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THE OVERTHROW OF PEDRO II OF BRAZIL:

**an explanation as provided by
an examination of some contemporary novels**

by

Ewen Dale Smith

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts
of the University of Glasgow in fulfilment of the
requirement for the Degree of Master of Letters

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Traditional explanations for the overthrow of the monarchy in Brazil, and its replacement by a Republic, have never seemed entirely satisfactory. Some, indeed, have seemed contradicted by both the expectation and the experience of the Republic. I have, therefore, attempted to find additional evidence from non-traditional historical sources, namely, the novels of the 20-year span preceding the toppling of Pedro II.

To begin, I considered the legitimacy of using fiction as a source for explaining political fact, and was convinced that this principle behind the thesis was sound. I next examined the "traditional" explanations with two purposes in mind; firstly, to see if individually or in concert they provided grounds for what was outwardly a radical change in political direction, and, secondly, to illustrate the historical context in which authors were writing, to highlight the "burning issues" of their societies. Then I made a more particular review of the literary context in which they operated.

Subsequently, I examined six authors and fifteen of their novels; the authors were selected on the basis of their contemporary literary popularity and critical acclaim, and were equally divided between the early 1870s and the late 1880s; the novels were selected with regard to their date of publication. My objective was to consider the themes to which each novel addressed itself, with a view to identifying which themes were common to which authors, how the themes differed between authors and over time, and to determine what conclusions could be drawn from this evidence.

In the broadest terms what this examination revealed was that far from being radical, the establishment of a Republican system of government was made possible by a widespread desire within the elite group to forestall and limit social change. Authors represented this desire in an increasingly critical account of the values they perceived in their contemporary society, and the existing order was held implicitly, and often explicitly, to blame for the deterioration. But although the 1880s group differed from their predecessors, they struck no accord amongst themselves either; so while they wished change, it was couched in terms of opposition to the existing order without a coherent alternative being expounded. Further, the later group tend to display anti-social behaviour as fundamental to human-kind whereas the 1870s group saw it more as aberrant and peculiar to individuals. In short, the desire for political change stemmed from a wish to halt the deterioration in society's values (in the authors' perception) and the form that change was to take was determined by the perceived need for control of people rather than exhortations to individuals. A new and firmer order was required than Pedro II seemed able or willing to dictate.

Acknowledgements

The Glasgow Educational Trust and the University of Glasgow are due my thanks for meeting the cost of fees incurred in preparing this thesis.

Everybody and every opinion I have had contact with has contributed in some way to my interpretation of the evidence provided by the novels examined. Three people particularly, however, demand recognition for their influence:

Francis Lambert

Mike Gonzalez

Kath Kane

LITERATURE AND HISTORY

"There were many writers who had no intention of writing history, but have done so, if only indirectly, and often unconsciously. For their works reflect the issues of their times, and thus constitute a source of great importance for the historian". (Laqueur)(1)

In this view, a nation's literature assumes a testificatory quality. If works of literature are capable of revealing evidence, however, they are not often enough subjected to the same sustained and informed cross-examination as would normally be required of an historian questioning more usual historical sources. This unfortunate fact perhaps arises from a tendency, amongst British students at least, to regard the study of history and literary criticism as distinct, even irrelevant to each other, with the consequence that students of history are ill-equipped to scrutinise literary works, and far too often students of literature are accustomed, indeed encouraged to view art as somehow above and, therefore, irrelevant to everyday life and passing political happenstance. Consequently, Laqueur's "source of great importance" tends to be neglected.

Explaining **why** literature has been lately overlooked by historians does not necessarily confirm Laqueur's assertion. Nonetheless, it seems at least intuitively possible that a novel could provide valuable insights of the fears and aspirations, the assumptions and uncertainties of those readers contemporaneous with the author, for only novels in which the concerns of the characters, and their reactions in given circumstances correspond to the reader's expectations, will strike a chord with the reader and allow the fiction to be forgotten, and the argument therefore to be sustained. In short, while creating a work of fiction, a novelist cannot dispense with fact or what is written becomes literally

conveys ideas which will be seen as absurd.

It is important, however, to think of the writer not only in terms of his function as a witness of, but also as a participant in human society. Too often the latter role is forgotten and in consequence recognition of its importance in shaping his objectiveness, indeed trustworthiness, in the former role, is lacking. As Lionel Stevenson has said in a related context,

"A novelist of any ability and intelligence is saturated with the concepts and discussions that are current around him. Since his principal objective is to provide a convincing and readable story, he cannot range too widely beyond the frame or reference of the average reader in his own day, and, therefore, his evidence as to the climate of knowledge and opinion is more dependable than that of expository writers, who are likely to be concerned with proposing original opinions." (2)

To "knowledge and opinion" Stevenson might have added prejudice, and so long as this element is recognised literary examination can provide rewarding historical results. Just as the conventional historian uses, indisputably, selection and organisation, and, often conjecture, so the novelist's work is similarly constructed out of facts, albeit with a leavening of possibilities, corresponding to his and, he hopes, his reader's experience. If the three constituent parts of selection, organisation, and conjecture are differently proportioned in the work of fiction and the history text, this difference should not be seen as disqualifying the novel from historical examination, but as adding a new dimension to such examination, and one that the conventional historian should be loathe to leave unconsidered. Raymond Williams takes the argument one stage further:

"art is one of the primary human activities, and ... it can succeed in articulating not just the imposed or constitutive social or intellectual system, but at once this and an experience of it, its lived consequence ..."(3)

activities"?

