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# History of Brazil

Judy Bieber

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# *History of Brazil*

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# *History of Brazil*

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## INTRODUCTION

This guide is an updated and expanded version of that written by Michael Conniff and Fred Sturm for the first Brazil Curriculum Guides Series published by the Latin American Institute of the University of New Mexico in 1985. To summarize nearly five hundred years of Brazilian history and to identify relevant historiographical trends is a daunting task. This guide is meant to serve as a preliminary overview, and given length limitations, is by no means an exhaustive treatment of the subject. I give priority to works of history, but anthropology, sociology, and other disciplines are also represented where appropriate. For specialized topics, the reader may wish to consult the remaining guides of The Brazilian Curriculum Guide Specialized Bibliography, Series II, published by the Latin American and Iberian Institute (1997-2001). To keep repetition of material in the series at a minimum, I have adopted a chronological structure, rather than a thematic approach.

Each narrative section of this guide has a corresponding select annotated bibliography, divided into thematic subheadings, that includes published prima-

ry documents and major secondary works. Whenever possible, I have identified which texts might be especially useful for classroom use.

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## ANTECEDENTS: IBERIAN, AFRICAN AND AMERINDIAN CULTURES

When Pedro Álvares Cabral made the first landfall on Brazil's northeastern coast, the exploration of the New World was not a priority for the Portuguese Crown. Cabral had signed on for a second voyage to India, to follow up on Vasco da Gama's successful expedition of 1497-99. Although some scholars have posited that Cabral's diversion was no accident, most historians concur that the discovery of Brazil resulted when Cabral sailed too far to the west in order to catch favorable trade winds necessary to circumnavigate Africa.

The men under Cabral's command encountered semi-nomadic Tupi-Guarani speaking indigenous peoples. According to the letter to the king penned by the scribe, Pero Vaz de Caminha, they possessed simple forms of social organization and subsistence patterns but seemed ripe for Christian conversion. Two Europeans were left with the Amerindians to learn their language and customs. Finding scant evidence of readily available mineral resources and minimal trading opportunities, Cabral and his men spent little time in this new land. After provisioning their ships, they proceeded on their journey to India.<sup>1</sup> For the next thirty years, the Portuguese crown paid little attention to Brazil, preferring to focus its energies on the consolidation of its trading empire in Africa and Asia. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, Brazil would become one of Portugal's richest colonies as a producer of sugar, cultivated and processed by Amerindian and African slaves.

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1. William Brooks Greenlee, *The voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, From Contemporary Documents and Narratives* (London: the Hakluyt society, 1938); E. Bradford Burns, *A Documentary History of Brazil* (NY: Knopf, 1966).

The transformation of Brazil from neglected outpost to rich colony could not have occurred without the participation of African and Amerindian peoples, however unwilling. In 1500, Portugal had a population of only about 1 million people spread out over 34,000 square miles, corresponding to roughly one fifth the size of Spain and about one-eighth of its population. It boasted only one city of consequence, Lisbon, and much of the hinterland was poor and backward. Rocky terrain and unpredictable rainfall limited agricultural production and poor roads and non-navigable rivers hindered the development of markets. Historian C. R. Boxer summed up this early modern Portuguese society as a mix of "unruly nobility, lax and ignorant clergy, hardworking and doltish peasantry and fractious artisans."<sup>2</sup>

### Portuguese Expansion

Historically, Portugal had much in common with Spanish-speaking Iberia, sharing similar successive waves of occupation by the Celts, Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans by about 200 B.C. Germanic tribes invaded in the fifth century, followed by the Visigoths, in the sixth, and the Muslim conquest in the eighth century (710-732). The Christian reconquest gained momentum under Afonso Henriques (1128-85) and was completed in 1249, over 250 years before Spain conquered Granada. The Moors did not face wholesale expulsion and continued to exert cultural and intellectual influence. Unification of the Christian north and the culturally Islamic south was consolidated during the reign of King Dinis (1279-1325). Dinis promoted major reforms, including the redistribution of under utilized large estates. He also supported the interests of the merchant class that exported Portuguese fish, salt, wine, cork and olive oil to both northern Europe and North African Muslim ports. In 1293, Dinis established a tax to underwrite an insurance fund for seagoing merchants. The resulting increase in maritime trade provided the capital accumulation and laid the infrastructure necessary to spur the development of Portugal's overseas empire.

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2. C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1969), 3.



Portugal's desire to expand foreign trade in the beginning of the 15th century coincided with the rise of international barriers impeding Christian merchants. The rise of the Ottoman Turks in the 13th century and the capture of Byzantine Constantinople in 1453 restricted Christian activity in the Black Sea. Trade with China also declined following the expulsion of the Mongols in 1368. The Portuguese began to consider alternatives that would allow them to preempt or bypass Muslim middlemen. Economic motivations combined with religious zeal prompted Portugal's first incursions in North Africa. Participation in Papal Crusades in North Africa gave the Portuguese an advantage in negotiating favors with the Vatican. They also sought contact with Prester John, a Christian king rumored to reside in deepest Africa. In addition, the Portuguese hoped to tap into the camel-borne trade routes of the Sahara, thereby gaining access to grain supplies and the gold deposits of the upper Niger. The Crown launched a successful campaign to take Ceuta on the Moroccan coast in 1415. However, maintaining a garrison remained costly and Saharan trade routes shifted to other North African cities under Muslim control. A follow-up attack on Tangier in 1437 was a failure.

Unable to compete with entrenched Muslim trading diasporas, the Portuguese began to explore the option of reaching West Africa by sea. Navigating the African coast required different techniques and technology than those used to traverse the Mediterranean. The open sea favored the use of the lateen-rigged round ship or *caravel* over the galley. Portuguese navigators used and perfected tools such as the compass, astrolabe, quadrant, and nautical charts and developed knowledge of wind and current patterns. Cape Bojador was rounded in 1434 and by 1460 when "Prince Henry the navigator" died, the Portuguese had navigated some 1,500 miles of coastline including the offshore archipelagos of Madeira, the Azores and Cape Verde islands. They pushed onward, reaching the Congo river in 1482-83, rounding the Cape in 1488, and with the help of an experienced Muslim navigator, Vasco da Gama reached the west coast of India in 1498. Cabral made the first landfall in Brazil in 1500. By 1510, the Portuguese had reached the Molucca straits, Indonesia, China, and Japan and had set up forty trading posts throughout Africa and Asia.

The Portuguese retained control over their trading post empire against incredible odds. At its height in the mid sixteenth century, it boasted only 300 ships. Portuguese crews were vulnerable to tropical diseases and mortality rates sustained during long sea voyages were high. According to historian, A.J. R. Russell-Wood, the genius of the Portuguese overseas derived from the accurate identification of strategic commercial and military points, the extensive use of Asian and African crews and personnel, the ability and willingness of Portuguese traders and ex-convict *degregados* to go native, and a willingness to negotiate local terms of trade that required the least amount of Portuguese manpower and resources to maintain.<sup>3</sup> This system, however, made them vulnerable, and in the seventeenth century, other European powers and local leaders began to pick off Portuguese fortified trading posts one by one.

The Portuguese established two patterns of empire, the fortified trading posts described above, and settlement of uninhabited or lightly inhabited lands. Both strategies would be employed successively in Brazil. Portuguese settlement strategies were developed and refined in the Atlantic island groups of the Madeiras, Azores, Cape Verde and São Tomé. The Portuguese also hoped to lay claim to the Canaries but the treaty of Alcaçovas-Toledo of 1479 granted Spain control over the Canary islands and Portugal secured the remaining archipelagos and the Guinea coast.

Portuguese settlement of the Madeira islands (1418-1425) set two precedents which would become important in the history of Brazil's early colonization. The first was the introduction of the donatory system, a means by which the Crown subcontracted the costs of settlement to others. Donatory lords, in exchange for importing colonists, improving the land, and providing military services, received sizable land grants, jurisdiction over their territories, and the right to grant lands to other settlers. The second was the use of African slaves to grow

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3. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move. The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

and produce sugar.<sup>4</sup> The Portuguese colonists initially had burned the forests of the uninhabited islands in order to plant grain. This yielded spectacular harvests in the short term but also lost opportunities to harvest scarce dyewoods and hardwoods for ship construction and fine furniture. Once grain yields began to decline, agricultural diversification followed and the settlers shifted to produce livestock, rice, cotton, and the production of sugar and wine. The climate and lands of the Azores, Cape Verde and São Tomé proved less favorable to sugar cultivation and these islands devoted themselves mostly to grain, fruits, grazing, and the use and re-export of slaves.

## Slavery

The Iberian world was no stranger to the institution of slavery. The Moors had used slaves extensively in a variety of contexts. A trade in black Africans, dating from 650-1600 A.D. brought several thousand slaves per year across the Sahara to Mediterranean and European markets.<sup>5</sup> Although the slave trade had not been one of the principal motives of the Portuguese in their initial explorations of the African coast, they quickly saw an opportunity for additional profit. Some 2,000 slaves entered Portugal annually during the fifteenth century and by the 1520s, 10% of the population of Lisbon were captives of color of African descent.<sup>6</sup> They pursued a variety of urban and domestic occupations but were not used extensively in large scale agriculture until the mid fifteenth century in Madeira.

The Portuguese quickly shifted from indiscriminate and risky slave raiding to more reliable forms of procurement, namely purchase. They made diplo-

4. J. H. Galloway, "The Mediterranean Sugar Industry," *Geographical Review*, 67 (1977): 177-92.
5. Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), ch. 2. Lovejoy estimates the total volume of the trans-Saharan trade at 7,220,000.
6. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Iberian Expansion and the Issue of Black Slavery," *American Historical Review* 53:1 (1978): 16-42 and A.C. de C.M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982).



matic and commercial alliances with African rulers, such as Afonso I (1506-1545) of the coastal Central African Kingdom of Kongo. Afonso I accepted Christianity and Portuguese advisors and expanded his state through exporting slaves to the Portuguese via São Tomé.

Many Sub-Saharan African societies practiced slavery as an mechanism of assimilation to incorporate prisoners of war from alien societies. The institution in black Africa shared many features of North African slavery under Islam. Islam had penetrated sub-Saharan Africa through religious wars and raids (*ji-hads*) and through long distance trade. Muslims justified enslavement as a means to effect religious conversion, much as European Christians would do. However, the institution differed legally in many important respects. Slave status passed through the father, not the mother, the opposite of the precedent set by Roman law. Manumission was relatively common, especially for slave concubines and their children.

In sub-Saharan Africa, slaves were not strictly chattel. Slavery was seen as an unfortunate but temporary status that diminished gradually over several generations. Mechanisms of slavery included war, punishment for a serious crime or social transgression, and debt. In small-scale African societies based on hierarchies determined by age, gender, and kinship, the acquisition of slaves could be used to expand one's kinship group with slaves who lacked ties to competing natal kin. Women were especially valued for their reproductive and productive functions and some scholars have speculated that the preponderance of male over female slaves sent to the New World had more to do with African supply limitations rather than European demand preferences.<sup>7</sup> Children were also valued captives because they were believed to be more easily assimilable.

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7. Joseph C. Miller has highlighted the shortage of women in the slave trade from the supply side in *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angola Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison, 1988).

Slavery in Africa changed as European demand grew. When Portuguese slave traders began to procure human captives in the fifteenth century, the costs to African societies were relatively low. Initially, European ideas about slavery were not internalized and a Muslim version (lineage slavery) continued. A pre-existing supply of domestic slaves filled the need. As demand grew, Africans shifted from a "political" model of slavery, to an "economic" one, in which wars began to be waged for the purpose of profit and the capture of prisoners-of-war which could be sold externally.<sup>8</sup> Market changes caused an increase not only in number of slaves but also the uses to which such slaves were put within and without Africa. Warfare and conflict increased in order to meet the ever-expanding demand of plantation societies in the New World.

### Indigenous peoples of Brazil

The indigenous peoples of Brazil are believed to have migrated across the Bering straits some 12,000 to 14,000 years ago although some linguistic and archaeological studies have suggested an earlier migration dating from 30,000 to 35,000 years ago. Of the approximately 57 million native peoples estimated to have inhabited the Americas before European contact, about 2.5 million resided in what is now Brazil.<sup>9</sup> They occupied a range of habitats including grasslands, forest, and coastal settlements where huge middens of discarded mollusk shells dating from 7,000 years ago remain. By 4,000 years before the present, native peoples had begun to cultivate maize and probably manioc by swidden, or slash and burn shifting agriculture.<sup>10</sup>

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8. Philip D. Curtin, Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson and Jan Vansina, eds. *African History*, 5th impression (London and New York, 1984), 221-224.

9. The above estimate comes from William M. Denevan, ed., *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1976), 291, cited in James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983). See also John Hemming, "Indians and the frontier," in Leslie Bethell, ed. *Colonial Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 145-189.

Traditionally, scholars divided up the numerous tribal groups linguistically among the Gê, Tupi, Carib and Arawak. The Tupi-Guarani predominated along the Amazon and the coast and were divided among many mutually intelligible tribes including the Tupinambás, Potiguares, Tabajaras, and Carijós. The Gê-speaking peoples, also known as the Tapuya or "twisted tongues" were located mostly in the interior; some of the better known groups were the Aimorés, Goitacazes and Cariris. Both groups practiced ritual cannibalism of prisoners of war and sustained a constant low level warfare to acquire victims.

The Portuguese had greater contact with the Tupis during the formative period of settlement. The Tupi had moved into the coastal areas about 400 A.D., probably fanning out from the Paraguay-Paraná basin. Their villages were fenced with palisades, could measure 1,000 meters in diameter, and typically housed several hundred people. Kin groups lived in communal longhouses or *malocas* of 20-100 individuals, subdivided according to family units. Tupi society was patriarchal and patrilineal. Leadership was shared between chiefs, selected for their prowess at hunting and warfare, and shamans known as *pagés*.

Tupi division of labor was determined according to sex and age. Men burned and cleared fields, hunted and fished, made canoes, weapons, made fires, cut firewood, constructed houses, and engaged in warfare. As *pagés*, they performed faith healing with breath, smoke, and sympathetic magic and led hunting and rain ceremonies. Women planted, harvested and gathered, processed and cooked fish, game, and other foods, wove cotton cloth and hammocks, made baskets and ceramic pots. They raised children, groomed men (including delousing, inscribing tattoos, and removing body hair). They also prepared prisoners of war for execution. Women were considered to be inferior spiritually, were barred

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10. Warren Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1995), chapter 2; Niéde Guidon, "As Ocupações Pré-Históricas do Brasil (Excetuando a Amazônia)," and Anna C. Roosevelt, "Arqueologia Amazônica" in Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, ed., *História dos índios no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Schwarcz Ltda, 1992).



from many of the ceremonies held by the pagés, and were seen as especially dangerous and impure when menstruating.

Ritual cannibalism was central to social organization. Potential enemies were defined as non-kin. To avenge the death of an ancestor killed by outsiders, a prisoner from a rival group needed to be captured and consumed. In order to marry, a young man had to provide a victim for sacrifice or have one donated on his behalf by an older, more experienced relative. A jaguar could substitute for a human prisoner, providing that it was ritually taunted, clubbed to death, and eaten communally in the same manner reserved for human enemies.

When the Portuguese made first contact with the Tupi-Guarani, they were either incorporated as kin through marriage into pre-existing groups or classified as outsiders eligible for capture and consumption. As the numbers of Europeans arriving on Brazilian shores increased, however, the ability of native groups to determine the outcome of social interactions waned precipitously. The shifting relationships among the indigenous, Portuguese, other European nationals, and African captives will be explored further in the remainder of this guide.

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## COLONIAL BRAZIL (1500-1822)

### Early Settlement and Governing Institutions, 1500-1580

The Portuguese were slow to consolidate formal sovereignty over Brazil. Nearly fifty years elapsed from Cabral's landfall to the establishment of a viceregal capital in Salvador da Bahia in 1549. Compared with the potential riches of the East, Brazil initially was of only minimal interest to the Crown. Pero Vaz de Caminha's letter described innocent naked Indians, docile and ripe for conversion, but possessing only parrots and feathers to trade. The land was well watered and fertile but offered no gold or silver. Its only identified asset was brazilwood which yielded a deep purple-red dye. The Crown leased out contracts to a consortium

of Lisbon-based merchants who won the right to trade in *pau brasil* in exchange for a share of the profits and mapping of the coastline. Brazilian Indians were willing to cut and transport logs in exchange for steel ax heads, fish hooks, cloth and other goods. The natives also engaged in trade with the French, who challenged Portuguese claims to sovereignty in the region.

The Portuguese crown recognized that a more effective form of occupation was needed and introduced the donatory system in 1532. Brazil was divided up into twelve grants by drawing lines from the coast extending indefinitely into the unexplored interior. These lands were given to royal bureaucrats and successful military leaders from the minor nobility. Donatory lords, in addition to gaining hereditary possession of immense chunks of territory, won the right to appoint minor officials, were granted civil and criminal jurisdiction, the right to establish towns and supervise municipal elections, the ability to distribute land and licenses for capital improvements like sugar mills. Of the twelve captaincies, only ten were settled and all but two failed due to insufficient capital, unruly colonists, and Indian hostilities. Pernambuco, ceded to Duarte Coelho, and São Vicente, granted to Martim Afonso de Souza, were the only successful grants. Both lords had extensive experience in the Portuguese overseas empire. Coelho imported sugar and African slaves to make his possession thrive.

In 1548, the Crown bought back the captaincy of Bahia from its grantee's heirs and appointed Tomé de Souza, a bureaucrat with extensive experience in Africa and India, as governor general of a new centralized government in Brazil. He directed the construction of a city located on the bay of Todos os Santos, distributed land grants, imported cattle from the Cape Verde islands, set up a few modest sugar mills, and began to exploit Indian labor on the plantations. Portuguese women were scarce so the colonists quickly formed partnerships with indigenous women, much to the dismay of the Jesuit missionaries that had accompanied Souza. The early colonists were a motley crew of convicts and adventurers of Portuguese, Spanish, Flemish, Italian, German, English and French extraction. New Christians, or converted Jews, were also present. Their capital,

banking and credit connections, and knowledge of sugar cultivation overrode most concerns about the sincerity of their religious conversion.

The church remained weak during the first half-century of colonization. The regular orders began arriving in small numbers as early as 1503 (Franciscans) but the Jesuits became the most influential order. The Jesuits were a young missionary order founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1539 and officially recognized by the papacy in 1540. In 1549, six Jesuits under the leadership of Manuel da Nóbrega arrived in Brazil. In addition to leading missionary efforts among the Indians, the Jesuits also came to play a prominent role in the early colonial government, serving as advisors and confessors to important royal officials. They also came to dominate in education at all levels as tutors and administrators of *colégios*. The Jesuits quickly became financially self-sustaining from income generated by their sugar plantations, cattle ranches and missionary villages (*aldeias*).

The first diocese of the Catholic Church was established in Bahia in 1551. Institutionally, the secular church remained relatively weak throughout the colonial period. An archdiocese was only established in 1676 and it covered a vast territory from its see in Bahia, including all of Brazil, São Tomé, and Angola. The Inquisition never became a permanent institution in Brazil and only visited three times: in 1591-95; 1618 and 1763-69. Due to the shortage of European women in the colony, the Crown prohibited the introduction of convents until 1677 and delayed nearly seventy years before permitting a second convent to open.

