and the last generation, emphasizing the Brazilian research done in that era.

Of the three volumes, the first and third are the most mixed in quality. In the first, one finds the second chapter and chapters four through seven problematic for various reasons. Schiavinetto's chapter on the Joanine era provides little narrative for the period or evidence for her arguments. Instead, she assumes a readership of like-minded cognoscenti, and emphasizes cultural and symbolic expression. Ribeiro and Pereira's piece on the First Reign neglects the linkages between political leaders and popular followings, does not distinguish between the interests and actions of the various elements composing the masses, and, indeed, tends to conflate people of color, *libertos*, and the children of slaves in arguments which strive to persuade the reader of popular agency. Sampaio's essay on indigenous policy is surprisingly disappointing; a review of ministerial reports with little attention to what actually happened on the ground. The chapter on the contraband slave trade by Mamigonian is ambitious, not least for its provocative, problematic conclusions here and there. However, her new points (that the trade was subject to significant legal attack that impacted slavery and Africans themselves) are stated rather than successfully demonstrated. Finally, the pre-1850 slave rebellion chapter by K. Grinberg, Borges, and Salles, provides a useful survey and bibliography. Still, its argument (that the captives' violent resistance and rebellion was the characteristic aspect of the slave regime, compelling widespread panic and fear among the free) is supported by problematic evidence and often contradicted by accepted facts (e.g., the preeminence of resistance by flight and *quilombos*, the small size and ephemeral quality of the revolts, their routine containment, and, most important, the successful function and expansion of slaveholding in all regions and classes).

Most of the volume is a good deal stronger. The first chapter, Oliveira's introduction to the whole era, is a solid synthesis, laying out the narrative and the arguments with skill. It only lacks a better analysis of the socio-economic and regional bases for the political divisions of the epoch. P.E. Grinberg's chapter on art and architecture is a learned and informative introduction, with useful discursive notes and references. While this is useful enough, one would like to see someone so capable extend her treatment to the possible parallels with literary schools and other French-based institutions, such as the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro and the Colégio Dom Pedro II, as well as to the patronage role of the monarch. L.M.B.P. Neves's chapter on the state and politics in the Independence era makes adroit use of contemporary sources in a very successful tour of the historiography followed by a useful, often revisionist, analysis of the narrative. Paiva's chapter on nineteenth-century Minas is a masterful survey, a tour de force using the most recent research to emphasize the racial, developmental, and demographic significance of the province – it is a great pity that he did not bring such strength to bear on the related political history. Ferreira makes up for this all too common neglect of political analysis in her skillful piece on Platine diplomatic history. She provides a necessary and useful account of state consolidation between 1837 and the 1850s, and uses that analysis as the necessary frame for her synthesizing narrative. Based on both classics and more recent works, it is a study which surprises and informs repeatedly. Finally, G.P. Neves's chapter on the

monarchy's religion concludes the volume with a broadly learned and useful study, contextualizing Church history with erudite use of sources in several languages and judicious reference to parliamentary debates. One could only wish that he had had the space to pursue the issues of freemasonry or the Bishops' Question after introducing them.

The second volume is generally stronger overall. It is true that I.R. de Mattos's introductory chapter does not improve much on his classic study of the era. Referencing a broad, select reading of secondary literature, without benefit of archival research, its rambling analysis recalls *O tempo saquarema*, often cited elsewhere by his colleagues, which conflates the monarch, the state, and the ruling class, without a clear notion of the processes, articulation, or partisan distinctions which matter so much in trying to comprehend this complicated past. Ricci's study of the *Cabanagem* can be better recommended, albeit with hesitation. It lacks any sustained archival research, and it assumes that the reader is familiar with the narrative – the uninformed are likely to be confused. However, its synthesis of a broad range of works introduces the most devastating of the Regency revolts and the one generally ignored or unknown to many of us, and its citations of relatively obscure Amazonian historiography is useful. Rodrigues's chapter regarding the end of the Atlantic slave trade is puzzling, given the author's erudition. He presumes that the central debate remains the issue of British vs. national causation, and largely ignores the more recent quarrel regarding slave agency and yellow fever as causes. While he provides a fascinating intellectual history of the polemical and parliamentary criticism of the trade, he does so without regard to its impact on policy, to the opinions of those who actually made that policy, as well as to the political history critical for understanding that policy's context. Finally, Gonçalves's chapter on Romanticism is something of an opportunity missed. It is an essay on concepts critical to the school, and presumes an interest in theoretical analysis of such concepts and a knowledge of the period and its literary figures. There is an excellent bibliography on the matters discussed and on the standard Brazilian authors. However, there is no concern to show how the Romantic sensibility and literati fitted into the literary, social, and political milieu of the time. In effect, the chance to demonstrate the relationship between high culture and the concerns of other historians or likely readers is missed.