Secular institutions were also attenuated. The overseas council (*Conselho Ultramarino*) directed colonial policy from Lisbon. Salvador da Bahia became the viceregal capital, to be supplanted by Rio de Janeiro in 1763. The viceroy's powers were limited due to poor communications with the various captaincies and local governors who over-rode viceregal mandates. Administrative and judicial entities on Brazilian soil frequently clashed over their areas of jurisdiction. Municipal councils, consisting of prominent members of the landed and com-

mercial elite, also exerted a great deal of formal and informal autonomy and often challenged crown officials. The judiciary lacked sufficient personnel to be effective. The first high court (*Relação*) was established in 1609 in Bahia, and the second was set up in Rio in 1751. Local justice was administered by justices of the peace (*ouvidores*) and circuit judges (*juizes de fora*). The treasury (*provedoria*) of Salvador da Bahia also had extensive duties including oversight of customs houses and accounting of all captaincies, bureaucratic and military payrolls, tax collection, land grants, and serving as arbiter in cases of tax or customs fraud.<sup>11</sup>

In comparison with the Spanish American colonies, both Church and State were weak. Administrative entities were established tardily and covered vast expanses of territory. The Crown received the right of patronage over the Church in its territories in 1551 and devoted relatively few resources to the sustenance of religious life in Brazil. Cities and towns grew slowly and settlement remained largely confined to the coast. Effective administration, such as it was, tended to function on the local level in the form of municipal councils, militias commanded by members of the local elite, and prominent religious brotherhoods.<sup>12</sup>

### Social Relations and Economy

The shift from trading post to colonial settlement marked a turning point in the social relations between the Portuguese and Brazil's native inhabitants. During the dyewood cycle, relations had remained relatively harmonious. Indigenous men had been willing to participate, seeing cutting and transporting logs as logical adaptations to traditional male forms of labor. However, the introduction of sugar production, the arrival of the Jesuits, and the importation of Old World diseases quickly transformed relations between Europeans and Amerindians.

11. Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil: The High Court of Bahia, 1609-1752* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1973).

12. On effective local institutions see: A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *Society and Government in Colonial Brazil, 1500-1822* (Hampshire, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 1992).

Sugar plantations demanded large contingents of settled and reliable workers to toil long hours in the cultivation, harvesting and processing of cane. Indigenous men proved unwilling to farm, considering it to be unpleasant and a form of women's work.<sup>13</sup> The colonists then began to enslave Indians to meet their labor needs. The Portuguese crown never formally established mechanisms to co-opt native labor such as the Spanish *encomienda* or *repartimiento* although it did recognize the principle of enslavement of prisoners in a "just war." "Ransoming" prisoners who were slated for ritual cannibalism (*resgate*) also became an acceptable justification for slavery. In addition, mestiços adapted the *bandeira* military traditions of their Portuguese fathers and the tracking skills of their indigenous mothers to lead slaving expeditions into the interior, often for months or years at a time. The *bandeirantes* counted on the assistance of indigenous men, who probably found making war and capturing slaves more to their liking than working in the fields or becoming slaves themselves.

The needs of the settlers remained at odds with the Jesuits who were interested in converting the natives to Christianity. The Jesuits developed a method of conversion and acculturation called the *aldeia* system. They approached indigenous families and villages and encouraged them to resettle in centralized villages. The priests required strict discipline, religious instruction, and the adoption of European norms such as nuclear households and wearing clothes. They aggressively sought to discredit native shamans and to stamp out objectionable practices such as excess drinking and dancing, puberty rituals, polygamy, and of course, cannibalism.

Indians began to seek out the Jesuits as the lesser of two evils. Governor Mem de Sá (1558-72) promoted a series of wars with the coastal populations that resulted in mass dislocation and privation. In addition, epidemic diseases began to ravage the native populations — influenza and dysentery in the 1550s and

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13. Stuart B. Schwartz, "Indian Labor and New World Plantations: European Demands and Indian Responses in Northeastern Brazil," *American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 43-79.



plague and smallpox in the 1560s. Some Indians began to wonder if the ritual of baptism actually caused disease or if the priests were malevolent sorcerers. Others sought the Jesuits for the limited medical assistance they could provide. Disease, unfortunately, was not the Jesuits' only enemy. Slavers saw the aldeias as irresistibly tempting and easily taken sources of potential captives. The numbers of aldeia Indians fell precipitously from 40,000 in the 1560s to only 4,000 in the 1590s due to disease, flight, dislocation, enslavement, and war.<sup>14</sup> In vain, missionaries appealed to the state for protective measures. Throughout the colonial period, Crown policy remained inconsistent, alternately favoring religious imperatives or settlers' interests.

Indian susceptibility to Old World diseases and their low levels of productivity prompted settlers to look to other sources of labor. By the 1550s, plantation owners in the northeastern captaincies of Bahia and Pernambuco began to import African slaves who were hardier, more experienced with settled agriculture, and less likely to flee successfully.<sup>15</sup> The transition to black slave labor progressed steadily, comprising over 30% of the plantation labor force by 1580, 50% by 1600 and nearly 100% by 1650.<sup>16</sup> Indigenous labor, however would still occupy a crucial place in the regional economies of the Amazon and São Paulo well into the eighteenth century, due to the high costs and mortality rates involved in shipping Africans inland.

Working conditions on sugar plantations were arduous. Slave mortality rates were high and slave women were few, requiring plantation owners to rely on continual importation to maintain a captive work force. Slaves labored a minimum of ten hours per day on the off season, and up to eighteen hours a day during

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14. Schwartz, "Indian Labor," 51.

15. Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1972) and Philip D. Curtin, "The Epidemiology of the Slave Trade," *Political Science Quarterly*, 83 (1968): 190-216.

16. Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), 41-42.

the harvest, which lasted 300 days on Bahian estates. Once cut, the cane had to be processed within twenty-four hours, meaning round-the-clock shifts. Field work was backbreaking and slaves who processed cane risked severe burns or loss of limbs in the machinery. Although opportunities for manumission existed, urban slaves were more likely to be freed than rural ones.

Historian Stuart B. Schwartz has aptly applied the analogy of the sugar loaf to describe the dynamics of planter society in the Brazilian north.<sup>17</sup> Sugar cured in pyramidal molds that permitted drainage of molasses. The resultant loaf was white at the top, tan in the middle and dark at the bottom. Social hierarchy was based on occupation and wealth, gender, racial category, and slave or free status. A restricted white planter and merchant class dominated. Below them were racially-mixed mulattos and mestizos of middling status, including cane growers, artisans, and small farmers. Slaves formed a numerous underclass, but were differentiated according to occupation, degree of acculturation, African or creole birth, and degree of blackness. Elite women, in short supply, were subordinated and controlled according to a double standard which emphasized the sexual purity of female relatives. As one descended the ladder of color and class, women became more autonomous if less "honorable," often from economic necessity.

By 1580, the Portuguese had made significant advances in the occupation and exploitation of Brazil. Indigenous groups that had formerly occupied the coast were largely pacified. The French had been expelled from their base in Rio de Janeiro, although they retained a base in São Luis in the north until the early seventeenth century. Settlement concentrated most heavily in the northeast where over one hundred flourishing mills yielded 2/3 of all sugar produced in the Americas. Religious and secular institutions had been introduced and the bases

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17. Stuart B. Schwartz, "Plantations and Peripheries, c. 1580-c. 1750," in Leslie Bethell, ed. *Colonial Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 67.

of the social relations between Amerindians, Africans and Europeans had been established.

Although the basic infrastructure of a colonial state and export-oriented economy had been introduced by the end of the sixteenth century, effective occupation of Brazil remained tenuous. Settlements were limited largely to the coast or internal waterways and few people of European descent, save the *bandeirantes* and cattle ranchers, penetrated the interior. By 1650, the colony boasted only six cities and thirty-one incorporated towns (*vilas*).<sup>18</sup> A series of events in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, shifted the center of attention from the northeastern coast to Brazil's center-south, an economic and demographic reorientation that endures to this day.

### The Colony Matures: 1580-1750

In 1578, the crown of Portugal fell vacant. The young, charismatic king Sebastião was killed fighting the Moors at Alcácer-Quibir and the throne devolved to Philip II of Spain in 1580. For the next eighty years, the Portuguese monarchy remained subsumed under the Spanish crown until the revolution of 1640 which brought the house of Bragança, an illegitimate branch of the royal house of Avis, to the throne. During the period known as the Dual Monarchy, the administration of Portugal's overseas empire remained largely separate but Brazil was affected by international rivalries that involved Spain. Notably, the Dutch invaded Bahia in 1624, succeeded in occupying Pernambuco by 1630, and remained until Brazilian and indigenous forces expelled them in 1653-4. During this period endemic, low-level warfare left Brazil's sugar industry in considerable disarray. Unrest also made flight from the plantations easier and the origins of the famous runaway slave community (*quilombo*) of Palmares date from the Dutch occupation. Palmares grew to become a large fortified settlement, encompassing at

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18. Schwartz, "Plantations and Peripheries," 127.

least ten villages and thousands of inhabitants. It withstood repeated assaults until it was finally defeated in 1695.

During the seventeenth-century, the Portuguese also began to consolidate their hold on the Brazilian north. A series of expeditions, some Spanish and others Portuguese, traversed the Amazon and many of its tributaries. The Portuguese expelled the French from their base in São Luis in Maranhão in 1615. The Amazon remained relatively isolated due to transportation difficulties by both land and sea. The expense and increased mortality risks of transporting African slaves into the interior made the region remain heavily dependent upon indigenous labor well into the eighteenth-century. Settlers pursued an extractive economy, harvesting the forest's "drugs and spices" with the assistance of indigenous captives. The Jesuits also brought the missionary enterprise to the Amazon and established numerous agricultural properties and aldeias. Antônio Vieira (1608-1697), a masterful orator and confessor to the King, became the spokesman for the Indians and spread word of their plight through his fiery sermons. The cycle of disease, death, dislocation, and settler-missionary conflict that had plagued the coast in the sixteenth century was replicated in the Amazon during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Settlement of the south also proceeded gradually. The Portuguese had to contend with the presence of the Spanish but during the Dual Monarchy (1580-1640) colonial boundaries between the two nations remained blurred. Salvador de Sá (1602-1686), who served as governor of Rio de Janeiro and on the Conselho Ultramarinho, pushed for Portuguese territorial advancement to the southern boundary of Brazil at the Rio de la Plata. The Jesuits also sought to establish reductions but inevitably bandeirante predations hampered their efforts. In 1679, the Portuguese established the Colônia do Sacramento (present-day Montevideo) as a trading post intended to deal in contraband Spanish silver from Potosí. Portugal and Spain contested control over the colony and the definition of Brazil's southern boundary into the early nineteenth century.

The Paulista *bandeirantes* finally located mineral wealth in Brazil's interior at the end of the seventeenth-century. They discovered a series of gold strikes beginning in the 1690s, and diamonds followed by the late 1720s. Capital, prospectors and slaves moved from the Northeast, which was suffering economic decline in the face of rising centers of sugar production in the Caribbean, to the region which came to be known as Minas Gerais. The Portuguese crown augmented its administrative, institutional and administrative presence in order to more effectively supervise the mining and collect taxes on production. Mineiro society matured from unruly, frontier anarchy to a wealthy society famed for its opulent churches. As in the sugar-bearing Northeast, wealth was borne on the backs of African captives. Hundreds of thousands were imported into Minas Gerais during the course of the eighteenth-century. Slaves laboring in mining areas had greater opportunities for manumission because they could work for "wages" or keep any gold in excess of predetermined quotas negotiated with their owners. The relative freedoms enjoyed by these slaves, however, should not be exaggerated. Although they enjoyed greater physical mobility than plantation slaves, they often had to support themselves out of their earnings. Harsh working conditions also led to shortened life spans and the widespread existence of runaway slave communities is indicative of the limited opportunities captives had. Typically, slaves who experienced the highest rates of manumission were women who had sexual relations with their owners and the racially-mixed children born of those unions.<sup>19</sup>

### The Reforms of the Marquis of Pombal

Brazil's colonial relationship with Portugal changed markedly at the middle of the eighteenth century. Gold production from Minas Gerais began to decline and a combination of profligate spending, a balance of payments problem with Great Britain, and a shrinking overseas empire, caused Lisbon to redefine its

19. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982) and Kathleen J. Higgins, "Licentious Liberty" in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region. *Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais* (College Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1999).



approach to Brazil. Much of the mineiro gold had been expended on royal ostentation during the "golden age" of João V (1706-1750). Rather than invest in the Portuguese economy, João V spent lavishly to support culture, music, and the arts and to construct grand public works, including aqueducts, libraries and grand palaces. Ironically, many of the new public buildings in Lisbon were destroyed by an earthquake in 1755.

The British also had been siphoning off much of the Brazilian gold through legal channels and through contraband. João IV had solidified his reign (1640-1668) by negotiating a dynastic marriage between Catherine Braganza and Charles Stuart that involved payment of a dowry of two million pieces of gold. This debt took fifty years to pay. The Methuen treaty of 1703 granted preferential tariffs for Portuguese wines in exchange for unlimited sales of woolens in Portugal and her colonies. A balance of payments problem ensued and between 1700-1750, and some 25 million £ of gold bullion went to Britain to pay for Portuguese imports.<sup>20</sup>

The architect of the new colonial policies was Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, better known as the Marquis of Pombal, who served under José I as Secretary of State for War and Foreign Affairs from 1750-1755 and as Prime Minister from 1755-1777.<sup>21</sup> Pombal was a member of the lesser nobility, a Coimbra law graduate, and a diplomat who served in London for several years. Influenced by enlightenment philosophy and economic theory, he saw Brazil as the key to Portugal's progress. Pombal's ruthlessness against his rivals, including use of the Inquisition to persecute his enemies, won him few friends. José I's death in 1771 marked the end of his tenure.

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20. David Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), 47.

21. Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995).

Pombal initiated a comprehensive plan with numerous objectives. The first was the preservation and/or expansion of Brazil's territorial boundaries. The second was to reorganize trade with Brazil to increase Crown revenues. The third was to reduce dependency on Great Britain and increase exports to Brazil by stimulating Portuguese manufacturing. Finally, as part of a broader program to strengthen the State in relation to the Church, the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil in 1759. The Crown also confiscated the wealthy Jesuit estates in Brazil for its own financial gain and implemented plans to develop the Amazon. In addition, Pombal instigated broad reforms in education, modernized the military and professionalized colonial administration.

Nearly all of these initiatives were carried out successfully. The treaty of Madrid adopted the principle of effective occupation to determine boundaries between Spanish and Portuguese America. It secured for Brazil territory far exceeding that laid out by the treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 and even the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Thin if effective occupation by Paulista bandeirantes from the South and Jesuit fathers in the North secured for Portugal a competitive advantage.

Pombal also reorganized colonial commerce. Boards of trade were established in 1755 and sugar and tobacco boards created in 1771 set fair prices and regulated quality control. Chartered trading companies also introduced in 1755 promoted the cultivation of new export crops such as rice, coffee, cacao, cotton and indigo, cheaper importation of slaves to isolated regions, and the importation of Portuguese manufactures to Brazilian consumers. The company of Grão Pará and Maranhão (1755-78) funded an increased bureaucratic and military presence in the Amazon and engaged in contraband trade with Spanish Quito via the Amazonian basin. In 1765, the fleet system was abolished and coastal trade between Brazilian ports opened up in the following year. The enterprising career of the viceroy of Rio de Janeiro the Marquis of Lavradio (1769-79) epitomizes this period of economic reform.

Pombal formulated a comprehensive, secular indigenous policy with the assistance of his half-brother, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, the governor and captain general of the Estado do Grão Pará and Maranhão. In 1755, he eliminated the temporal and civil control of missionaries over indigenous peoples, abolished indigenous slavery and promoted the principles of indigenous self-representation, acculturation, and racial assimilation. Classifying Indians and *mestiços* as Portuguese citizens bolstered Portuguese territorial claims in the region. Furtado anticipated widespread settler protest to these measures and delayed their implementation for two years. Pombal's recommendations were then modified to limit indigenous autonomy. Under the Directorate (1757-1798) missionaries were replaced by European directors who were empowered to allocate the labor of the Indians under their tutelage. The creation of the Directorate also reduced the influence of the wealthy and powerful Jesuits. Pombal whipped up hatred against the order in Portugal and had them expelled from Brazil in 1759. The state appropriated their numerous colleges and estates.

Pombal's economic legacy continued after his resignation in 1777 upon the death of his patron, José I. By 1800, Portugal enjoyed a positive trade balance with its European trading partners. However, it became dependent upon its own colony, Brazil, in the process. By 1800, Brazil accounted for roughly 80% of the value of goods imported by Portugal. It consumed 80% of all products exported to Portugal's colonies. Moreover, of the exports sold in other colonies, over 60% came from Brazil. This development is striking when we consider that in 1600, just two hundred years earlier, revenues from Brazil made up only 2.5% of crown income.<sup>22</sup>

### Late Colonial Fissures

Portugal's efforts to tighten its control over Brazil resulted in tensions that led to a series of regional conspiracies and plans to revolt. Most of these "in-

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22. Dauril Alden, "Late Colonial Brazil, 1750-1808," in Leslie Bethell, ed. *Colonial Brazil*, 332-335.

confidências" never came to fruition and with the exception of the Tailors' Revolt of 1798, they lacked revolutionary content or a broad social base of support. The Inconfidência Mineira, perhaps the best known of the late eighteenth-century conspiracies, broke out in 1789 in Ouro Preto, Minas Gerais.<sup>23</sup> The movement was led by disaffected intellectuals, priests and local notables, many of whom held lucrative administrative contracts. The Crown, facing declining gold revenues, sent a series of governors in the 1780s who began to remove corrupt locals from profitable offices and contracts and to press them to pay back outstanding debts. Ouvidor Tomás Antônio Gonzaga articulated the discontent of the local elite in a thinly disguised satirical critique against one governor entitled the *Cartas chilenas*.

Matters came to a head in 1788 when governor Barbacena arrived with an extensive policy directive for Minas to bring it back into the colonial fold. Measures included reform of clergy and magistrates who charged excessive fees or tied up the courts, cracking down on contraband, reorganizing the rate schedule of customs duties, and the imposition of a head tax to increase Crown revenues from the mining districts. Local intellectuals and professionals began to plan an armed uprising in order to proclaim a sovereign republic. Many of their objectives were socially conservative or elitist in nature including lifting restrictions on local manufacturing, pardoning debts to the royal treasury, creating legislative bodies and establishing a university in Vila Rica. To gain popular support, the conspirators also proposed to free Brazilian-born and mulatto slaves. The plot was discovered before it was implemented and the one participant of low social status, Joaquim José Silva Xavier, took the blame, was tried and executed. Also known as Tiradentes (the toothpuller), he was a low ranking military officer and part-time dentist of *mineiro* birth with few social connections. Some participants collaborated with the authorities and were pardoned; the remaining members were

23. Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal, 1750-1808* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1973).

protected due to their wealth and class and received lighter sentences including exile to Africa.

The Tailors' Revolt (*alfaiates*) which broke out in Bahia in 1798 had more revolutionary content and involved the participation of poor people of color. Its leadership included mulatto artisans, soldiers, sharecroppers and school teachers, and even some women. The movement found inspiration in Enlightenment philosophy and the French, American and Haitian revolutions and called for an egalitarian and democratic society free of race prejudice. The rebels also proposed specific reforms to alleviate the lot of the poor including free trade, price controls on basic foodstuffs, increased pay for rank-and-file soldiers, and emancipation for the slaves. The plot was discovered before it began. The authorities, threatened by the real social and economic changes proposed by the conspirators, and unimpressed by their social status, dealt with them harshly. Several leaders were sentenced with execution, whipping, and exile.<sup>24</sup>

### The Joanine Period (1808-1822)

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the desire for political independence from Portugal was minimal. Members of the elite were more interested in reforming the system than eliminating it. They expressed most interest in economic reforms, particularly opening Brazil to free trade, and in increased participation in colonial administration. These modest desires were met following the arrival of João VI and his court in Rio de Janeiro in 1808. In 1807, faced with the threat of Napoleon's troops at the border, João VI departed Lisbon with his entire court of ten thousand followers and set sail to Brazil, escorted by a British squadron of warships. In essence, he brought the metropolitan seat of government to the colony.<sup>25</sup>

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24. Donald Ramos, "Social Revolution Frustrated: The Conspiracy of the Tailors in Bahia, 1798," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 13:1 (Summer 1976): 74-90.

25. See the excellent collection of essays edited by A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1975).



The presence of the court in Brazil resulted in some dramatic changes. João VI opened Brazilian ports to foreign shipping and immigrants. European scientists and scholars wrote narratives describing their travels and leaving historians with valuable eyewitness accounts of early nineteenth century Brazil. Institutions of higher learning, including military and naval academies and medical and law faculties, were established. Restrictions were lifted on domestic manufacturing, permitting the birth of textile and steel industries. The establishment of the first Banco do Brasil facilitated investment in the economy. By 1815, João VI elevated Brazil's status to that of a dual kingdom with Portugal. A number of administrative institutions were duplicated, providing bureaucratic opportunities for the Brazilian-born. Within ten years of the court's arrival, the population of Rio doubled.

The desire for Brazilian independence grew out of reaction to the Liberal Revolution of Oporto in Portugal in 1820. The bourgeois rebels elected a constituent assembly and adopted a constitution modeled on the Spanish liberal constitution of Cadiz promulgated in 1812. They also called for the return of João VI. The parliament (*Cortes*) wanted to reassert the colonial pact and tighten economic control over Brazil in order to rebuild Portugal following the successive military occupations by the French and the British. In 1821, the Cortes invited Brazilian delegates to participate in its deliberations but began to draft Brazilian policy before they arrived. The Brazilians had only minority representation and were powerless to stop legislative reforms that repealed free trade measures and eliminated institutional and bureaucratic entities in Brazil. Rio's position was weakened through the establishment of independent *juntas de governo* and the placement of military governors in each province. The Brazilian delegates also were ridiculed as uncultured rustics by their Portuguese counterparts.

Matters came to a head when Prince Regent Dom Pedro I refused to return to Portugal. He barred the arrival of Portuguese troops and refused to impose decrees of the Cortes without his approval. Public opinion in Brazil remained divided about independence, especially in provinces that resented the

hegemony of Rio de Janeiro. The intransigence of the Cortes, however, proved decisive. Attempts to reassert the colonial pact, the refusal to grant Brazil its own parliament, the dismantling of the Rio government, and sending troops to enforce these new policies, met with considerable resistance. On 7 September 1822, on the plains of Ipiranga, São Paulo, Pedro I declared "Independence or Death," marking the beginnings of the Brazilian nation.

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## THE BRAZILIAN EMPIRE (1822-1889)

### Political Life:

Although Pedro I declared Brazilian independence in 1822, consolidation of a new nation did not occur automatically. Portugal refused to recognize Brazilian sovereignty and other European nations followed suit. Portuguese troops, assisted by British forces under the command of the mercenary Lord Cochrane, attacked a number of Brazil's principal ports. Only in 1825 did the two powers reach a negotiated settlement, mediated by the British Prime Minister, George Canning. Great Britain's help, however, came with a price. In addition to the continuation of preferential tariffs, Brazil also had to commit to terminating the transatlantic slave trade by 1830.<sup>26</sup>

The new Brazilian state also faced the problem of regional loyalties and localized resistance to the hegemony of the former viceregal capital, Rio de Janeiro. In particular, the northern and northeastern provinces resented the centralized control of Rio. In 1817, in Pernambuco, aspiring Republicans rebelled and formed a provisional government based on the French constitution. Leaders came from the upper classes, including the bureaucratic and military elite, liberal professionals, planters, merchants and the clergy. Many of the rebels were mem-

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26. The legal cessation of the trade was not passed, however, until 1831 and it remained unenforced until the passage of the Queiroz bill in 1850.

bers of Masonic lodges. Their appeals to regional separatism and anti-Portuguese sentiment failed to gain wide support and the movement was quickly crushed.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, regional challenges to national unity continued to erupt. Pernambuco led in localized unrest including the Confederation of the Equator in 1824, a series of anti-Portuguese and barracks revolts in 1831, the Cabanos war (1832-1835) and the Praieira revolt of 1849. Other manifestations of local resistance included the Bahian Sabinada (1837), the Cabanagem in Belem (1835-39), the Liberal Revolution of 1842, and the Riograndense Farroupilha (1835-1845). Many of these revolts were grounded in local partisan rivalries while others called for greater regional autonomy. Most were elitist in nature, at least initially, but the Cabanos and Cabanagem involved mass participation of peasants, Indians, mestiços, and slaves.

Centripetal forces that challenged national unity were balanced by the actions of a national elite which was unified in class and education.<sup>27</sup> During the colonial period, young men of good family went to Coimbra University for higher education because no universities existed in Brazil. There, these elite youths received uniform educational training and made contacts with their social equals from different regions. These Brazilians, however, came to clash with men of Portuguese birth who held a more traditional, authoritarian notion of the nation state. A vocal nativist and radical minority called for more democratic institutions and favored the principle of local autonomy.<sup>28</sup>

Coimbra graduates dominated at the constituent assembly of 1823. The one hundred deputies drew their inspiration from the French and British consti-

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27. José Murilo de Carvalho, *A construção da ordem. A elite política imperial* (Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 1981).

28. The best English-language source on the political alignments that emerged in post-Independence Brazil is Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798-1852* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1988).

tutions and a majority favored a moderate and elitist form of liberalism. The national leadership envisioned liberalism as an acceptable means to preserve their socioeconomic privileges and were less concerned with the elimination of traditional privileges and the implementation of democratizing reforms. As debate over the fine points dragged on, Pedro I grew increasingly nervous about the likelihood that the proposed constitution would give more power to the General Assembly than to himself. He had the constituent assembly dissolved and wrote his own constitution in consultation with the Council of State which was presented to the municipal councils for ratification in 1824.

The new charter delineated a highly centralized government with a strong executive consisting of the Emperor and an appointed Council of State, and ministries. The emperor was invested with the moderating power (*poder moderador*), allowing him to arbitrarily dissolve the parliament, thereby limiting the powers of nationally elected representatives. Powers of the emperor included nomination of members to the Senate, name and dismiss ministers freely, suspend judges and magistrates and grant pardons. The constitution did adopt many of the classic components of European liberalism such as division of powers among the executive, legislative and judicial branches and the Emperor, relatively broad suffrage, the reduction or elimination of trade restrictions, the provision of public education, and formal equality before the law (slaves excluded).

Dom Pedro I abdicated the throne in 1831 in order to protect his daughter's succession to the Portuguese throne from an aspiring usurper, his brother Miguel. He also had become increasingly unpopular due to his absolutist tendencies, favoritism towards men of Portuguese birth, his erratic and unstable character, and dissolute moral habits. The long, and ultimately unsuccessful war for control over the Cisplatine province (present-day Uruguay) contributed further to his decline. Pedro I left Brazil in the hands of a regency until his son, Pedro II, then five years old, attained his majority. Alternative visions of the Brazilian nation became associated with political tendencies and parties that coalesced dur-

ing the Regency (1831-1840). Some of the less extreme nativists and Brazilian-born graduates of Coimbra formed the *moderados* (moderates). Defenders of traditional privilege, many of them Portuguese-born, formed the restorationists (*caramarus*) who called for the return of Dom Pedro I. Radical and stridently anti-Portuguese *exaltados* became increasingly marginalized.

The series of regional revolts discussed above convinced many that state centralization was the only viable option in order to retain national unity. In addition, democratizing reforms passed in the 1820s such as popular selection of justices of the peace and juries, did not function adequately. The exiled Dom Pedro I died in Portugal in 1834, effectively eliminating the caramaru threat, further facilitating a shift to the center. Disillusioned moderados moved to the right and initiated the Regresso, reversing earlier liberal reforms, strengthening the executive, and introducing additional centralized forms of social control. Chief among their counter-reforms was legislation passed in 1841 that created centrally-appointed police officials and magistrates. Counter-reforms also restricted the powers of the provincial legislative assemblies and reinstated the Council of State, an entity associated with Pedro I's autocratic rule. Dom Pedro II's premature ascension to the throne in 1840 at age 14 further promoted national stability.

Out of the Regresso emerged the Conservative party, which favored centralized government and sought to curtail democratic privileges such as suffrage. The Liberal party, which arose from an alternative moderado vision, favored broader voting rights, greater power of elected officers, and increased local and individual autonomy. Continuation of regional revolts into the 1840s prompted greater homogeneity between Liberals and Conservatives in their desire for stability and their acceptance of a strong, effective state. Partisan compromise peaked during the bipartisan Conciliation cabinet (*conciliação*) which lasted from 1853-1857. During the late 1860s, ideological debate between and among the two parties was renewed. Furthermore, in 1870, some members of the military, urban professionals, and coffee planters from São Paulo, formed the Republican



party and adopted anti-monarchical and anti-clerical positions that challenged the nation's traditional institutions.

### Economy and Society

The Brazilian economy remained largely dependent upon the cultivation and export of tropical commodities such as sugar, tobacco, cacao, cotton, and coffee. Large agriculturalists continued to rely heavily upon slave labor, despite the fact that British diplomatic pressures threatened the longevity of the institution. In 1807, Great Britain outlawed slave trafficking by its nationals and barred *slave ships in its territories*. Through a variety of diplomatic and extralegal means, England pressured other nations to follow its lead and the its navy implemented an aggressive campaign to suppress slaving off the African coast and the high seas. British help in escorting the Portuguese court to Brazil in 1808 and negotiating recognition of Brazilian sovereignty in 1825 facilitated that nation's ability to lobby for an end to the Brazilian slave trade.

Consequently, João VI agreed in 1810 to limit the slave trade to Portuguese colonies in Africa and to prevent Portuguese nationals from engaging in the trade in non-Portuguese territories. In 1815, Brazil and Portugal agreed to cease slaving north of the equator and in 1817 they ratified a search and seizure treaty with England. These measures concentrated the trade to Angola and Mozambique. Following independence, Pedro I was pressured to recognize these agreements and to promise a complete halt to the trade by 1830. A law to this effect was passed in 1831 but it was not enforced and between 1831 and 1846, some 500,000 slaves were imported to Brazil. Formal prohibition actually increased the horrors and abuses of the trade as slavers crammed their holds full of captives, including smaller women and children.

Matters came to a head following the passage of the Palmerston Act of 1839 and the Aberdeen Act of 1845 which unilaterally gave the British navy the right to arbitrarily search and seize Portuguese and Brazilian ships, even in Bra-

zilian territorial waters. The Brazilian government responded by passing the Queiroz bill in 1850 which brought a definitive end to the trade.<sup>29</sup> Ceasing the slave trade brought a gain in international respectability as well as freeing up capital but posed a problem for agriculturalists, especially those involved in the expanding coffee economy in Rio de Janeiro and the interior of São Paulo. Labor hungry landowners resorted to a variety of solutions, including recruitment of slaves internally from economically depressed areas of Brazil, enslaving unassimilated Indians, the use of dependent tenant farmers and sharecroppers, adopting vagrancy laws, and the importation of European contract laborers. They expressed little enthusiasm for importing Asian workers, free Africans or hiring the "national worker," poor, landless native Brazilians of color.

Ultimately, coffee growers relied most heavily on European immigrants while poorer regions such as the declining sugar areas of the Northeast relied on tenancy, sharecropping, and debt peonage. Cessation of the slave trade also caused a dramatic rise in the price of slaves, making other alternatives more attractive. Formal attempts to attract Europeans began in the 1830s and by mid-century some 20,000 had settled in Brazil, although most preferred to strike out on their own than subject themselves to harsh working conditions alongside African slaves. Paulista planter and politician, Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro, recruited Swiss and German "colonists" (*colonos*) to work as sharecroppers on his plantation in Rio Claro in the 1840s. As others followed his lead, contractual terms began to weigh more heavily in favor of the planter and bad press stemming from an account written by immigrant Thomas Davatz in 1850, led Germany and Switzerland to prohibit future immigration to Brazil.<sup>30</sup> Paulista coffee growers then looked to southern Europe to meet their labor needs, recruiting from Italy, Spain and Portugal. They lobbied effectively for state subsidization to offset the

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29. On anti-slave trade legislation see Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade. Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970).

30. Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1976).

costs of importing contract laborers. By the 1880s, several thousand immigrants poured into Brazil annually and Europeans continued to comprise much of the labor force in the coffee sector until World War I.<sup>31</sup>

Wealthy planters developed alternatives to meet their labor needs as the slave trade became progressively restricted. Abolitionist measures also threatened but were slow to gain force.<sup>32</sup> In 1871, the Law of the Free Womb was passed. It granted freedom to slave children born after 1871 upon reaching the age of 21. Owners could receive some indemnification from the state only if they freed slave children at age 8. In addition, the law made provisions for mandatory slave registration, and the creation of an emancipation fund. It also provided legal protection for property accumulated by captives, prohibited the separation of married slave couples and safeguarded conditional manumission.

The abolitionist movement finally took off in 1880 when Liberal politician and lawyer, Joaquim Nabuco, established the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society. Nabuco and other reformers such as José do Patrocínio, the illegitimate son of a planter; André Rebouças, a mulatto lawyer; and Luiz Gama, a lawyer and ex-slave, generated enthusiasm for the cause, principally in urban areas. In 1884, the provinces of Ceará and Amazonas, neither possessing a sizable captive population, abolished slavery. The following year, the Saraiva-Cotegipe bill was passed. It freed slaves above the age of 65 without indemnification to their owners and provided some additional legislative protection for captives. By 1886, slaves had begun to desert coffee plantations in significant numbers, aided and abetted by abolitionist agents. Finally, on 13 May 1888, princess regent Isabel freed Brazil's remaining 750,000 slaves. Despite widespread planter fears, slaves continued to labor on coffee plantations following emancipation and economic disruption

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31. Thomas H. Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1980).

32. Robert E. Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1972).

proved minimal. No subsequent social legislation was passed to help the newly freed adjust to their new status or to train them for decent wage employment.<sup>33</sup>

### Late Imperial Tensions and the Coup of 1889

The latter decades of the military saw the emergence of new social groups that for one reason or another felt marginalized within the patronage-based, two-party political system. It failed to accommodate increasing numbers of urban professionals, a glut of law students who traditionally had staffed the Imperial bureaucracy and legislatures, newly affluent Paulista coffee growers, and perhaps most importantly, the military. The armed forces, a despised and degraded institution that traditionally had to resort to the coerced recruitment of vagrants and criminals to fill its ranks, had grown in stature following their participation in the War of the Triple Alliance (1865-1870) which pitted Brazilian, Argentine, and (Liberal) Uruguayan forces against Paraguayan dictator, Francisco Solano Lopez. Lopez proved to be a surprisingly formidable foe and mobilized 80,000 troops compared to Brazil's standing army of less than 17,000 soldiers. National pride demanded that Brazil demonstrate that it was capable of waging and winning a modern war against an opponent that was seen as inferior, indigenous and mired in barbarous caudillo politics. By 1866, Brazilian troop strength was raised to 60,000 men. Although coerced recruitment of slaves, libertos and poor men of color made up the bulk of new recruits, idealistic elite youths also responded to patriotic appeals. The war quickly devolved into an expensive stalemate, costing \$200,000,000 and 24,000 lives of the 83,000 combatants.<sup>34</sup>

Brazilian forces finally prevailed in 1870 but gratitude towards the combatants proved short lived. A downsized military budget and limited opportuni-

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33. Rebecca Scott, ed., *The Abolition of Slavery and the Aftermath of Emancipation in Brazil* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1988).

34. Peter M. Beattie, "Transforming Enlisted Army Service in Brazil 1864-1940: Penal Servitude Versus Conscription and Changing Conceptions of Honor, Race and Nation." (Ph.D. diss, Univ. of Miami, 1994).

ties for advancement following the war proved inconsistent with a military self-image that saw itself as Brazil's salvation. Demobilized veterans found few opportunities and the army continued to resort to impressment to fill its ranks. Stifled military officers also began to question the corrupt nature of late Imperial patronage politics and saw themselves as a morally redemptive force, a sense of national mission that would endure well into the twentieth century.

The military found ideological inspiration in the positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte which soon became part of the curriculum of the military academy. The experience of fighting alongside slaves, libertos, and poor men of color, led many to support abolition as a political cause. Officers who had fought at the Paraguayan front were keenly aware of the political opportunities afforded to their brothers in arms in the Spanish republics and many became ardent Republicans as a result. The two historical parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, each sought to curry favor with particular high-ranking officers with little success. It would be a Republican military officer, Marshal Manoel Deodoro da Fonseca (1827-1892), who would lead the coup that toppled the monarchy in 1889.

Growing tensions or "questions" contributed to the Empire's destabilization.<sup>35</sup> The "church question" (1872-1875) addressed the relationship of church to state by challenging the Brazilian government right of patronage, a privilege dating from colonial times that allowed the state to sanction or dismiss papal edicts. The matter came to a head when a European friar, Dom Vital Maria Gonçalves de Olivera became Bishop of Olinda, and attempted to enforce an 1864 encyclical that condemned the Masonic Order. Although the Masons were often associated with anti-clericalism in Europe, they had co-existed peacefully with Catholicism in Brazil. Even the Emperor, Dom Pedro II, and many other prominent statesmen were practicing Masons. Dom Vital, however, took a hard line and began suspending and excommunicating Masons in his diocese. The pa-

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35. Charles Willis Simmons, *Marshal Deodoro and the Fall of Dom Pedro II* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1966).



pacy supported his actions but the Brazilian council of state did not and sentenced Dom Vital to a prison term. After much wrangling the bishops were granted amnesty and the papacy modified its position on Brazilian masonry.

The so-called "military question" emerged in 1883 around the issue of civilian ministers of war controlling military discipline, appointments and dismissals. When debate over the topic emerged in the press, an edict was passed in 1884 prohibiting officers from discussing political or military affairs in the press without prior approval of the minister of war. Military freedom of the press was thereby challenged and ultimately confirmed in a ruling in 1886. The officers involved in the dispute, however, received no apologies and considered the entire affair an affront to their honor.