Other chapters are valuable indeed. No period is more important or seminal than the Regency for the monarchy's history, and Basile's introduction to it is very striking for its clarity and command, benefiting from good research in both primary and secondary sources. While one must note his neglect of the critical issue of socio-economic impact on early party formation, it is to be recommended as a very strong piece, with useful discursive notes. Pesavento's treatment of the *farroupilhas* includes a useful narrative, although the necessary contextual analysis of the revolt is marred now and again by mistaken conclusions or assumptions. These are far less significant than the author's provocative exploration of the literary and historiographical construction of the *gaúcho* identity and imaginary and their importance. K. Grinberg's piece on the *Sabinada* also has clear value. One may differ with her occasionally on facts and interpretation, but the piece itself is useful for its provocation and the centrality of its issues. She uses this critical revolt to illustrate the way

in which debate over racial discrimination came to a head and was then suppressed in the 1830s, and she does this by discussing explicitly racial aspects of the movement, the opposition to it by Antônio Rebouças, and the careers of the latter and Sabino. While she wishes to focus upon race, her own fine research indicates the consistently complicating factors of class, career, and politics. Indeed, the racial and political generalizations she suggests do not always jibe with Rebouças's career or the careers of Justiano José Rocha, Francisco Otaviano, Aureliano, and Paula Brito. Izecksohn's piece on the Paraguayan war combines a solid resume of the war and provides an excellent bibliography of its secondary sources. Aside from the various lines of research thoughtfully suggested in the conclusion, others are indicated by the well-crafted political analysis: What was the impact of the war on domestic politics in terms of urban reform and financial difficulties? What was the basis for the cabinet's fears of political mobilization among the Liberals and veterans after 1870? Lima's conclusion to the volume takes up the seemingly unlikely topic of the national language. Yet, drawing on an impressive range of secondary sources and published contemporary pieces, one finds it very useful for thinking about multi-ethnic cultural formation, the cultural aspects of socialization, and the political intention and political impact of literary culture and language use. For example, she demonstrates the ways in which the elites attempted to use language to maintain the social hierarchy, but then demonstrates the ways in which language could facilitate subaltern inclusion and social mobility.

Two chapters in this volume were especially striking for their contributions: Carvalho's chapter on *pernambucano* social movements and Marquese and Tomich's analysis of the Paraíba Valley's coffee production in world context. No province was more beset by instability and violence than Pernambuco in this era. None was more important to understanding the national meaning of both the Regency and the Regresso. Carvalho's analysis addresses all of these matters in a singularly impressive display of the historian's craft. It is exemplary for its adroit mix of a broad range of secondary literature and archival sources, for its attention to the interaction between classes and colors and between the province and the Court, and for the clarity of its exposition. A model of how to manage the complicated elements at play in the provincial politics and revolts of the early monarchy, it demonstrates how indispensable social history is to political history, political history to social, and how an appreciation of how time, local specificity, and contingency are critical to understanding and conveying political processes. One envies Carvalho's clear mastery of the issues on the ground and in the historiography; one hungers for the day that similar analyses are done for all of the empire's provinces. Marquese and Tomich, in a remarkable display balancing both extraordinary grasp of general trends and focused attention to local detail, put the emergence of the Paraíba slave plantations' coffee into context in a superb synthesis based on an unusually wide historiographical base. Its particular strength is the deft way in which it inserts Brazilian coffee exports into a global context, easily bringing to bear numbers and analysis regarding the product's market, market competition, and the relationship of both to Brazilian cultivation and labor. With good numbers and a care for the chronology, this team gamely illustrates the varied factors that allowed and propelled Brazil forward against such contemporary rivals

as the Caribbean islands and Java. More, their writing and organization is such that what many of us deem the more dismal aspect of history becomes dramatic.