Republicanism and the abolition of slavery represented additional challenges. The Republicans advocated a number of reforms to the political system and called for separation of church and state. They were considerably more conservative concerning the slavery question as many among their membership were coffee planters who owned captives. The party made only modest inroads in the 1870s and 1880s, boasting only one minister of justice, appointed in 1878, and three deputies to the Chamber in 1884. Not until 1888, when Brazil's remaining 750,000 slaves were freed by Princess Isabel without indemnification to their owners, did the Republicans begin to gain a decisive advantage. The Ouro Preto cabinet under the leadership of Afonso Celso proposed some defensive reforms to satisfy Republican demands including greater local legislative autonomy, abolition of life tenure in the Senate and the Council of State, and religious freedom. The Chamber of Deputies balked and was dissolved. Deodoro seized the moment to launch a coup on 15 November 1889, a plan that had been in the making as early as May 1887. In so doing he had the support of Floriano Peixoto, the adjutant general of the army, the officer corps and most of the rank and file. The civilian ministers surrendered relatively peacefully and D. Pedro II went into exile in Paris, where he died two years later in 1891.

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## REPUBLICAN BRAZIL (1889-2000)

### The First Republic (1889-1930)

Both the military and civilians took part in Brazil's transition to republican rule. Deodoro took charge as provisional president, placed military men in gubernatorial positions, but staffed his cabinet with a number of civilians. A widespread changing of the political guard took place in the national and state legislatures and in the bureaucracy as older, seasoned politicians from the monarchical regime were replaced by younger and less experienced Republican representatives, many from the military and professional classes.

Under the Republic, the national government was decentralized and afforded greater fiscal, administrative, and legislative autonomy to the individual states. For prosperous regions like São Paulo's expanding coffee sector, this meant that a greater share of their tax revenues would remain within the state. In contrast, the poorer states to the north and northeast could no longer rely on the centralized reapportioning of funding that had obtained under the Imperial government. This reallocation of power and resources would have far reaching effects in terms of uneven regional economic development into the twentieth century.

The Republican constitution, written largely by Rui Barbosa in consultation with Deodoro, was passed in 1891. It provided for a strong executive with the power to call up the military at will and to freely appoint ministers and secretaries. The electoral system, inspired by the U.S. model, elected a president and vice president every four years, congressional representatives every three years and senators every nine years. The franchise was limited to literate males. The Constitution separated Church and State and transferred the keeping of vital statistics from ecclesiastical to state authorities.

The military retained power of the executive for the brief span of only five years. Deodoro won the first presidential election with Floriano as his running mate but resigned late in 1891, in ill health and unable to negotiate effectively with a recalcitrant congress. Floriano succeeded to the executive and lost to the civilian president of the Senate, Prudente de Moraes, in 1894. Prudente hailed from São Paulo and his presidency marked the beginning of political machinations that would come to be known as the politics of "*café com leite*" (coffee with milk), alternating the presidency between the coffee-growing paulistas and the dairy-producing mineiros. São Paulo was the wealthiest state; Minas Gerais was the most populous, thereby controlling the largest number of congressional representatives.

Beneath the changes brought by political decentralization and the shift to a one party system, considerable continuity with late Imperial politics remained. Patronage endured as the fundamental operating principle of the political system. Incumbent presidents handpicked their successors in negotiation with state governors, a process referred to as the *política dos governadores* or "politics of the governors." The governors in turn manipulated electoral proceedings through their patron-client relations with strongmen at the local level. They doled out funding and municipal positions in exchange for bringing in the desired vote. In turn, ambitious locals, typically referred to as colonels (*coronéis*) brought pressure to bear on the rural poor through threats or enticements. In weaker states like Bahia, the effective power of the *coronéis* was such that the federal government had to negotiate directly with them on some occasions. In contrast, stronger and more affluent states like São Paulo developed effective judicial and policing institutions that limited the autonomy of local patrons.<sup>36</sup>

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36. John D. Wirth, *Minas Gerais in the Brazilian Federation, 1889-1937* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1977). Eul-Soo Pang, *Bahia in the First Brazilian Republic, Coronelismo and Oligarchies, 1889-1934* (Gainesville: Univ. of Florida Press, 1979). Joseph L. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889-1937* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1980).

Brazil's political base remained largely rural and regionally defined. This began to change in 1910 when a powerful senator from the southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul, José Gomes Pinheiro Machado, proved decisive in helping war minister Hermes Rodrigues da Fonseca secure the presidency.<sup>37</sup> Rio-grandense participation was crucial in a number of respects. Much of the elite officer corps hailed from that state. Its economic output was second to São Paulo's. Along with São Paulo and Minas, it accounted for over half the electorate by 1910.

Economic fluctuations and instability marked the early years of the First Republic. A wave of economic speculation in the mid-1890s referred to as the "bubble" or *Encilhamento* witnessed the excessive printing of paper currency, inflation and currency devaluation. Austerity measures were implemented in the early twentieth century to trim budgets, repay foreign debt, and limit currency in circulation. Key among these economic reforms was the Convention of Taubaté, a coffee valorization scheme passed in 1906. As the world's leading coffee producer, Brazil was in a position to manipulate the market. In order to address overproduction, the government purchased coffee when the world price dropped below a certain point. Growers also agreed to forgo new planting and the convention remained effective until the economic crash of 1929.

The government also invested in various modernizing initiatives including the improvement of port facilities, transportation networks (especially railroads), and urban infrastructure. The centerpiece was the modernization of Rio which underwent rapid transformations at the turn of the century. As the capital city of an up-and-coming Republican nation, Rio de Janeiro was remade in the image of Paris with broad avenues, majestic public buildings and ornate private residences. Centrally located neighborhoods were razed to make room for these

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37. Pinheiro later went on to establish his own party, the Partido Republicano Conservador (PRC) and made his own unsuccessful bid for the presidency before being assassinated in 1915. Joseph L. Love, *Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism 1882-1930* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1971).



improvements, resulting in the displacement of thousands of poor and working class people.<sup>38</sup>

Economic policy favored production of tropical commodities for export although Brazil also began to industrialize in this period. Protective tariffs were passed on imported manufactures to protect nascent industries that sprang up in Rio, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. Manufacturing took off first and foremost in São Paulo where coffee growers began to diversify and reinvest some of their profits in industrial production.<sup>39</sup> Thousands of European migrants who had been recruited to work the coffee plantations opted for factory jobs as they opened up. Their racial background enabled them to compete effectively with Brazilian-born workers, often poor people of color or ex-slaves.<sup>40</sup> Industrialists took full advantage of this competition and workers experienced harsh working conditions, earned meager wages and received little or no benefits. Many organized into socialist, communist and anarchist unions, especially during the years preceding, during and following World War I.

Resistance to the social, economic, and political demands of the First Republic occurred on a number of fronts. As early as 1893, the navy commander Custódio de Melo revolted in Rio and monarchists in Rio Grande do Sul resisted the government of the positivist caudilho Julio de Castilhos. Both movements were handily suppressed. A more difficult challenge was posed by a penitent religious community called Canudos located in the impoverished northeastern backlands. Canudos was established in 1893 by a lay preacher named Antônio

38. Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987); Teresa A. Meade, "Civilizing" Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City 1889-1930 (Univ. Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1997).

39. Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880-1945* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1969).

40. George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1991).



Conselheiro who promised salvation if one adhered to his rigid moral code. The community attracted tens of thousands of backlanders who were attracted to both his apocalyptic message and the economic opportunities that Canudos's valley oasis afforded. Conselheiro was also an outspoken critic of the Republic, particularly the separation of church and state, but never went so far as to advocate rebellion. The opinion of state authorities concerning Conselheiro's social experiment underwent a dramatic shift following the repulsion of a small military force which had been sent to Canudos to resolve a local conflict. Its defeat was an affront to military honor and quickly escalated into years of armed conflict. The fourth and final campaign against Canudos in 1897 involved some 8,000 troops and months of siege warfare. The tragic consequences of this episode were subsequently immortalized by Euclides da Cunha in his epic eyewitness account, *Os Sertões (Rebellion in the Backlands)*.

Canudos was not unique; Robert Levine has identified eight separate millenarian movements that took place from 1820-1940, mostly occurring in sparsely populated, marginal geographic zones. In particular, the Contestado (Paraná and Santa Catarina, 1912-1916) and the Caldeirão (Bahia, 1934-37) also drew sustained and brutal military repression.<sup>41</sup> Unless religious leaders allowed themselves to be co-opted by local politicians and landowners, as was the case with the influential Cearense priest, Padre Cícero, they risked severe retaliation for challenging the status quo.

Rural resistance was not limited to religious channels. The First Republic saw a dramatic rise in rural banditry. Many factors contributed to this phenomenon. Changing patterns of land tenure pushed the poor into landlessness or a bare subsistence. Politically ambitious landowners provided jobs for and offered protection to unemployed men who were willing to use violence to coerce

41. Robert M. Levine. *Vale of Tears. Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893-1897* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993), 217-225. On the Contestado, Todd Alan Diacon, *Millenarian Vision, Capitalist Reality: Brazil's Contestado Rebellion, 1912-1916* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1991).

and intimidate during elections and be otherwise available for dirty work. In most areas, particularly the poorer northeastern states, police forces were undermanned, underpaid, insufficiently armed, and generally ineffective. Despite the romantic images that developed around some bandit figures like the infamous "Lampião," most bandits did not act as modern-day Robin Hoods. They preyed on rich and poor alike and often resorted to arbitrary cruelty and brutal tactics to survive.<sup>42</sup> Rural banditry would not be curtailed effectively until the 1930s under the government of Getúlio Vargas.

By the 1920s, rising urban groups also began to challenge the status quo. Workers continued to form independent trade unions and political organizations despite increasing police surveillance and repression. The urban populations of both Rio and São Paulo increased dramatically due to rural-urban migration and massive immigration of southern Europeans. Industrial laborers and white collar workers alike grew increasingly dissatisfied over their exclusion from the predominantly rural-based political system. They gained more clout as their numbers increased; between 1920-1930 the size of Rio's electorate tripled. In 1922, workers mobilized to form the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) and Brazilian feminists created the Brazilian Federation for Feminine Progress to lobby for the female vote. In the same year, artists and intellectuals also challenged Brazil's slavish adherence to European cultural norms during "Modern Art Week." They began to develop a Brazilian form of modernism that incorporated indigenous and African elements. The middle and elite classes also contained reformist elements. In 1926, urban professionals, industrialists, and a small number of progressive planters created the Partido Democrático (PD). Among other demands, they called for the secret ballot and greater electoral supervision.

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42. Billy Jaynes Chandler, *The Bandit King: Lampião of Brazil* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1978). For a counter-example see Linda Lewin, "The Oligarchical Limitations of Social Banditry in Brazil: The Case of the 'Good Thief' Antônio Silvino," *Past and Present*, 82 (Feb. 1979): 116-146.

Perhaps the most sustained and vocal criticism came from the junior officer ranks of the military. Throughout the First Republic, the military objected to the corrupt oligarchical politics of the First Republic. In the mid 1910s the *salvacionistas* attempted to redeem their native states from the grip of political oligarchies and enjoyed some modest success in the Northeast. Between 1922-1927, a series of military uprisings with varied reformist objectives came to be known as the *tenente* (lieutenant) movement. Young officers led a barracks revolt in Copacabana in 1922 and a revolution in the state of São Paulo in 1924. The most dramatic expression of discontent came in the form of the Prestes Column, in which 1,500 of the São Paulo rebels marched some 25,000 km in a little over two years.<sup>43</sup> The reformist officers hoped to galvanize the rural poor to join them and protest the status quo but most were unwilling to risk their small margin of security for an even more uncertain outcome. Luis Carlos Prestes took the remnants of his movement into exile in Bolivia in 1926 but returned to Brazil to assist Getúlio Vargas in his bid for power in 1930.

Rising challenges to the Republican regime came to a head during the presidential elections of 1930 which pitted president Washington Luis's hand-picked successor, paulista Júlio Prestes, against Riograndense challenger, Getúlio Vargas (1883-1953). Vargas, a lawyer, career bureaucrat, and politician ran on the *Aliança Liberal* (Liberal Alliance) ticket and proposed a package of top-down reforms that included electoral reform, a progressive labor code, the female vote, and amnesty for the *tenentes*. Júlio Prestes made similar appeals to the carioca electorate, thereby winning much of the labor vote. Vargas secured only 700,000 votes compared to his opponent's one million but alleged that Prestes had won through fraud. The Liberal Alliance then began to plan a revolt and recruited military *tenente* support. A number of the veterans of the Prestes column returned to Brazil to lend Vargas their support, minus their leader, Luis Carlos Prestes, who was drawn increasingly to Marxism-Leninism. Fighting broke out

43. Neil MacCaulay, *The Prestes Column: Revolution in Brazil* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974).

on October 3 and president Washington Luis was deposed by the army high command on October 24. On November 3, 1930, Vargas was sworn in as chief of the provisional government, the first step in a quest for personal power that would endure for more than two decades.

### The Vargas Era (1930-1954)

Getúlio Vargas faced a number of challenges upon assuming executive power. First and foremost was the economic depression. Coffee, which during the 1920s, had provided 70% of Brazil's export revenues, dropped from 22.5 cents a pound to only 8 cents per pound on the world market. Vargas faced the daunting task of diversifying the economy while simultaneously keeping his promises to improve conditions for the working class. This delicate and contradictory balancing act characterized the remainder of his political career.

Politically, Vargas also vacillated between the right and the left. Until presidential elections were called in 1932, he controlled the executive as a de facto dictator. His provisional government resorted to temporary censorship of the press and appointed tenentes replaced elected governors and mayors in key cities. His alliance with the tenentes helped him to maintain power but also exerted a powerful influence on his early policies. Idealistic tenente advisors and rising populist politicians such as the reformist physician Pedro Ernesto Batista formed the Clube 3 de outubro as a platform to push for popular reforms.<sup>44</sup> During this interim period, Vargas created new health, education and labor ministries. He extended retirement funds and social security benefits to key labor sectors and passed legislation that required that at least 67% of employees of any business be Brazilian nationals. Electoral reform passed in 1932 gave women the vote, lowered the voting age to 18, provided for secret balloting and supported broader infrastructure for voter registration. Pedro Ernesto, appointed as interventor of the Federal District by Vargas, formed a new political party, the Partido Autônomo

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44. Michael L. Conniff, *Urban Politics in Brazil: The Rise of Populism, 1925-1945* (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1981).



do Distrito Federal (PADF) and launched an aggressive campaign to register urban voters. The PADF also enjoyed wide support among feminists and intellectuals. Six of the ten Rio delegates to the Constituent Assembly in 1933 were PADF members.

The constitution of 1934 reflected the populist concerns of the early Vargas years. Labor particularly benefitted from new protectionist measures. The chamber of deputies was also restructured to include 50 representatives according to social class (labor, industry, bureaucrats, etc.) However, shortly upon assuming the presidency in 1934, Vargas began to favor a corporatist approach to government. Increasingly influenced by European fascist models, he sought to incorporate private institutions under the tutelage of the state and abandoned populist, bottom-up approaches.<sup>45</sup> Social planning and labor organizations began to shift from the private to public sectors. For example, the ministry of labor required each trade to form a single official union (*sindicato*) and refused to recognize the rights of alternative workers' groups to strike, negotiate, or demand benefits. Few workers found these unions appealing; one study found that only .003% of workers in the metallurgy and textile trades in São Paulo joined their respective sindicatos.<sup>46</sup>

Vargas's move towards the right did not sit well with all of his constituents. Disaffected tenentes, labor activists, populists, and middle-class liberal reformers formed the Alliance for National Liberation (ANL) in early 1935. This "popular front" organization also incorporated many former members of the PCB, which had been outlawed in 1934, and appointed Communist leader and former tenente, Luis Carlos Prestes, as its president. It attracted a largely urban, middle and lower middle-class base with workers being relatively under-repre-

45. Robert M. Levine *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years: 1934-1938* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970) is still the best source on this period.

46. Joel Wolfe, *Working Women, Working Men: São Paulo and the Rise of Brazil's Industrial Working Class, 1900-1955*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1993), ch. 2.



sented. The ANL called for broad-based urban and rural reforms and greater nationalization of the economy.

Vargas responded to this challenge by passing a National Security Act that gave him and his police forces broad authority to suppress social protest. The police duly banned labor and leftist groups, including the ANL, while simultaneously tolerating and even encouraging ultra-rightist groups such as the fascist Integralists. Following its suppression, the ANL reorganized in a more militant mode, alienating some of its middle class constituents. It became involved in fomenting military uprisings in Natal, Recife and Rio de Janeiro in November 1935. Vargas called for, and was granted, a thirty day state of siege during which he purged the military and expanded the power of the executive. The National Commission for the Repression of Communism and the National Security Tribunal were established in 1936. Wholesale repression and censorship of the left ensued and several thousand political arrests were made between 1935-1937, including Luis Carlos Prestes and former interventor of Rio and PADF leader, Pedro Ernesto Batista. Political prisoners were housed in the most squalid of makeshift prisons where they held classes in literacy, foreign languages and political philosophy and ideology. Vargas had some political prisoners deported; Prestes's wife Olga Benário ultimately died in a Nazi concentration camp.

In 1937, Vargas began making moves to retain control of the executive. The 1934 constitution stipulated that he could not succeed himself, a limitation that required extralegal measures. He again began to court military support, this time approaching more politically conservative officers. Vargas then "discovered" a (bogus) Communist plot, dubbed the Cohen plan, and persuaded Congress to suspend constitutional rights on October 1, 1937 until this threat to national security was resolved. On November 10, he dissolved Congress and the state legislatures, replaced governors with his own appointees, eliminated existing political parties and canceled the upcoming elections, claiming that they posed a threat to national security. With the backing of the military, he announced a new corporatist constitution, and assumed dictatorial powers under

what he called the Estado Novo or new state (1937-1945). His most influential advisors included military chief of staff, Pedro Aurélio de Góes Monteiro; minister of war, Eurico Dutra; and former labor minister and pro-Nazi police chief of Rio, Filinto Muller.<sup>47</sup>

Vargas quickly implemented an aggressive policy of economic nationalism and import substitution industrialization (ISI) under the catchphrase "renovation" (*renovação*).<sup>48</sup> His top-down, state-controlled plan emphasized the development and nationalization of heavy industry, particularly steel production and petroleum refining. Key to his success were long-term, low-interest loans and technical expertise proffered by the U.S. in exchange for the right to set up air bases in Brazil during World War II. The National Steel Commission and the Companhia do Vale do Rio Doce, established in 1940 and 1942 respectively, facilitated Brazil's self sufficiency in steel production. The military approved, seeing the development of a domestic steel industry as essential to Brazil's status as an up-and-coming military power. Vargas also pumped resources into the agricultural sector, particularly in coffee financing and technological improvements in sugar refining. By 1950, Brazil was the most industrialized nation in all of Latin America.

Although much of Vargas's approach was macro-institutional, he did not neglect the micro-social. He continued to provide social welfare benefits and protective legislation for workers, providing that they remained politically quiescent. In 1941, the organization of the state-run unions changed. Funding that derived from the payment of a tax equivalent to one day's wages was funneled exclusively through the *sindicatos*. In order to have access to social services like health care, education, and cooperatives, workers had to join the union. If the unions engaged

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47. Levine, *Vargas Regime*.