As occurred with the first volume, the third volume's contributions tend to bunch towards either extreme – the problematic and the impressive. Mattos's introductory piece, for example, on race, slavery, and politics focuses on the three critical abolitionist laws of 1850, 1871, and 1888, and eschews the complexity of political history for simplifying generalizations about the ruling class and marginalized reformism and the unsatisfying assertion that each law was largely the result of slave mobilization. M.S. Neves's piece on Rio is an amusing essay based on a great deal of secondary literature on the universal expositions and, for the most part, the impressions of Koseritz. The secondary literature on Rio or late nineteenth-century urban history in general is ignored, except for Chalhoub's works. There is nothing on such items as the city's dramatically changing demography, the decline of slaveholding, the new wealth and amenities of the post-1850 era, the economy of which the city was the nexus, the infrastructure which supported it or the architectural styles which adorned it, the emergence of the fashionable new districts, the impact of contagious disease in numbers or in nature. Nor does Klug's piece on southern immigration satisfy. This is less a capable synthesis than a failed attempt at framing a triumphalist narrative. One is struck with the author's assumption of unchanging state policy and a fixed identity for the nation's ruling class, and, while the author presumes that there is a racial rationale for European immigration, he makes no attempt to track shifts in immigration policy to shifts in policy towards the African slave trade and slavery. Finally, Machado's account of the abolition of slavery is disappointing, as well. Despite exemplary archival research on local *paulista* events, she does not engage much of the published contemporary sources or the scholarly tradition in making the argument that, once again, slaves' rebellion and the fear of it drove abolitionism forward. Her evidence is highly selective and at times can be read quite differently than she proposes, and while her own text indicates something of the significance of abolitionists on rural slaves' resistance and flight, she persists in arguing that the Abolitionist leaders were marginal to 1888. Indeed, she only mentions the Abolitionist movement once, and, despite her focus upon *paulista* rural destabilization in the 1880s, she notes Antonio Bento only in passing. Slave agency is critical to understanding both slavery and its abolition in Brazil, but there is no good reason to ignore national political realities or the nature of the national movement which successfully engaged those realities, promoted and organized slave flight and resistance in the 1880s, and made shrewd, effective political use of slave agency's impact.

There is much more impressive work done in the volume's other chapters. For example, there is Abreu and Vieira's very compelling account of urban Afro-Brazilian culture. Well written and engaging, it draws from a persuasive synthesis of very recent secondary literature and the rich records of Rio's Arquivo Geral da Cidade. One wonders, given their research, why they still felt compelled to impose an ahistorical "*negro*" identity and a conscious cultural politics on the Afro-Brazilian poor. After all, such an imposition is often contradicted by the specificity and complexity of the facts that they present so well. *Negro* identity, a *negro*

community, and *negro* festivities and communities are all post-facto concepts that they drape over a far more complicated reality – the varied African ethnicities, creolization, race mixing, cultural hybridity, and festival metamorphoses, opportunism, and exploitation that they detail so well. Lemos's account of republicanism and the 1889 coup is a very useful and well-organized synthesis of a great deal of varied secondary literature. One only wishes that his able analysis dwelt more on the ideology and critical role of the positivist Republicans, the failure of the Abolitionists' democratic and agrarian reformism, and the divisions and retreat of the traditional parties. However, the piece is to be recommended for its discussion of the dissent, alienation, and politicization of the military – exceptional for its care and clarity.

The remainder of the chapters are even stronger, two in particular. While one might differ with Salles's understanding of the saquaremas' history and the crisis of 1871, one recommends most of this chapter without hesitation. Well written and conceptualized, it uses a judicious selection of secondary literature and published primary sources to provide a sophisticated handling of the mid-century political history and the figures which dominated it, with a clear command of the critical socio-economic context. Perhaps a closer study of archival sources and the debates of 1871 would have explained the saquarema condemnation of the Conciliation and the clear distinction between the emperor's policies and perspective and theirs. Nonetheless, this is impressive work, and a good basis for fruitful debate. Alonso's resume of the Generation of 1870's ideas and schools is indispensable on several grounds. Based on a close reading of published contemporary and secondary sources, it is a rich, original analysis compelling (and rewarding) close attention, as it carefully sorts through influences, authors, and preoccupations. It emphasizes the critical role of Brazilians' intellectual adaptation of Atlantic thought and the crucial point that Brazilians did so as engaged political actors (not as removed intellectuals). She also makes it clear that they left a significant legacy, emphasizing the civilizing mission of social thought and the seminal idea that the nation's masses were a unique blend of three races. In all, the chapter is strongly recommended. Still, given her emphasis on political activism, one is surprised by the implicit decision to separate intellectual and political history by treating the first without always knitting it to the second. This may explain a few blemishes: it does not successfully address the nature or enduring influence of pre-1870 Liberal radicalism; it asserts a Catholic, aristocratic ideology upon the regime, contradicted by the monarchy's actual ideologies and policies; and its focus upon positivism and its militants is flickering, despite their significance among Republicans, upon the regime's fall, and upon the regime that followed.