48. An excellent overview of the domestic and foreign policy of the Vargas era through the military coup of 1964 is provided by Thomas E. Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964: An Experiment in Democracy* (N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967).

in subversive activities such as strikes, the government pulled their funding. Union leaders appointed by the government tended to be career bureaucrats in cahoots with industrialists rather than actual workers. The secret police (DOPS) also placed operatives in the unions to spy on their membership and weed out troublemakers.

Brazil's entry into World War II in 1942 increased industrial output but did not benefit workers. Workers were pressured to labor longer hours for the war effort but wages remained flat despite a rising cost of living. Restrictions on female and child labor were abandoned but women were denied access to new industrial training programs. However, Vargas did not rely solely on patriotic appeals to control the work force. From 1943-1945, he reformed the labor unions to allow greater worker autonomy and freedom to negotiate. This move was largely strategic; Vargas had promised free elections at the war's end and hoped to use the sindicatos as the basis of a pro-Vargas political party.

During the Estado Novo, Vargas also manipulated the media in order to retain legitimacy among the popular classes. The DIP or Propaganda Ministry controlled more than 60% of the media and had the power to censor independent papers. Vargas also used radio to good effect, particularly his weekly appearances on the *Hora do Brasil* and in cinema newsreels.<sup>49</sup> Using these tactics, he was able to create and sustain an image as the "father of the poor" that offset the weight of his contradictory policies towards labor.<sup>50</sup> Pro-Vargas propaganda and speaking tours were also directed towards impoverished rural dwellers although they remained virtually neglected in policy terms. Vargas tended to cultivate relation-

49. Ludwig Lauerhass Jr., "Who was Getúlio? Theme and Variations in Brazilian Political Lore," *Journal of Latin American Lore*, 5:2 (1979): 273-290

50. Especially evocative are letters written by common folk to Vargas requesting help to resolve personal problems. A selection of such correspondence can be found in Robert M. Levine, *Father of the poor?: Vargas and his Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997) and Wolfe, *Working Women, Working Men*.

ships with the rural elites to achieve specific objectives such as an end to rural banditry.

By the end of World War II, however, censorship of opposition opinion began to break down. In 1943, Vargas allowed political parties to form, the first nationwide democratic parties in Brazilian history. Two were founded by him: the Partido Social Democrático (PSD) which represented urban, moderate, middle-class interests and the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB) which appealed to workers and the left, principally to members of the government-dominated labor unions and economic nationalists. The União Democrática Nacional (UDN) represented conservative interests and the landed oligarchy who had been marginalized under Vargas. The Communist party (PCB) also returned in 1945.

Vargas still enjoyed considerable support among conservative politicians and bureaucrats, industrialists, and urban workers who had benefitted from his social welfare policies. Much of the landed oligarchy and some sectors of the military opposed him. Vargas's cautious shift towards the left during his final years in power caused concern within military circles and it was the military that finally forced Vargas to step down in 1945. General Eurico Dutra, the PSD/PTB candidate won the presidency with 55% of the vote and the PSD gained a majority in Congress. Two states elected Vargas to the Senate; he chose to represent his home state, Rio Grande do Sul, as a PSD candidate.

Little institutional or socioeconomic change occurred under Dutra's presidency (1946-1951). The new Brazilian constitution left the centralized structures imposed under Vargas largely intact. Dutra faced economic instability and post-war inflation. Although he implemented regional development programs that addressed the drought-stricken interior, he tended to pursue economic development at the expense of workers who experienced a decline in real wages and renewed repression. He also cracked down on the left, banning the Communist party in 1947.



Vargas returned to the presidency in 1951, capturing nearly 49% of the vote. He represented both the PTB and the Partido Social Progressista (PSP), a new party formed by the populist governor of São Paulo, Adhemar de Barros. Vargas articulated a platform of *trabalhismo* which emphasized smooth relations between labor, capital and the state rather than union autonomy. Nonetheless, he garnered overwhelming support in Rio and São Paulo. However, he found it more difficult to govern under a democratic system and a more powerful military. He also had to grapple with an inefficient and increasingly bloated bureaucracy, an unstable economy, and rising inflation. Vargas attempted to articulate a moderate economic policy in an attempt to navigate between the two extremes of neoliberalism and economic nationalism. However, the tenuous economic situation made Vargas unable to court both workers and industrialists simultaneously as he had done in the past. Although he raised the minimum wage in 1951, it made up for losses due to inflation rather than signifying a real advance. Vargas was forced to implement austerity measures and alienated the right and center as a result. Press opposition mounted and he faced an unsuccessful impeachment attempt engineered by the UDN in 1953.

Matters came to a head when Vargas again attempted to increase the minimum wage in 1954 by 100%. He was then unjustly implicated in an assassination attempt against right-wing journalist, Carlos Lacerda. Pressured by the military to step down and feeling unable to govern effectively, he took his own life in 1954, leaving behind a controversial suicide note that claimed his death was a sacrifice that would keep Brazil unified. The Vargas era thereby came to an end and Getúlio added political martyr to his array of conflicting political images.

### **From Populism to Authoritarian Rule**

Just as the military contributed to Vargas's ultimate demise, so did it oversee the hotly contested presidential elections of 1955. Mineiro governor and PSD candidate, Juscelino Kubitschek (JK) won the election but failed to attain an absolute majority, receiving only 36% of the votes that were divided among four political parties. The right disputed the results, claiming illegal Communist



involvement in JK's victory. Despite his selection of former labor minister and PTB member, João Goulart, as his running mate, JK was able to convince the military to intervene to ensure his inauguration. Despite this shaky start, he managed to serve a full term, controlling Congress through the alliance that he forged between the PSD and the PTB.

Kubistschek launched an ambitious economic program, emphasizing public works construction. During his administration, industrial output expanded by 80%; and the metallurgy, chemical, electric, communications and transport equipment sectors grew between 100-600%. Brazil sustained an annual growth rate at 7% and per capita growth at 4%. Particularly notable was the growth of Brazil's automobile industry which made Brazil self sufficient in car production by the end of 1960. Emblematic of JK's approach was the construction of Brasília, a completely new capital in the hinterland.

Development, however, came at a price. Large government projects frequently were tainted by patronage and corruption. Industrialization also fueled debt and inflation. JK's reluctance to cut public expenditures and implement austerity measures might have endeared him to the Brazilian public but carried little weight with lenders such as the IMF. He also favored industry over agrarian interests and did nothing to ameliorate conditions for the rural poor. These problems he left to his successor.

In 1961, JK was succeeded by Janio Quadros, a populist politician from São Paulo who ran on the Christian Democrat ticket (PDC) with additional support from the UDN. Quadros's reformist platform made him popular with both the working and middle classes. However, he immediately set into place economic stabilization measures in order to secure loans from the IMF to service the debt that JK had left behind. Currency devaluation, inflation, and wage freezes weighed heavily upon his constituents. Janio's friendly overtures to the Soviet Union and his neutrality over Cuba also raised the suspicions of the military and inspired the hostility of the right-wing press. Just months into his term, Quadros

resigned from office, leaving the executive in the hands of his vice-president João Goulart

Goulart, however, did not have the backing of the military. Although he had extensive political experience as a PTB leader, former Minister of Labor under Vargas, and vice-president under JK, he was considered by the right to be a Communist sympathizer. The radical left found him too moderate. The military divided over his succession to office and he was allowed to assume office only after adopting a parliamentary system, which effectively reduced the power of the presidency. Sixteen months later he was able to organize a plebiscite to return Brazil to a presidential system following a massive general strike

Goulart's administration was plagued by rapid turnover at the highest appointed ranks and a deeply divided legislature. He was unable to articulate an economic policy that simultaneously met the needs of domestic commercial and industrial elites and the middle and working classes. He felt pressure from international lending agencies to implement austerity measures, but did so inconsistently. Goulart implemented currency devaluation and cut subsidies on basic commodities such as wheat but then pushed through substantial wage increases leading the historian Thomas Skidmore to conclude, "...having halfheartedly supported a policy aimed at achieving development without inflation, he [Goulart] had only achieved inflation without development."<sup>51</sup>

Goulart's attempts to define a middle ground pleased neither the right nor the left. Student organizations began to organize literacy campaigns while the rural poor formed peasant leagues and orchestrated land invasions. By the early months of 1964, with his popularity waning, Goulart began to push forth a number of reforms by decree including the nationalization of private oil refineries and expropriation of large non-productive agricultural estates. Yet Goulart lacked a

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51. Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil*, 260.

popular base to support his reforms. The military high command began to spread rumors that the president planned to use the government-controlled labor unions as a political base for overturning the Constitution and that Goulart's call for constitutional reform was a ploy to begin a dictatorship. Fearing an impending coup, Goulart fled Brasília on 1 April and went into exile in Uruguay.

### Brazil Under Military Rule, 1964-1985

Few could have predicted that the military would remain in power and establish an enduring authoritarian regime. The crisis of 1964 marked a departure from previous patterns of military intervention.<sup>52</sup> First, leadership came from a politically conservative old guard, not from young populist officers. Second, the military did not transfer power back to civilians as it had done in the past. The "Supreme Revolutionary Command" quickly drafted an institutional act which gave the Executive broad extraordinary powers to override Congress, purge the bureaucracy and military of undesirables, and to selectively limit or suspend individual political rights. Within two days, the Congress was required to elect a new president and General Humberto Castelo Branco assumed power (1964-67). Existing political parties were dissolved and presidential and gubernatorial elections were made indirect (to be determined by Congress and state legislatures, respectively).

The new government justified its position according to the doctrine of national security and development, an ideology that had been articulated by General Golbery do Couto e Silva of the Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG). The Superior War college, founded in 1949, promoted cold world theories about the dangers of the "enemy within." The theory of total war held that internal security was integral to national security against an undeclared war being waged by Communist subversives. Such thinking provided justification for the development of

52. On the military era see Thomas Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-1985* (N.Y. and Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988), and Maria Helena Moreira Alves, *State and Opposition in Military Brazil* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1985).

an intelligence network by Golbery; by 1964, dossiers on 400,000 citizens had been gathered from covert agents who infiltrated student, labor, and peasant organizations. Economic development was also key to national security, especially in the area of military defense. Population of lightly settled frontier regions would help to preserve the integrity of Brazil's frontiers.

The doctrine of national security and development, then, justified repression to ensure political stability and economic growth. Shortly after taking power, the new government launched *Operação Limpeza*, or Operation Cleanup. The military police was given free rein to try "agitators" for crimes against the state and were able to convict on flimsy evidence. Tens of thousands of civilians, especially trade union leaders, peasant leaders, intellectuals, teachers, students, and lay organizers of Catholic movements were arbitrarily arrested, tortured and imprisoned before negative international press brought pressure to bear against the campaign. However, Operation Cleanup had the desired effect as political leaders associated with the previous government and/or leftist tendencies lost their political rights for a ten-year period. Left-leaning military men were even declared legally dead by the new regime.<sup>53</sup> UDN adherents were largely spared and provided congressional support for the new state.

Institutional change proceeded rapidly. The National Intelligence Service (SNI) created by Golbery in June, 1964, enjoyed nearly unlimited powers to investigate private citizens and was accountable only to the president. Passage of the second Institutional Act (AI-2) further weakened democratic institutions like the judiciary and the legislature. The executive eliminated the secret ballot, assumed the authority to close legislative bodies by decree, to and altered the electoral system so that the president would be elected indirectly by an Electoral College of Congressmen rather than by direct popular vote. Existing political parties were abolished and new political parties were given only 45 days to organize. Two parties emerged following this transition, the pro-government party

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53. Alves, *State and Opposition in Military Brazil*, 35-49.



ARENA (Aliança de Renovação Nacional) and the opposition MDB (Movimento Democrático Brasileiro).

Economic and social policy further infringed on customary rights. In particular, labor was hit hard. An anti-strike law passed in 1964 forbade public employees and workers in "essential" services to strike and made most strikes illegal. In 1966, workers lost existing job security provisions and were forced to contribute to an indemnity fund which they could draw from if laid off. Under president Marshal Arthur da Costa e Silva's (1967-69) so-called "policy of relief," unions were required to increase their welfare functions and bear more of the direct costs. Real wages continued to decline. The minimum working age was reduced to 12.

Although workers were left with little room to organize, resistance mounted on other fronts. Students mobilized following purges of faculty and students from the universities and the outlawing of the national student union (UNE). Elite political protest coalesced in the *Frente Ampla*, a politically conservative civilian group which the military government outlawed in April 1968. MDB members began to use their right to parliamentary immunity to criticize the government on the floor of Congress. In response, the executive passed AI-5 in 1968 which gave it the power to suspend all legislative bodies, including Congress, to cancel the political mandates of elected officials, and to dismiss at will public employees and judges. It also provided the means to coerce and repress — suspending the right of habeas corpus in cases of "political crimes," permitting arrests without formal charges or warrants, trial by military courts, and the right to confiscate private property.

Although popular resistance emerged to counter the government's increasingly repressive stance, it proved vastly disproportionate to the perceived threat. Maria Helena Moreira Alves estimates that guerrilla activists numbered perhaps 6,000 in a population of 100 million.<sup>54</sup> Nonetheless, relatively isolated events such as the kidnaping of the U.S. ambassador in 1969 provided the justi-



fication to pass more institutional acts to curtail threats to national security. From 1969-1974, the government maintained a "culture of fear" through censorship, arbitrary arrest, and torture. Emblematic of this period was the massacre of a small Communist cell at Araguaia in the Amazon in 1972.

The military regime was able to maintain political legitimacy through the successful and aggressive promotion of economic growth. A combination of austerity measures, international borrowing, and attractive incentives for foreign investors fueled growth and achieved a measure of stability. During the so-called "economic miracle of 1968-1973, inflation was reduced to 20%, industrial growth attained double digit figures, but the national debt tripled. National economic policy emphasized the production and consumption of durable consumer goods, especially automobiles. Not surprisingly, economic benefits were distributed unevenly and the only the top 20% grew richer while the bottom 80% grew poorer. Land use shifted increasingly from subsistence to export crops.

By 1973, however, Brazil began to experience difficulties servicing its debt. The government had to take on short-term, high-interest loans to make its payments and the international lenders like the IMF required the implementation of austerity measures, further exacerbating the lot of the poor. As the economic situation worsened, the military regime was forced to backpedal politically in order to retain some degree of legitimacy. Under the government of Ernesto Geisel (1974-79) censorship was eased and the MDB gained limited access to the media. However, the political left still suffered repression, particularly in São Paulo. Following the death by torture of prominent journalist Vladimir Herzog in 1975, the Archdiocese of São Paulo began to protest human rights violations. Secular and professional groups also objected increasingly to the political system including the resuscitated UNE, the Brazilian Press Association (ABI) and the Organization of Brazilian Lawyers (OAB). Due to the participation of mainstream elements, the professional classes, middle class and elite interests, and the Catholic Church, the

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54. Alves, *State and Opposition in Military Brazil*, ch. 6.

regime gradually modified its stance and repealed some of its more repressive decrees.

Popular protest also grew during the "abertura" or opening under the Figueiredo administration (1979-85). By the mid 1970s, liberation theology became increasingly popular. Christian base communities began to combat local poverty and promoted consciousness raising among the poor. They also served as a breeding ground for working class activism. Particularly in greater metropolitan São Paulo, workers began to protest the restrictions of the Brazilian labor code and massive general strikes were organized in 1978, 1979, and 1980. Urban workers also called for broader political reforms like a return to direct and democratic popular elections. Despite the real threat of state repression, industrial workers in some sectors made significant gains, especially in the area of wages. Rural workers organized as well.

The political system began to open up in 1979. Prisoners of conscience were granted political amnesty in 1979. The Party Reform Bill of 1979 permitted the formation of new parties. The MDB and ARENA were dissolved but quickly reformed under new names, the PMDB and the Partido Social Democrático (PSD) respectively. New parties had to generate mass support in order to gain legal recognition. Effective grassroots campaigns led to the formation of the populist Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB), the Partido Democrático Trabalhista (PDT) and the working class Partido dos Trabalhadores or PT, under the leadership of the São Paulo labor organizer Luis Inácio da Silva (Lula). In 1982, direct elections were held and opposition candidates secured 60% of the gubernatorial seats and gained control of Congress, but not the electoral college who elected PMDB candidate, Tancredo Neves, to the presidency in 1985. He died before taking office and his vice president, PSD leader José Sarney assumed power. His administration implemented some democratic reforms and even took a stab at land redistribution but his main legacy was hyper-inflation and economic instability.

In 1989, Brazilian citizens voted directly for their president for the first time in nearly thirty years. They chose Fernando Collor de Mello, a former governor of the small northeastern state of Alagoas over the PT candidate, Lula. Collor ran on an anti-corruption campaign but just two years into his mandate faced impeachment proceedings due to his involvement in extensive bribery and money laundering schemes. He resigned shortly before the Senate confirmed his impeachment and left his successor, mineiro Itamar Franco, to grapple with the economic problems that he had failed to resolve. Franco was honest but relatively ineffectual. However, in 1994 near the end of his term, his finance minister, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, implemented a successful stabilization package called the Plano Real. Fernando Henrique's success enabled him to capture the presidency in the fall of that year.

Under Fernando Henrique, Brazil has enjoyed stability but growth has been uneven at best and redistribution of resources has not been a priority. The disparity between rich and poor remains acute and high rates of unemployment and internal debt persist. The failure to address land reform has stimulated rural social movements like the Movimento Sem Terra to orchestrate land invasions and other forms of protest. Sustainable economic growth continues to remain elusive for Fernando Henrique in his second presidential term. It remains unclear what lies ahead for Brazil in social and economic terms.

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## CHRONOLOGY OF BRAZILIAN HISTORY

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### Colonial Era (1494-1822)

- 1494 Treaty of Tordesilhas divides unexplored territory in the Americas, Africa, and Asia between Spain and Portugal.
- 1500 Pedro Alvares Cabral discovers Brazil.
- 1502 Beginning of the brazilwood trade.
- 1530 Colonization expedition of Martim Afonso de Sousa.
- 1532 Settlements of São Vicente and Piratininga founded.
- 1534-36 Donatory captaincies (*donatários*) granted by king João III.
- 1538 First shipment of African slaves to arrive in Brazil to work on sugar plantations.
- 1540-42 Francisco de Orellana leads an expedition to explore the Amazon.
- 1549 Donatory system replaced by centralized crown government. The captaincy of Bahia reverts to the king. Salvador da Bahia becomes the seat of government under Tomé de Souza. The first Jesuits arrive led by Manoel de Nóbrega.
- 1551 Bishopric of Brazil created.
- 1554 Jesuits found the Colégio de São Paulo in the south.
- 1555 The French establish a colony at Guanabara Bay.
- 1565 Rio de Janeiro founded.
- 1567 Mem de Sá expels the French from Guanabara.
- 1580 King Sebastian dies in the Levant but his body is never recovered, leading to the development of messianic traditions known as sebastianism. Philip II of Spain assumes the Portuguese crown, initiating the sixty year "dual monarchy."



- 1560s-80s Smallpox epidemics devastate indigenous populations. Transition from indigenous to African slavery accelerates.
- 1599 The founding of Natal.
- 1591-95 Inquisitional visits to Brazil. Subsequent visits in 1618, 1646, and 1763-69.
- 1604 Administration of Brazil subsumed under the council of India.
- 1612-16 The French establish settlements in Northern Brazil.
- 1616 Expulsion of the French from the north. Establishment of Belém.
- 1621 Captaincy of Maranhão founded.
- 1624-25 The Dutch briefly capture Salvador da Bahia.
- 1630 The Dutch capture Recife and other northeastern sugar regions.
- 1637-44 Governorship of Johan Maurits.
- 1637-39 Pedro Teixeira expedition to the Amazon. Tabatinga founded.
- 1640 João IV leads the Portuguese fight for independence from Spain and founds the Braganza dynasty.
- 1654 The Dutch are finally defeated, largely through Brazilian initiative including the participation of leaders of color like Henrique Dias. Portuguese rule over the Northeast restored under the Treaty of Taborá.
- 1658 First permanent settlement founded in Santa Catarina.
- 1680 Portuguese found the Colônia do Sacramento in present day Uruguay as a buffer zone and a base for contraband trade with the viceroyalty of Peru.
- 1695 Gold discovered in Minas Gerais.
- 1697 Destruction of the *quilombo* of Palmares in present-day Alagoas. This African kingdom lasted nearly a century, encompassed tens of thousands of people, and sustained decades of military assaults.

- 1708-09 War of the *emboabas* between *paulista* prospectors and upstart Portuguese migrants over control of the mining zones.
- 1709 Captaincies of São Paulo and Minas de Ouro established to oversee the Crown's mining interests.
- 1710-11 War of the *mascates* (peddlers) in Pernambuco.
- 1720 Governors-general redefined as viceroys.
- 1727 Coffee introduced to Brazil.
- 1728-30 Discovery of diamonds in Minas Gerais. Creation of the Diamond District.
- 1750 Treaty of Madrid redefines the boundaries between Spanish and Portuguese America based on the concept of effective territorial possession, resulting in Brazil's formal acquisition of much of the Amazon.
- 1755-77 Pombal serves as prime minister under José I, implementing a series of economic and social reforms in Portugal and throughout the empire.
- 1755 Establishment of the Grão Pará and Maranhão trading company.
- 1758 The Marquis of Pombal abolishes Indian slavery and transfers indigenous administration from ecclesiastical to secular control (Directorate system).
- 1759 Jesuits expelled from the Portuguese empire. Pernambuco and Paraíba trading company founded.
- 1761 Treaty of Madrid annulled by the Treaty of El Pardo. Hostilities on the Spanish-Portuguese frontiers resume.
- 1763 The capital of Brazil is transferred from Salvador da Bahia to Rio de Janeiro.
- 1777 Treaty of San Ildefonso redefines Portuguese-Spanish borders along the lines established in the Treaty of Madrid.
- 1785 Alvará prohibiting competing manufactures in Brazil, notably fine textiles.

- 1789 The Inconfidência Mineira, a republican plot motivated by the rigorous collection of new and back taxes, is betrayed.
- 1792 Tiradentes, the participant of the Inconfidência with the least socioeconomic status, is executed as a scapegoat.
- 1798 The "Tailors' Revolt," a republican movement led by artisans and mulattoes, breaks out in Salvador da Bahia and is severely repressed. Abolition of the Directorate system.
- 1807 Napoleon's troops invade Portugal.
- 1808 The Portuguese court arrives in Rio de Janeiro under British naval escort. João VI opens Brazil's ports to free trade.
- 1810 Great Britain acquires preferential trading status through commercial treaties.
- 1815 Brazil is elevated to the status of a kingdom, on par with Portugal.
- 1816 Luso-Brazilian troops occupy the disputed Cisplatine Province (Uruguay).
- 1817 Republican revolt in Pernambuco.
- 1818 Arrival of the first Swiss and German colonists.
- 1819 Steamship service begins functioning in Bahia.
- 1820 Liberal revolution breaks out in Oporto, Portugal. The Portuguese cortes demands the return of Dom João VI.
- 1821 João VI returns to Lisbon. Brazil annexes Uruguay.

### **Imperial Period**

- 1822 Pedro I declares Brazilian independence.
- 1824 The first Brazilian constitution promulgated.  
The Confederação do Equador, a republican revolution, is crushed in Pernambuco.

- 1825 Brazil's sovereignty recognized by Portugal and other international powers.
- 1825-28 The unpopular Cisplatine war concludes in 1828 when Brazil and Argentina agree to make the disputed territory an independent buffer state, Uruguay.
- 1820s-30s Establishment of British gold mining companies in Minas Gerais, Brazil.
- 1831 Dom Pedro I abdicates the throne to return to Portugal and defend the rights of his daughter, Maria, to the Portuguese crown.
- 1831-40 The Regency period begins with the abdication of Dom Pedro I and concludes with the premature and unconstitutional coronation of Dom Pedro II at age 15.
- 1831 Creation of the National Guard and abolition of the *ordenanças* (militias). Under British pressure, Brazil agrees to abolish the transatlantic slave trade. This legislation goes unenforced and 500,000 more slaves enter Brazil by 1850.
- 1832-35 War of the Cabanos, an urban restorationist plot turned rural guerrilla movement, occurs in Pernambuco.
- 1833 Revolt of Barbacena, Minas Gerais, calling for the restoration of Pedro I.
- 1834 Additional Act to the constitution grants greater autonomy to the provinces.  
Malê revolt led by Muslim African slaves breaks out in Salvador.
- 1835-40 Cabanagem revolt waged in Pará.
- 1835-45 The Farroupilha, an elite, separatist revolt is sustained in Rio Grande do Sul for ten years until suppressed by the Duke of Caxias.
- 1837-38 Sabinada revolt, involving radical liberals, military officers and free and enslaved blacks, breaks out in Salvador.
- 1840 Pedro II ascends the throne.



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- 1840 "Interpretation" of the Additional Act of 1834 passed which transfers power back to the central government, marking the close of the "Liberal Decade."
- 1842 Revolution of 1842 brings together Liberals from Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro in a failed effort to regain political power.
- 1843 Steamboat service begins on the Amazon.
- 1844 Anglo-Brazilian Treaty of 1827 expires. Great Britain brings greater pressure to bear against the continuation of the illegal slave trade.
- 1840s Nicolau Vergueiro experiments with the importation of German and Swiss contract laborers to work his coffee plantations as the supply of African slaves begins to diminish.
- 1849 The Praieira Revolt breaks out among the Pernambucan political elite.
- 1850 Queiroz law effectively abolishes the transatlantic slave trade.  
The "lei das terras" mandates the first national land registry. Unclaimed land, including indigenous territories, reverts to the state as "public" lands.
- 1851 Steamship service to Europe begins.
- 1852 Brazil helps to overthrow Juan Manuel Rosas in Argentina.  
Amazon Steam Navigation Company established by Mauá.  
First women's newspaper, *O Jornal das Senhoras*, founded.
- 1854 First railroad established in Brazil.
- 1850s The Amazon's rubber boom takes off.
- 1865-70 The War of the Triple Alliance waged against Paraguay
- 1870 Publication of the Republican manifesto marking the emergence of a third political party.
- 1871 Law of the Free Womb (*Ventre Livre*) passed.
- 1873 Italian immigrants begin to arrive in Brazil.

- 1870s      The "Church question" pits anti-Masonic bishops and the papacy against the ecclesiastical authority of the Emperor.
- 1877-79    The Great Drought ravages the northeastern sertão of Brazil.
- 1881      Electoral reform dramatically reduces the size of the Brazilian electorate.
- 1885      Saraiva-Cotegipe Law frees all slaves age 65 or older.
- 1888      The institution of slavery abolished by Princess Regent Isabel on May 13.
- 1889      Republican coup forces Dom Pedro II to step down and go into exile, ushering in the First Republic (1889-1930).

### **Republican Brazil**

- 1890      Separation of Church and State.
- 1891      Federal constitution of the Republic promulgated.
- 1893-95    Naval revolt challenges the new Republic.  
            Separatist revolt in Rio Grande do Sul.
- 1894      Brazil returns to civilian government after a period of five years under military rule with presidential elections.
- 1893-97    The Canudos war waged between federal troops and a messianic community in the northeast led by Antonio Conselheiro.
- 1900      Brazil acquires Amapá.
- 1905      Brazil acquires the territory of Acre.
- 1906      Convention of Taubaté inaugurates policy of coffee valorization through government subsidies to keep the world market price of coffee high.  
            Hermes law passed which mandates universal military conscription.
- 1907      Rui Barbosa represents Brazil at the Second Hague Peace Conference.

- 1910 Indian Protection Service (SPI) founded.
- 1917 Brazil declares war on Germany. General strike in São Paulo.
- 1922 Copacabana revolt of radical military officers (tenentes).  
Communist party founded.  
Modern Art Week takes place in São Paulo, ushering in the modernist movement which emphasized indigenous and African cultural forms.  
Bertha Lutz creates the FBPF, the first Brazilian feminist organization.
- 1924 Creation of the secret police, the Departamento de Ordem Política Social (DOPS) to investigate labor leaders and other social "agitators."
- 1924-27 The Prestes Column marches more than 15,000 miles through Brazil in a failed attempt to garner popular support for its reformist platform.
- 1930 Getúlio Vargas gains the support of the tenentes in a coup to seize power of the Federal government.
- 1931 Pedro Ernesto Batista founds the populist PADF, the Autonomous Party of the Federal District.
- 1931 Creation of the Frente Negra Brasileira, the Brazilian Black Front.
- 1932 Revolt against the Vargas regime led by the São Paulo state militia fails.
- 1932 Women get the vote in Rio Grande do Norte.
- 1934 Constituent Assembly elected. Getúlio Vargas elected president by Congress.
- 1935 Communist-inspired revolts in Rio de Janeiro, Recife and Natal are defeated, leading to greater repression of the political left by Vargas.
- 1937 Vargas declares the Estado Novo, suspending constitutional rights, abolishing political parties, and granting himself absolute power.
- 1943 Brazil declares war on Germany.
- 1945 Military deposes Vargas, enabling a return to popular, democratic elections.



- 1946 New Constitution replaces that of the Estado Novo.
- 1951 Vargas popularly elected to the presidency.
- 1954 Vargas commits suicide after a scandal which implicates him in an assassination attempt against right-wing journalist, Carlos Lacerda.
- 1955 Juscelino Kubitschek (JK) elected president.
- 1960 Brasília becomes the new capital of the nation.
- 1961 Political maverick Janio Quadros assumes the presidency only to resign after eight months. The military allows pro-labor VP João Goulart to take office only after the political system is changed to parliamentarism.
- 1963 By national plebiscite the parliamentary system is abolished.
- 1964 The military overthrows the Goulart Administration and passes the first Institutional Act. Humberto Castello Branco elected to presidency by Congress.
- 1967 Constitution passed under the military government that incorporated institutional acts that had restricted civil and political rights.
- 1968 An investigation of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios* (SPI) reveals extensive corruption and it is replaced by FUNAI.
- 1968-73 Height of the Brazilian "economic miracle."
- 1970 Construction begins on the trans-amazonian highway.
- 1974 Brazil's "economic miracle" falters with rising oil prices and mounting debt.
- 1975 Journalist Vladimir Herzog tortured to death.
- 1978 Unified Black Movement founded.
- 1978-80 Series of general strikes organized out of São Paulo pose a challenge to the regime.
- 1979 Movimento Sem Terra founded.

- 1982 The abertura permits the formation of new political parties and a return to open elections for congress, governors, and municipal offices.
- 1985 Electoral college selects civilian Tancredo Neves as president but he dies before taking office, leaving vice-president, José Sarney, to assume his mandate.
- 1988 Brazilians celebrate 100 years since the abolition of slavery.
- 1989 Return to direct popular elections for the presidency. Fernando Collor de Melo beats the PT candidate Luis Inácio da Silva (Lula).
- 1992 Impeachment proceedings judge Collor guilty of massive corruption and he resigns his office. VP Itamar Franco takes over.
- 1994 Finance Minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso implements the Plano Real to stabilize the Brazilian economy. Its success contributes to his winning the presidency.
- 1999 Fernando Henrique wins a second presidential term.
- 2000 Brazilians celebrate (and protest) the 500th anniversary of Brazil's discovery.

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Duffy, James. *Portuguese in Africa*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963. Deals more specifically with the Portuguese, their endeavors in Africa and connections between Africa and Brazil.

### Slavery and the Slave Trade in Africa

Cooper, Frederick. "The Problem of Slavery in African Studies." *Journal of African Studies*, 20 (1979): 103-125. An overview of the institution of slavery in Africa and how it differed from that articulated by European colonizers in the Americas. Demonstrates the ways in which Africans actively engaged in the slave trade and how African slavery changed with the rise of world capitalism.

Curtin, Philip D. *The Atlantic Slave Trade, A Census*. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1969. The first attempt to quantify the slave trade through a synthesis of empirical, quantitative data instead of putting forth inflated or deflated estimates to uphold ideological arguments about slavery. The book covers the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries and slave imports into Spanish, Portuguese, and Northern European colonies. Curtin concludes that about 9.6 million Africans were imported to the Americas and that 40% of them arrived in Brazil.



Kopytoff, Igor and Suzanne Miers. "Slavery as an Institution of Marginality," in Kopytoff, Igor and Suzanne Miers, eds, *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1977. Examines slavery in Africa as an incorporative institution that provided labor where population was scarce and land abundant.

Lovejoy, Paul E. *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983. Lovejoy examines conceptions of slavery under Islam and how these notions were transplanted into sub-Saharan African societies. He emphasizes that African slavery was a markedly different institution than the European chattel slavery that developed in the Americas. African slavery functioned to incorporate outsiders into new cultures, kinship groups, and religious faiths.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis." *Journal of African History*, 23 (1982): 473-501. Lovejoy's article summarizes the historiography of the slave trade since Curtin's 1969 study. Although figures for particular regions and time periods have undergone some revisions, he argues that Curtin's estimates were surprisingly accurate and have stood the test of time.

#### African Religion, Philosophy, and Art

Idowu, E. Bolaji. *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief*. London: Longmans, 1962.

\_\_\_\_\_. *African Traditional Religion: A Definition*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1973. Idowu provides the perspective of a Yoruba scholar to analyze Yoruba cosmology in *Olodumare*. He provides a broader synthesis of African belief systems in *African Traditional Religion*.

Mbiti, John S. *African Religions and Philosophy*. New York: Praeger, 1969. Mbiti provides a general overview of Sub-Saharan religions and philosophies from the perspective of an East African Christian scholar.

Parrinder, E.G. *African Traditional Religions*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Religion in Africa*. New York: Praeger, 1969. These two works are now considered classics in the field of contemporary African religious studies.

*African Traditional Religions* emphasizes West African societies while *Religion in Africa* provides additional material from other areas of the continent.

Peel, J.D.Y. "The Pastor and the *Babalawo*: The Interaction of Religions in Nineteenth-Century Yorubaland." *Africa*, 60 (1990): 338-369. An interesting discussion of the points of interaction between nineteenth-century Yoruba *babalawos* (diviners) and Christians, in this case British protestant missionaries. Peel provides some insight into the appeal that Christianity might exert upon practitioners of traditional African faiths.

Thornton, John K. "On the Trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas." *The Americas*, 44 (January 1988): 261-278. Thornton demonstrates that the blending of African religions and Christianity began in Central and West Central Africa, predating that process among slaves in the Americas. Lay Portuguese and African catechists were vital in the transmission of the Christian faith because formal clergy were scarce.

Thompson, Robert Farris. *Flash of the Spirit, African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*. New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of Africa and the African Americas*. New York: The Museum for African Art, 1993. In *Flash of the Spirit*, Farris examines the art and visual traditions of the African societies and regions that most contributed to New World slave populations. *Face of the Gods* explores the concept of the religious altar by comparing altars of the West and Central West African worlds with altars of the African American world, including Brazil. Both volumes are lavishly illustrated with black and white photos.

### *Indigenous Societies*

Carvalho, Sílvia Maria D. de. *Jurupari: estudos de mitologia brasileira*. São Paulo: Ática, 1979. A study of myths and oral narratives of various indigenous groups in Brazil.

Cunha, Manuel Carneiro da, ed. *História dos índios no Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora Schwarcz, 1992. This edited volume covers a wide variety of cultures and geographical regions, spanning from prehistory to the present. Especially

noteworthy is the theoretical attention devoted to iconography. The text is lavishly illustrated with photographs and drawings.

Dean, Warren. *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1995. Dean's environmental history of Brazil's coastal forests includes a very fine treatment of Tupi history, culture, society, and environmental patterns in chapter 2. The book covers the major trends and events of Brazilian history through the lens of deforestation. Dean adopts an intriguing approach that is brilliantly executed.

Fernandes, Florestan. *Organização social dos Tupinambá*. São Paulo: Instituto Progresso Editorial, 1948. In this classic text, sociologist Florestan Fernandes analyzes the social organization of the Tupinambá Indians that inhabited the coastal regions of present day Rio de Janeiro and Bahia when the Europeans arrived.

*Mapa etno-histórico de Curt Nimuendaju*. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação IBGE em colaboração com a Fundação Nacional Pró-Memória, 1987. Reproduction of a map compiled in 1944 by indigenist scholar, Curt Nimuendaju. The map locates the past and present territories of diverse Brazilian indigenous groups. Accompanied by an exhaustive bibliography on the subject.

Meggers, Betty J. and Clifford Evans. *Archaeological Investigations at the Mouth of the Amazon*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957. Authoritative source that details the material culture of Amazonian tribal groups.

Metraux, Alfred. *La Civilisation Matérielle des Tribus Tupi-Guarani*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1928

———. *A religião dos Tupinambás e suas relações com as demais tribus Tupi-Guaranís*. São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1950. Two classic ethnographies that focus on indigenous groups that the Portuguese first met in Brazil.

Roosevelt, Anna C. *Moundbuilders of the Amazon: Geophysical Archaeology on Marajó Island, Brazil*. San Diego: Academic Press, 1991. Archaeological study of indigenous groups that relied heavily on shellfish for subsistence.

### *Primary Documents*

Burns, E. Bradford. *A Documentary History of Brazil*. NY: Knopf, 1966. A collection of primary documents in English translation. Includes an extended excerpt of the letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha. Documents span the colonial period to the 1960s. Although out of print, a good resource for classroom use.

Greenlee, William Brooks. *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India from Contemporary Documents and Narratives*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1938. This volume includes facsimiles and transcriptions of seven documents written in 1500 on Cabral's voyage. It includes the letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha.

Verger, Pierre. *Trade Relations Between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century*. Transl. Evelyn Crawford (Ibadan, Nigeria: Univ. of Ibadan, 1976). Verger's work consists largely of annotated primary source material translated into English that he collected from archives on three continents. The volume elaborates the commercial, cultural, and diplomatic relations between Bahia and West Africa during the colonial period.

## **Colonial Period (1500-1822)**

### *Primary Documents*

Anchieta, José. *Cartas, informações, fragmentos históricos e sermões do padre José de Anchieta, S. J. (1554-1599)*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1933. Collected writings by one of the foremost sixteenth-century missionaries in Brazil.