The remaining chapters are highly recommended, as well. M.L.F. Oliveira's essay on São Paulo is exemplary; written with great sympathy and skill, it combines a masterful survey of the approaches and trends of the historiography with a useful sketch of the nature, pace, and direction of urban change, as São Paulo morphed from a provincial intellectual center to a burgeoning agro-export nexus. The references indicate a mastery of the classics and select unpublished scholarship; she artfully employs archival sources to make specific points. Informative and inspiring at any number of levels, it is an enviable achievement. The same may

be said for L.A.M. Pereira's delightful essay on the period literature. Well written, it is a lucid piece that employs Machado de Assis's noted dictum on "national instinct" and literature to trace the ways in which the post 1870 literature and literati engaged with the transformation of society and politics. Here we find a skilled handling of contemporary literary theory, literary work, and the social and political milieu and an able demonstration of how they came together. One can only imagine what a scholar of his skill could have done if his task had extended to the pioneering literary watershed of the 1850s, in which both Alencar and Machado came of age. While the use of primary sources is exemplary, one is puzzled by the author's decision to cite only a select, largely recent number of secondary sources – surprising, particularly given the great strength of Brazilian and Brazilianist literary history and interpretation over the generations. Finally, Pádua provides us with a successful survey of environmental history and thought for the period. Dominating the requisite primary and secondary sources, which he cites and discusses with skill, this is a refreshing and provocative contribution, suggesting implicitly and explicitly various possibilities for further research in a relatively new field. One wishes, for example, that the author had emphasized more emphatically the impact of ruling class and state opposition (or indifference) to criticism regarding the nature of Brazil's form of rural development. As was the case with abolitionists until the 1880s, Brazilians who opposed unsustainable rural export production practice were effectively marginalized, no matter how prominent personally. It all reminds one of something clear in Emilia Viotti da Costa's classic work on the abolition of slavery. It is not the absence or presence of enlightened ideas that explain poor policy in one period and good policy in another. It is, rather, the favorable shift in material and political circumstances.

This review of such an anthology might be compared to being a guest invited to a friends' buffet. One must sample all the various dishes and render an opinion; happily, it is clear that most of the dishes here were either excellent or, at least, well worth eating, despite a complaint or two. Perhaps now the guest might be permitted to note the dishes which were missing altogether, dishes he wishes had been placed on the table – if only to suggest the work ahead of us.

It makes sense to have chapters on Rio, the nation's capital, and on coffee and its Paraíba hinterland; it also makes sense to have the chapter on Minas, given its demographic, economic, and political importance; on Pernambuco, given its enduring political and economic importance, and on São Paulo, whose first emergence into economic significance occurs under the monarchy and whose subsequent importance in the nation compels attention. One wonders, though, at the absence of chapters on Salvador and the Province of Bahia, at the lack of a chapter on sugar, or the absence of another chapter on Amazonia.

After all, Salvador was the empire's second city throughout the era and Bahia was economically significant and politically critical during all of the monarchy. Sugar, while its export and international market share shrank during the era, dominated exports at the beginning of the period the three volumes discuss and remained a very significant regional export in the northeast and *baixada fluminense* throughout the monarchy. While comments on this are scattered throughout the volumes, a chapter on the product's eminence and decline, with an analysis of the various

consequences, would surely be useful. Regarding Amazonia, while the chapter on the *Cabanagem* was an excellent idea, the obscurity into which Belém, Manaus, and Amazonia fade immediately afterward in the trilogy seems unfortunate. While the same might be said of Rio Grando do Sul after the chapter on the *farroupilha* revolt, the *gaúcho* province's economic and political significance is at least addressed in the chapter on Platine diplomacy. The same cannot be said for the north; the anthology neglects its history after the early 1840s. Although state policy lingered and focused elsewhere, it did take up a sporadic, but increasing interest in the region from at least mid-century on. The Province of Amazonas dates from that era, when the patterns of the rubber boom that peaked around 1900 began to set, and the whole region is an interesting field for diplomatic conflict, infrastructural expansion, economic penetration, and indigenous policy. Although the fruition of much of this occurs a bit later (c.1890-1914), its maturation has attracted and should attract greater concern.

Another lacuna is serious, sustained attention to economic thought and financial policy under the monarchy, with an emphasis on writing that is accessible to those without an economics background. Traditionally, historians of Brazilian development and finance point to the nineteenth century as significant for what did and did not happen and why. More, the monarchy is the era in which critical advances in infrastructure were made and in which the dramatic increase in the nation's production, commerce, communication, and investment led to innovation and debate regarding financial policy and institutions. Indeed, Atlantic depressions and demand and international debt informed cabinet policy and parliamentary debate from the 1850s on, with increasing significance and domestic impact from the era of the Paraguayan War into the era of urban reformism and abolitionism. Surely these matters demand our attention.