Antonil, André João. *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas*. São Paulo: Editora Melhoramentos, 1976. This eyewitness account written by an Italian Jesuit detailing Brazil's resources, especially its mines, was first published in 1711. The crown suppressed the work out of fear that it would motivate other European powers to challenge Portuguese sovereignty. An invaluable source for historians.



- Bettendorff, João Felipe. *Crônica da missão dos padres da Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Maranhão*. 2nd. ed., Belém: Fundação Cultural do Pará Tancredo Neves/Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1990. Mid seventeenth-century account by a Jesuit of the order's activities in the Amazon, especially the establishment of mission *aldeias*.
- Brandão, Ambrósio Fernandes. *Os diálogos das grandezas do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Dois Mundos, 1943. A critical edition of the chronicle written in 1618. With notes and commentary by Jaime Cortesão, Afrânio Peixoto, J. Capistrano de Abreu and Rodolfo Garcia.
- Cardim, Fernão. *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1978. Three documents written in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries focusing on Jesuit endeavors among the coastal Tupi. With notes by J. Capistrano de Abreu and Rodolfo Garcia.
- Conrad, Robert E. *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983. A lengthy volume containing translated documents about various aspects of Brazilian slavery from the colonial era to abolition in 1888. Includes commentary on the slave trade, legal traditions, the role of the church, rebellion and resistance, and differing work regimes. Reissued by Penn State Univ. Press in 1995.
- Heriate, Maurício. *Descrição do estado do Maranhão, Pará, Corupá, Rio das Amazonas*. Vienna: Akademische Druck, 1964. Mid seventeenth century chronicle of the Amazonian region with detailed descriptions of indigenous cultures.
- Lery, Jean de. *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*. Translation and introduction by Janet Whatley. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1990. English translation of the chronicle of Jean de Lery, a French Protestant missionary who sailed to Brazil at age 22 in 1556. Lery spent two months among the Tupinambá Indians and produced a surprisingly even-handed account about the virtues of the Brazilian natives, their customs, and material life. Also includes details about the transatlantic crossing and European norms of the time. Excellent for classroom use.

Mathias, Herculano Gomes. *Um recenseamento na capitania de Minas Gerais: Vila Rica, 1804*. Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1969. A transcription of a household level census taken in 1804 in the mining capital of Ouro Preto. Provides demographic information about family structure, slave ownership, race, occupation, and birthplace of the population of a declining urban center.

Nóbrega, Manuel da. *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio. Com preliminares e anotações históricas e críticas de Serafim Leite*. Lisbon: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 1954.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos*. Coimbra: Univ. de Coimbra, 1955. The above two works contain the writings of Manuel da Nóbrega, the leader of the Jesuits who arrived in Brazil with Tomé de Souza in 1549. The *Diálogo* argues for the basic humanity of the Indians and their capacity for religious conversion, and opposes their enslavement. *Cartas* discusses Jesuit policy towards the indigenous in Brazil and reveals some of the dynamics and conflicts of the order in its early years.

Schwartz, Stuart B., ed. *A Governor and His Image in Baroque Brazil. The Funeral Eulogy of Afonso Furtado de Castro do Rio de Mendonça by Juan Lopes Sierra*. Transl. Ruth E. Jones (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1979). Transcription of a manuscript held by the Univ. of Minnesota. An eyewitness account of the administration of Afonso Furtado, viscount of Barbacena and Governor of Brazil (1671-75). Includes details about Indian slaving expeditions, colonial military organization, and funeral rites. With an introduction, explanatory notes, and annotations by Stuart Schwartz.

Staden, Hans. *The True History of His Captivity, 1557*. Transl. and edited by Malcolm Letts (London: Routledge and Sons, 1928). The chronicle of a common sailor who was captured by Tupinambá Indians in the mid-sixteenth century. He attributes his escape from being eaten by cannibals to divine guidance, protection and deliverance. He also provides a detailed account of indigenous material life and social customs. The 1960s movie, "Como era gostoso o meu francês" is loosely based on his account. The movie, filmed in Portuguese and Tupi, is available with English subtitles as "How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman."

Thevet, André. *The New Found Worlde or Antarctike*. Facsimile ed. (1568) Amsterdam and New York: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and Da Capo Press, 1971. Early sixteenth century account of "France antarctique," or the French colony located in the Bay of Guanabara, by a Franciscan friar and member of the French court. Thevet launches criticisms of the French Protestant mission that Jean de Lery attempts to discount in his narrative, *Voyage to the Land of Brazil*. Also available in Portuguese translation as *As singularidades da França antártica*. Translated from the French by Eugênio Amado. Belo Horizonte: Editora Itatiaia, 1978.

*General Histories, Edited Volumes, Bibliographical and Historiographical Guides:*

Abreu, João Capistrano de. *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History, 1500-1800*.

Transl. by Arthur Brakel, preface by Fernando A. Novais and introduction by Stuart Schwartz (New York and Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997).

English-language translation of Abreu's *Capítulos da história colonial* (1907), an innovative synthesis of its day that challenged the interpretations of the great historian Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen. Abreu called for a shift away from the elite narrative and incorporated both social history and global processes in his analyses. An important work of historiography suitable for adoption in upper division or graduate courses.

———. *Capítulos da história colonial e os caminhos antigos e povoamento do Brasil*. Brasília: Editora da Universidade de Brasília, 1982. This edition contains both the *Capítulos*, described above and *Caminhos antigos*. The latter highlights the importance of the exploration and settlement of the interior in the development of Brazilian unity. An innovative analysis formulated when most scholars emphasized the role of the coast.

Alden, Dauril, ed. *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1973. An fine edited volume of essays that address a number of themes including trade, regionalism, slavery, frontiers, and the influence of the enlightenment in colonial Brazil.

- Bethell, Leslie, ed. *Colonial Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987. Essays derived from the *Cambridge History of Latin America*. An excellent compilation of key works by experts in their respective fields. Recommended for course adoption.
- Dutra, Francis A. *A Guide to the History of Brazil, 1500-1822*. Santa Barbara: Univ. of California at Santa Barbara, 1980. Annotated bibliography of works on colonial Brazil.
- Faoro, Raymundo. *Os donos do poder: formação do patronato político brasileiro*. 2nd. ed. Porto Alegre-São Paulo: Editora Globo, 1975. An interpretive study that traces the bureaucratic nature of the Brazilian state back to the fourteenth-century Portuguese state.
- Holanda, Sérgio Buarque de, ed. *História geral da civilização brasileira, I: A época colonial*. 2 vols. São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro (DIFEL), 1960. A fine collection of essays by experts in their respective fields.
- Lang, James. *Portuguese Brazil: The King's Plantation*. New York: Academic Press, 1979. A synthesis of the colonial period that offers comparisons with Spanish and British colonial societies in the New World. Now a bit dated, but still provides a useful overview.
- Prado Júnior, Caio. *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil*. Transl. by Suzette Macedo. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1967. Translation of his *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo: colônia*. A Marxist interpretation that views colonial history through the lens of export cycles of sugar, tobacco, gold, etc. Labor relations are also discussed. This is a synthesis based largely in secondary sources.
- Rodrigues, José Honório. *História da história do Brasil, 1a. parte: historiografia colonial*. São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1979. A comprehensive guide to manuscript and secondary sources on colonial Brazilian history.
- Russell-Wood, A. J. R. *Society and Government in Colonial Brazil, 1500-1822*. Hampshire: Variorum Collected Studies Series, 1992. A collection of seminal essays that deal with diverse themes of colonial Brazilian history including municipal government, religious brotherhoods, frontier societies, justice, and historiography.



- \_\_\_\_\_. "United States scholarly contributions to the historiography of colonial Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 65:4 (Nov. 1985): 657-682. Reviews historiographical trends in the literature authored by North Americans and identifies themes that merit further development. Reprinted in *Society and Government*, cited above.
- Salvador, Vicente do (Frei). *História do Brasil*. 6th ed. with notes by Capistrano de Abreu, Rodolfo Garcia, and Frei Venancio Willeke. São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1975. A reprint of the first general history of Brazil, originally published in 1627, with commentary by noted Brazilian scholars.
- Simonsen, Roberto. *História econômica do Brasil, 1500-1820*. 8th ed. São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1978. An influential First Republic analysis of productive cycles during the colonial period, including a discussion of the importance of the interior and internal markets.
- Schwartz, Stuart B. "Somebodies and Nobodies in the Body Politic: Mentalities and Social Structures in Colonial Brazil." *Latin American Research Review*, 31:1 (1996): 113-134. A view of recent literature that focuses on the realities of everyday life rather than broad socioeconomic factors. Themes include economy, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity.
- Southey, Robert. *History of Brazil*. 3 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1817-1822. Three-volume history of Brazil from the first landfall to the early nineteenth century. Interesting details of everyday life.
- Souza, Laura de Mello e, ed. *História da vida privada no Brasil 1: cotidiano e vida privada na América portuguesa*. São Paulo: Cia. das Letras, 1997. The first of a series of volumes that addresses the history of private life in Brazil, inspired by the French Annales school. Deals with gender, sexuality, morality, the use of language, conceptions of space and other themes of social history. Extensive and impressive use of iconography.
- Varnhagen, Francisco Adolfo de. *História geral do Brasil*. Revisão e notas de J. Capistrano de Abreu e Rodolfo Garcia. 7th ed. São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1962. Varnhagen's history of Brazil, originally published in the 1850s, was a landmark work of scholarship in its day. He produced a detailed narrative based on extensive archival research that emphasizes insti-

tutional, political, and economic factors. The influence of positivism is evident in the focus on elite figures and on the idea of progress.

*Historiography of Early Settlement and the Bandeirantes*

Cortese, Jaime. *Rapôso Tavares e a formação territorial do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1958. Reconstructs the life of Rapôso Tavares and makes a case for the influence of the Tupí-Guaraní in the formation of Brazilian national identity.

Dean, Warren. *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1995. An environmental history of Brazil's coastal *mata atlântica*. The first three chapters address Brazil's prehistory, indigenous patterns of land exploitation and the arrival of the Portuguese.

Dutra, Francis A., "Duarte Coelho Pereira, First Lord-Proprietor of Pernambuco: The Beginning of a Dynasty," *The Americas*, 29:4 (April 1973): 415-441. One of the few essays published in English that provides an in-depth case study of one of the donatory lords of the early colonial period.

Ellis Júnior, Alfredo. *Meio século de bandeirismo*. São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1948. Argues that the slaving activities of the bandeirantes in the first half of the seventeenth-century represented coordinated and necessary economic effort that was crucial to the development of sugar plantations in the Northeast.

Johnson, Harold B., "The Donatory Captaincy in Perspective: Portuguese Backgrounds to the Settlement of Brazil," *Hispanic-American Historical Review*, 52, (1972): 203-214. Analyzes the trading post and donatory models employed by the Portuguese in their exploitation of the African coast and their application to Brazil's early colonial settlement.

Machado, José de Alcântara. *Vida e morte do bandeirante*. São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1943. Interesting study that makes good use of wills and inventories to reconstruct the material life and social organization of the bandeirantes.

Marchant, Alexander. *From Barter to Slavery: The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580*. Baltimore: Johns

Hopkins Univ. Press, 1942. A classic study which interprets the economic motivations held by indigenous groups in their relations with the Portuguese and how these dynamics changed following the transition from dyewood harvesting to sugar production.

Monteiro, John M. *Negros da terra: índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 1994. Interesting study of the use of indigenous slave labor in São Paulo, especially as farm laborers during the Dutch occupation, when São Paulo became the "bread basket" of Brazil.

Moog, Clodomir Vianna. *Bandeirantes and Pioneers*. Transl. by L. L. Barrett (New York: George Braziller, 1964). Moog compares the effect of the bandeirantes and the pioneers who populated the U.S. west on the subsequent socioeconomic development and formation of national identity of the two countries.

Morse, Richard M. *The Bandeirantes. The Historical Role of the Brazilian Pathfinders*. New York: Knopf, 1965. A series of essays, excerpts from classic studies, and primary documents in translation that examine the social and military organization of the racially-mixed *bandeirantes*, their explorations in the interior, and their slaving expeditions.

Schwartz, Stuart B. "Indian Labor and New World Plantations: European Demands and Indian Responses in Northeast Brazil," *American Historical Review*, 83 (1978): 43-79. Schwartz offers a revision of Marchant's *From Barter to Slavery* in this article which includes a detailed discussion of the sexual division of labor among coastal indigenous populations and further elaboration of the conflicting interests of settlers and Jesuit missionaries.

Taunay, Affonso d'Escragnoille. *História geral das bandeiras paulistas*. 11 vols. São Paulo: Typ. Ideal, H. L. Canton, 1924-1950. Exhaustive survey of the paulista bandeiras and their conflicts with the Jesuits.

### *Government and State Institutions*

Alden, Dauril. *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil with Special Reference to the Administration of The Marquis of Lavradio, Viceroy, 1769-1779*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press. Alden examines the effects of the Pomabaline

reforms in Brazil through the administration of an unusually enterprising viceroy. This excellent study examines innovations in trade, agriculture, the church, the military, and administrative norms in the late colonial period.

Arquivo Nacional. *Fiscais e meirinhos: a administração no Brasil colonial*. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, n.d. A descriptive account of the administrative organization of colonial Brazilian society with an emphasis on the hierarchy of the various entities and their jurisdictions.

Boxer, C. R. *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda 1510-1800*. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1965. Boxer demonstrates that municipal councils in the Portuguese empire enjoyed a fair amount of administrative autonomy due to inadequate resources and manpower deployed overseas. The Bahian case is notable for its domination over the sugar economy and its willingness to override vice-regal orders.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957. Discusses the establishment of the Dutch West India Company and the strategic and economic imperatives that led to its military occupation of Pernambuco. The Dutch occupation is portrayed as a tolerant regime that allowed the sugar industry to flourish. Special attention is paid to the administration of Johan Maurits (1637-43) who promoted science, literature, and the arts.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686*. London: Univ. of London, 1952. A biographical account of one of the leading figures of seventeenth-century Brazil. Salvador de Sá served as governor of the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro and was influential in settling the south, and expelling the Dutch from the Northeast and from Angola; he ultimately served on the Overseas Council in Lisbon.

Lobo, Eulália Maria Lahmeyer. *Processo administrativo Ibero-Americano*. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 1962. An institutional history of the structures of Spanish and Portuguese colonial government in the Americas based mostly on secondary sources.

Russell-Wood, A.J.R. *Fidalgos and Philanthropists. The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1968. A



ground breaking study of the role played by elite religious brotherhoods in the organization of social life in colonial Brazil. The Santa Casa provided services that a weak colonial state could not, including banking, legal aid, orphanages and other charitable endeavors, hospitals, and burials. This study emphasizes the efficacy of local institutions in colonial society.

Schwartz, Stuart B. *Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil: The High Court of Bahia, 1609-1752*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1973. A study that employs prosopography to analyze the social and ethnic composition of the *desembargadores*, high court judges, that served in Bahia during the colonial period.

Zenha, Eduardo. *O município no Brasil*. São Paulo: Instituto Progresso, 1948. A discussion of the changing legislation governing municipal government in Brazil from colonial times to the twentieth century.

### *Indigenous History and the Amazon*

Alden, Dauril. "Indian versus Black Slavery in the State of Maranhão During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Bibliotheca Americana*, 1 (Jan. 1983): 91-142. Documents the continued importance of indigenous slave labor in the North and the shift to African captives during the Pombaline era.

Barickman, Bert J. "'Tame Indians,' 'Wild Heathens,' and Settlers in Southern Bahia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries." *The Americas*, 51:3 (Jan. 1995): 325-368. Documents conceptions held by settlers, officials, and missionaries of the Botocudo (Aimoré) Indians inhabiting southern Bahia in the late colonial period.

Farage, Nádia. *As muralhas dos sertões: os povos indígenas no Rio Branco e a colonização*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1991. Demonstrates how indigenous groups located at the boundaries of Spanish and Portuguese colonial control sought to negotiate with both sides and how such strategies broke down once formal territorial boundaries were drawn.

Hemming, John. *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians, 1500-1760*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1978.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Amazon Frontier. The Defeat of the Brazilian Indians*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1987. In *Red Gold*, Hemming uses published primary and secondary sources to recreate the history of a variety of Brazilian indigenous groups from first contact to the expulsion of the Jesuits and the rise of secular indigenous policy under the administration of the Marquis of Pombal. *Amazon Frontier* discusses the directorate period (1758-1798) and the nineteenth-century.
- Kieman, Mathias. *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon region, 1614-1693*. Washington, D. C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1954. Publication of thesis that explores indigenous policy through an analysis of contemporaneous legislation.
- Moreira Neto, Carlos de Araújo. *Índios da Amazônia, de maioria a minoria (1750-1850)*. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1988. Examination of indigenous groups in the late colonial and early Imperial periods. Based largely on contemporaneous legislation, published manuscripts, and secondary sources.
- Palmatary, H.C. *The River of the Amazons, Its Discovery and Early Exploration, 1500-1743*. New York: Carlton Press, 1965. Popular survey of early Iberian expeditions on the Amazon.
- Pires, Maria Idalina da Cruz. *"Guerra dos bárbaros": resistência indígena e conflitos no Nordeste colonial*. Recife: FUNDARPE/Cia. Editora de Pernambuco, 1990. Documents the conquest of the Tapuya in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.
- Sommer, Barbara Ann. "Negotiated Settlements: Native Amazonians and Portuguese Policy in Pará, Brazil, 1758-1798." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of New Mexico, 2000. Important re-evaluation of the role played by indigenous peoples within the Directorate system.
- Sweet, David. "A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1974. Lengthy dissertation focusing on the activities of bandeirante "transfrontiersmen" operating in the Rio Negro region. Includes material about slaving, commerce, disease and the environment.

## *The Church and Religious Life*

### The Missionary Enterprise

Alden, Dauril. *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1996.

Provides an overview of the relationship between the Jesuits, the Portuguese Crown, and its colonies. Brazil is placed within the broader context of the Portuguese empire.

Azevedo, J. Lúcio de. *Os Jesuitas no Grão-Pará: suas missões e a colonização*.

Coimbra: Coimbra Univ., 1930. Classic account of Jesuit activities in the Brazilian north in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Burns, E. Bradford. "Introduction to the Brazilian Jesuit Letters." *Mid America*, 44:3 (July 1962): 172-186. Discusses the importance of the letters as an historical source and provides translations of four examples.

Cohen, Thomas M. *The Fire of Tongues: Antônio Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1998. A long overdue study about the eminent Jesuit missionary Antônio Vieira (1608-1697) who was active in the conversion of Indians of the Brazilian Amazon. Cohen explores the religious and social thought of this very important figure in the Portuguese missionary enterprise.

Fishman, Laura. "Claude d'Abbeville and the Tupinambá: Problems and Goals of French Missionary Work in Early Seventeenth-Century Brazil." *Church History*, 58:1 (1989): 20-36. Description of the French Capuchin mission that operated in Maranhão from 1612-1615 and European perceptions of indigenous spiritual beliefs.

Hooernart, Eduardo, ed. *História da igreja na Amazônia*. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1990. Edited volume that covers the colonial period to the twentieth century. Critical treatment of missionary endeavors in the Amazon.

Leite, Serafim. *Breve itinerário para uma biografia do padre Manuel da Nóbrega, fundador da província do Brasil e da cidade de São Paulo, 1517-1570*. Lisbon: Edições Brotéria, 1955.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*. 10 v. Lisbon: Livraria Portugália, 1938-1950. Leite, a noted Jesuit scholar, provides definitive accounts both of the life of Manuel da Nóbrega and of the Jesuit mission during the colonial period.

### Jews and the Inquisition

- Aufderheide, Patricia Ann. "True Confessions: the Inquisition and Social Attitudes at the Turn of the Century." *Luso Brazilian Review*, 10: 2 (Winter 1973): 208-240. Examines popular conceptions of sin and blasphemy, sexuality, and traits believed to be held by New Christians in late sixteenth-century Brazil.
- Bellini, Lúcia. *A coisa obscura. Mulher, sodomia e Inquisição no Brasil colonial*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1989. An analysis of documents from the visit of the Inquisition in 1592 that deals with lesbian and female sexuality.
- Farinha, Maria do Carmo Jasmin Dias. *Os arquivos da Inquisição*. Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, 1990. Guide to Portuguese archival materials about the Inquisition.
- Mott, Luiz. *O sexo proibido: virgens, gays e escravos nas garras da Inquisição*. Campinas: Papirus, 1988. Analysis of cases from the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon. Focus on sexual crimes emphasizing male homosexuality and Afro-Brazilian sexual patterns.
- Myscofski, Carole A. "Heterodoxy, Gender, and the Brazilian Inquisition: Patterns in Religion in the 1590s." *Journal of Latin American Lore*, 18: 1-2 (1992): 79-93. Reconstruction of popular beliefs based on records from the first visit of the Tribunal to the colony.
- Novinsky, Anita. *Inquisição, rol dos culpados: fontes para a história do Brasil, século XVIII*. Rio de Janeiro: Expressão e Cultura, 1992. A discussion of manuscripts related to the 1,800 Brazilian New Christians arrested by the Portuguese inquisition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The most recent offering by a prolific scholar specializing in the history of Jews and the Inquisition.



Salvador, José Gonçalves. *Cristãos novos, jesuitas e inquisição*. São Paulo: Livraria Pioneira Editora e EDUSP, 1969.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Os cristãos novos: povoamento e conquista do solo brasileiro (1530-1680)*. São Paulo: Pioneira Editora e EDUSP, 1976.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Os cristãos novos e o comércio no Atlântico meridional*. São Paulo: Livraria Pioneira e Instituto Nacional do Livro/MEC, 1978. Brazil's leading authority on the history of the "New Christians" or converted Jews in colonial Brazil. The three volumes examine the social position of Jews and New Christians, emphasizing their economic contributions.

Vainfas, Ronaldo. *Trópico dos pecados. Moral, sexualidade e Inquisição no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1989. Study of sexual mores and *mentalité* of colonial Brazil reconstructed through use of Inquisition records.

Wiznitzer, Arnold, *The Jews in Colonial Brazil*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1960. One of the few studies in English that examines the experience of Jews in colonial Brazil and the relaxed emigration policy of the Portuguese crown towards Jews and New Christians.

#### Afro-Brazilian Religion, Brotherhoods, and Popular Faith

Bastide, Roger. *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations*. Transl. by Helen Sabba (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1978). Classic study that constructs a model of religious syncretism combining African and indigenous traditions and Catholicism.

Boschi, Caio César. *Os leigos e o poder: irmandades leigas e política colonizadora em Minas Gerais*. São Paulo: Ática, 1986. Demonstrates the crucial role played by lay brotherhoods in Minas Gerais in the absence of missionary orders that were forbidden to operate in the mining regions.

Hooernart, Eduardo. *Formação do catolicismo brasileiro, 1550-1800: ensaio de interpretação a partir dos oprimidos*. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1974. Hooernart interprets the colonial church from the perspective of liberation theology. Includes information about popular lay manifestations of religious faith.

- Kiddy, Elizabeth W. "Brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks: Community and Devotion in Minas Gerais." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of New Mexico, 1998. An interdisciplinary study that combines archival research with participant observation of present-day congados festivals. Argues that the brotherhoods provided a space to perpetuate Central West African forms of religious devotion from colonial times to the present day.
- Mott, Luiz. *Rosa Egípcíaca: uma santa africana no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand, 1993. Lengthy account of Rosa Egípcíaca, an eighteenth-century African slave girl who became a popular saint in Brazil and was eventually arrested by the Lisbon tribunal. Rich in detail about everyday life, popular beliefs, and attitudes towards sexuality.
- Mulvey, Patricia A. "Black Brothers and Sisters: Membership in the Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil," *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 17:2 (1980): 253-279. Analysis of statutes governing the black brotherhoods dedicated to N. S. do Rosário.
- Russell-Wood, A. J. R. "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 54:4 (1974): 567-602. Argues that black brotherhoods conformed to the status quo rather than serving as vehicles for resistance or retention of African culture.
- Scarano, Julita. *Devoção e escravidão: A irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Prêtos no Distrito Diamantino no século XVIII*. 2nd. ed., São Paulo, Editora Nacional, 1978. A detailed case study of the black brotherhoods devoted to Our Lady of the Rosary in colonial Minas Gerais.
- . "Black brotherhoods: Integration or Contradiction?" *Luso Brazilian Review*, 16:1 (1979): 1-17. Descriptive treatment of the brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary in colonial Minas Gerais and Bahia. Argues that participation provided some autonomy for slaves and an opportunity to preserve African traditions.
- Souza, Laura de Mello e. *O diabo e a Terra de Santa Cruz: feitiçaria e religiosidade popular no Brasil colonial*. São Paulo: Cia. das Letras, 1989. Traces the European, indigenous, and African roots of witchcraft and popular

superstition in colonial Brazil using ecclesiastical court cases, Inquisition records, and contemporaneous chronicles. Recommended.

Torres, João Camilo de Oliveira. *História das idéias religiosas no Brasil: a igreja e a sociedade brasileira*. São Paulo: Grijalbo, 1968. A survey of Brazilian religious life from the colonial era to the present, including Catholicism, Protestantism and Kardecism.

### The African Diaspora

Bastide, Roger. *African Civilization in the New World*. Transl. by Peter Green (New York: Harper and Row, 1971). A noted sociological study of African cultural manifestations and beliefs among black populations in the Americas.

Fraginals, Manuel Moreno. *Africa in Latin America: Essays on History, Culture, and Socialization*. Transl. Leonor Blum (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1984). Interesting volume that debates the extent to which slavery in the Americas preserved or destroyed manifestations of African culture, music, language, and religion. Includes essay by José Jorge de Carvalho on African musical forms in Brazil.

Herskovits, Melville J. *The New World Negro: Selected Papers in Afro-American Religious Life*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1966. Seminal essays by Herskovits that document the existence of "African survivals" in black communities in the Americas.

Thornton, John K. *Africa and the Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992. This book synthesizes much of the current historiography about the active participation of African societies shaped the slave trade and trade relations with Europeans more generally. It also emphasizes how African cultures and faiths were transformed in the new world.

### Slavery and Race Relations

Anderson, Robert Nelson. "The Quilombo of Palmares: A New Overview of a Maroon State in Seventeenth-Century Brazil," *Journal of Latin American*

*Studies*, 28 (1996): 545-566. Anderson re-evaluates the primary documentation on Palmares using a careful linguistic analysis to question many of the conclusions reached by R. K. Kent in his 1965 article.

Andrews, George Reid. "Race and State in Colonial Brazil," *Latin American Research Review*, 19:3 (1984): 203-216. Review article of recent publications.

Boxer, C. R. *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963. Discusses racial attitudes of the Portuguese overseas in theory and practice. Although peoples of other races and racially-mixed individuals faced formal discrimination by church and state, formal guidelines were often overturned.

Conrad, Robert E. *Brazilian Slavery: An Annotated Research Bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1977.

Freyre, Gilberto. *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. Transl. by Samuel Putnam (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956). Freyre's influential thesis concerning racial democracy was a response to the "scientific" racism in vogue in Brazil during the early twentieth century. He argued that Brazilian slavery and race relations were relatively benign due to Portugal's previous contact with the Moors and the propensity of the Portuguese slaveholder to seek out sexual relations with non-white women. Originally published in 1933, *The Masters and the Slaves* launched the sub-field of comparative slavery as a generation of scholars sought to identify the variables that shaped the severity of various slaveholding regimes.

Gorender, Jacob. *O escravismo colonial*. São Paulo: Ática, 1978. Gorender brings a Marxist perspective to this socioeconomic analysis of Brazilian slavery.

Goulart, Maurício. *A escravidão africana no Brasil das origens à extinção do tráfico*. 3rd ed., São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1975. An early attempt to quantify the magnitude of the transatlantic slave trade to Brazil.

Graham, Richard. "Slave Families on a Rural Estate in Colonial Brazil," *Journal of Social History*, 9 (Spring 1976): 382-402. Important article that analyzes



a late eighteenth-century census from a large estate to show that slaves lived as families and not as undifferentiated groups.

Kent, R. K. "Palmares: An African State in Brazil," *Journal of Social History*, 6 (1965): 161-75. Influential article in English about the seventeenth-century runaway slave community of Palmares. Discusses social organization, religion, economy, and leadership.

Lara, Sílvia Hunold. *Campos de violência*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1988. A fine social history of the slave population of Campos, a sugar region of Rio de Janeiro that flourished during the eighteenth-century.

Malheiros, Perdigão. *A escravidão no Brasil: ensaio histórico, jurídico, social*. 3rd. ed. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1976. Originally published in 1868, an essay and compendium of legislation dealing with African and Indian slavery promulgated in Portugal and in Brazil. Addresses the institution of slavery during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-Independence periods. Malheiros was influential in the writing of the law of the Free Womb of 1871 that granted freedom to slave children upon adulthood.

Mattoso, Kátia M. de Queirós. *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1985. English translation of *Ser escravo no Brasil*. This book synthesizes contemporary scholarship on slavery in Bahia from the colonial period to emancipation in 1888. Emphasizes social and cultural factors.

Metcalf, Alida. "Searching for the Slave Family in Colonial Brazil: A Reconstruction from São Paulo." *Journal of Family History*, 16:3 (1991): 283-297. Demographic analysis of marriage and reproduction patterns among slaves in colonial São Paulo.

Schwartz, Stuart B. "Resistance and Accommodation in Eighteenth-Century Brazil: The Slaves' View of Slavery," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 57 (February 1977): 69-81. Interesting article that analyzes a contract written between a slave owner and a group of runaways. Conditions for their return included limitations on certain kinds of work and freedom to engage in petty trade. The document is reproduced in an English translation. Good for classroom discussion.

### *Women and the Family*

- Metcalf, Alida. *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1500-1822*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1992. Innovative study that examines how families from different social strata used the frontier as a resource to accumulate and preserve wealth.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Fathers and Sons: The Politics of Inheritance in a Colonial Brazilian Township," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 66:3 (Aug. 1986): 455-484. Demonstrates how elite families sought to preserve wealth in the family despite partible inheritance laws.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Women and Means: Women and Family Property in Colonial Brazil," *Journal of Social History*, 24:2 (Winter 1990): 277-298. Documents strategies used by women to maintain control over family property in colonial São Paulo.
- Nazzari, Muriel. *Disappearance of the Dowry: Women, Families and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil, 1600-1900*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1991. An interesting work that charts changing inheritance strategies applied to male and female heirs. Nazzari also examines a shift from patriarchal conceptions of the family and marriage in the colonial period to more egalitarian notions based on romantic love in the nineteenth century.
- Russell-Wood, A. J. R. "Women and Society in Colonial Brazil." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 9:1 (1977): 1-34. An early study that focuses on elite white women and their role in the family as unmarried daughters, wives, and widows.
- Silva, Maria Beatriz Nizza da. *Sistema de casamento no Brasil colonial*. São Paulo: T.A. Queiroz, 1984. Examines the incidence of formal marriage and customary unions in colonial São Paulo employing a variety of legal documents.
- Soeiro, Susan A. "A Baroque Nunnery: The Economic and Social Role of a Colonial Convent: Santa Clara de Desterro, Salvador, Bahia, 1677-1800." Ph.D. diss, New York Univ., 1974. A study of the first convent established in

Brazil. Discusses social hierarchies within the convent, opportunities for leadership, education, and participation in the economy.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Feminine Orders in Colonial Bahia, Brazil: Economic, Social, and Demographic Implications, 1677-1800," in Asunción Lavrin, ed. *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, 173-197. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978. Places the late establishment of convents in Brazil into context by comparing their development with those in Spanish America. Explores the economic and social functions of convents in Brazil

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Social and Economic Roles of the Convent: Women and Nuns in Colonial Bahia, 1677-1800." *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 54 (May 1974): 209-232. Examines the limited choices available to elite women and the motivations and advantages involved in entering a convent.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Catarina de Monte Sinaz: Nun and Entrepreneur," in David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash, eds, *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1981, 257-273. An interesting case study of a nun who started out by making and marketing sweets and accumulated a vast fortune for her community. Her active life is contrasted with that of the penitent. Effective for classroom use.

### *Mining Society*

Bergad, Laird W. "After the Mining Boom: Demographic and Economic Aspects of Slavery in Mariana, Minas Gerais, 1750-1808." *Latin American Research Review*, 31:1 (1996): 67-97. Also published in Portuguese as "Depois do boom: aspectos demográficos e econômicos da escravidão em Mariana, 1750-1808." *Estudos Econômicos*, 24:3 (1994): 495-525.

Higgins, Kathleen J. "*Licentious Liberty*" in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region. *Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais*. College Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1999. Emphasizes gender in the construction of social relations in the slave society of a colonial mining town.

Lima Jr., Augusto de. *A Capitania das Minas Gerais (origens e formação)*. Belo Horizonte, Instituto de História, Letras, e Arte, 1965. Popular history that emphasizes the cultural and artistic heritage of colonial Minas Gerais.

- Libby, Douglas C. "Reconsidering Textile Production in Late Colonial Brazil: New Evidence from Minas Gerais." *Latin American Research Review*, 32,1 (1997): 88-108. Uses quantitative sources, including an inventory of looms confiscated by the colonial authorities, to reconstruct a race and gender profile of workers in cottage textile production.
- Luna, Francisco Vidal. *Minas Gerais: escravos e senhores: análise da estrutura populacional e econômica de alguns centros mineratórios (1718-1804)*. São Paulo: IPE, 1981. A demographic reconstruction of slaveholding patterns in several colonial mining towns.
- Ramos, Donald. "Slavery in Brazil: A Case Study of Diamantina, Minas Gerais." *The Americas* 45 (July 1988): 47-59. Uses a slave register to link patterns of slave mortality and flight to African ethnic origin.
- . "Vila Rica: Profile of a Colonial Brazilian Urban Center," *The Americas*, 35 (April 1979): 495-526. Uses the 1804 nominal census from Vila Rica to reconstruct household and family patterns.
- . "City and Country: The Family in Minas Gerais, 1804-1838," *Journal of Family History*, 3 (1978): 361-75. Uses household censuses to reconstruct household composition in colonial Minas and provides a comparative analysis to European residential patterns.
- . "Marriage and the Family in Colonial Vila Rica," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 54 (May 1974): 200-225. Demographic analysis that shows that female-headed households and nuclear households were more prevalent than the patriarchal, extended family.
- Russell-Wood, A. J. R. *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982. Collection of essays about slaves and free people of color in colonial Minas. Emphasis on work, religion, resistance and the fluidity of race relations.
- Scarano, Julita. *Cotidiano e solidariedade: vida diária da gente de cor nas Minas Gerais, século XVIII*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1994. Social history of everyday life of the Afro-Brazilian population of Minas Gerais in the mature colonial period by a scholar of Afro-Brazilian religions.



Souza, Laura de Mello e. *Desclassificados do ouro. A pobreza mineira no Século XVIII*. third ed., Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1990. An analysis of the marginalization of the free, colored poor in the slave society of Minas Gerais. Lucid and innovative use of archival sources.

Torres, João Camilo de Oliveira. *História de Minas Gerais*. 5 vols. Belo Horizonte: Difusão Pan-Americana do Livro, 1961. An extended narrative of the history of Minas Gerais. The first three volumes contain information about the colonial period. Minimal citations.

Vasconcelos, Diogo L.A.P. *História antiga das Minas Gerais*. 2 vols. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1948. Provides a detailed narrative of the captaincy through 1720. Grounded in primary sources but uses few citations.

———. *História média das Minas Gerais*. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional 1948. Continuation of the previous volumes to the end of the colonial period.

Vasconcelos, Sílvio de. *Vida e obra de Antônio Francisco Lisboa, o Aleijadinho*. São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1979. A study of the mulatto artisan Aleijadinho who designed many notable eighteenth-century baroque mineiro churches, sculptures and carvings in wood.

Zemella, Mafalda P. *O abastecimento da capitania das Minas Gerais no século XVIII*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1990. A well-documented study of the internal markets that provisioned the mining communities during the eighteenth century.

### *Economy and Society*

Alden, Dauril. "The Growth and Decline of Indigo Production in Colonial Brazil: A Study in Comparative Economic History," *Journal of Economic History*, 25 (March 1965): 35-60. Describes the introduction of indigo as an export crop in order to diversify Brazil's agricultural economy during the late colonial period.

Barickman, Bert J. *A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780-1860*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1998. Exam-

ination of the resurgence and decline of the agrarian economy in the environs of Salvador da Bahia during the late colonial period and early decades of the Empire.

Costa Filho, Miguel. *A cana-de-açúcar em Minas Gerais*. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Açúcar e do Alcool, 1963. History of the cultivation and processing of sugar in Minas Gerais from the late seventeenth to the twentieth century.

Flory, Rae Jean. "Bahian Society in the Mid-Colonial Period: The Sugar Planters, Tobacco Growers, Merchants and Artisans of Salvador and the Recôncavo, 1680-1725." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Texas, 1978. Multi-class analysis of Bahian society during a period of economic decline.

Kuznesof, Elizabeth. *Household Economy and Urban Development: São Paulo, 1765-1836*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986. Well-documented quantitative analysis of household economy, family size, residential patterns, sex ratios, marriage age and other demographic indicators in late colonial São Paulo. Co-operative work groups and neighborhood militias are analyzed as well as the shift from a subsistence to a market economy.

Lugar, Catherine. "The Portuguese Tobacco Trade and Tobacco Growers of Bahia in the Late Colonial Period." in Dauril Alden and Warren Dean, eds. *Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India*. Gainesville: Univ. of Florida Press, 1977, 26-70. Examines the class makeup and slaveholding patterns of Bahian tobacco growers.

Novais, Fernando A. *Portugal e Brasil na crise do antigo sistema colonial (1777-1808)*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1979. An influential synthesis that describes the crisis of the Portuguese empire in the mature colonial period within the broader context of the rise and decline of European mercantilism.

Schwartz, Stuart B. *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society, Bahia, 1550-1835*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985. The definitive study to date of planter society in Bahia during the colonial period. Meticulously researched account drawing on numerous European and Brazilian archives. Schwartz employs qualitative and quantitative data to examine the dynamics of race, socioeconomic position and gender that shaped social and economic life in this Brazilian sugar region.