Clearly, he cannot; but literature, as a constituent of "art", should be seen both as a contributor to our knowledge of history, and as itself a product of history; it should be examined, therefore, in terms of the historical conditions which produce it, or its value as an historical source will be depreciated by our own inability to make sense of the relationships depicted. Particularly in a period of rapid economic development there are necessarily accompanying social changes, which themselves provoke **expectations** of further change. While traditional historical sources can be used to assess actual change, the novel, with its portrayal of a "lived consequence", may reveal expectations which in turn explain facilitating or preventative measures taken in order to realise or to resist such a consequence.

In the particular case of Brazil, from the end of the Paraguayan War until the fall of the Empire, for instance, it is argued that the very considerable economic change was, necessarily, accompanied by ideological change, which rendered anachronistic, respectively, monarchical government and Romantic literature. It will be the purpose of this study to consider what a sample of the contemporary literature can provide in the way of evidence to explain the collapse of the Brazilian Empire in 1889. The proposition for such a thesis is given some foundation by Marx, who asks

"What else does the history of ideas prove than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed"?

However, it seems likely also that "intellectual production" could anticipate changes in "material production", based upon existing trends, and that it might therefore seek to influence change in the

with whom they feel some sympathy or affinity.

In fact, there are countless examples of writers who have participated in political and social struggles (just as there are examples of writers who have turned their backs on such contemporary issues) but the history student should avoid the temptation to equate political involvement with interpretative ability or even knowledge. The printed word often confers on a writer, the more so when that writer is able to show literary skill, an authority which his limited political acumen would never justify.

Nevertheless, what the author does provide in her/his novels is an expression of the contemporary cultural and ideological values. Insofar as social change requires a new ideology to explain the new structure of social relationships, so the novel itself will change, and it is in the study of such changes that we can establish how the new society sees itself. More accurately, because the literary milieu is closed in practice, with the vast majority of readers being drawn from the same aesthetically educated social circle as the majority of writers, we can hope only to establish the values and judgements of that group. Further, it may be recognised that even this rather limited perspective has been filtered by a commercial educated group : the publishing houses. This study cannot concern itself with the influence of profit-oriented publishing houses upon aesthetically inspired literary expression, other than to acknowledge its existence, but for a useful introduction to the subject in a Brazilian context, Laurence Hallewell's history of publishing there is required reading. (4).

In writing, an author lays bare his/her ideology; more, the author actually directs the readers' thoughts towards those features of society which she/he considers important, and at least as

of reference common to authors and readers referred to above, it seems probable that the important features will not be uniquely perceived to be so, but will correspond to a more general feeling within the group. Thus the literary requirement for the novelist to address common concerns in order to allow the fictitiousness to be overlooked is reinforced by the fact of shared ideological assumptions. Ultimately, the plausibility of the plot will matter less in the reading process than will the feeling of familiarity with the characters and their behaviour that the author is able to promote in the reader. One has only to read "Gulliver's Travels" to see the truth of this! To analyse ideological developments then, it is necessary to study these concerns, broadly corresponding to what Raymond Williams has described as 'structures of feeling'. (5)

Since they are characteristic of writers in particular historical situations, the degree to which they change or remain the same can be expected to give some indication of the pace of historical development. As we shall see in subsequent sections of this study there were readily identifiable developments in the economy of Brazil over the period under review, and associated changes to the political and literary fields. However, it will be the object of this study to consider if changes in the structures of feeling displayed in this last field can throw any light on the direction of political change promoted by those economic developments. In short, to what extent does literary analysis alter our appreciation of Brazilian political change between 1870 and 1890?

Literary analysis, of course, takes many forms, depending upon the object of the critic. It should be obvious from the preceding discussion that I do not propose examining the use of esdrúxulo as

a rapacious landlord or innocent shepherdess puts in an appearance. Rather I intend considering the themes to which authors address themselves, and the portrayal of relationships within those themes. Thematic similarity, and indeed non-thematic similarity, the ignoring of certain themes, will show authors and readers to be broadly in agreement over contemporary matters for concern. Thematic dis-similarity on the other hand may indicate disagreement and debate over the priority of topics and the structures of feeling thereby reveal society as divided in competition. Character relationships, the cement which holds the themes and makes the fiction credible, will show as they change both how the group sees the themes being resolved and society developing, and their fears or aspirations about such development.

Before proceeding, it is worth emphasising that none of the above should be interpreted as implying that the process of novel writing is entirely deterministic, with the author merely responding and giving voice to forces and concepts around him/her. Clearly a novel is not a spontaneous expression of economic circumstances, nor the author a programmed cipher. For the individual author, the work is usually an end in itself, neither legitimising an existing regime nor extolling the potential virtues of some alternative one. However, the author has a place in society which is more or less privileged; this position is confirmed by reference to her/his peer group, and it is their combined ideology that is communicated. The author's individuality expresses itself more in terms of the communication itself than of the content, in terms of the successfulness in recreating a character or an image that is credible than in creating something unique.

The mention of communication again raises the spectre of the

But publication depends on other than the author; those others, furthermore, are typically more directly linked to the socially determining economic base than are the author. Saturated with the concerns and questions of current debate, and constrained by the need to communicate, the author is bound to conform to some degree. Undeniably some do not, but they will remain largely unpublished, and irrelevant to this study anyway. Conversely, the majority of books which are today available for examination must have conformed to a greater or lesser extent to the requirements of the historical conditions pertaining at the time of their publication. That most authors are critical of society does not contradict this argument, but rather illustrates the general view held by the elite group of the rest of society.

A caveat is necessary here again, for some authors might be expected to use the established expectations of readers and publishers alike as a smokescreen behind which to construct a more individual criticism; in short, to use the literary requirement to disguise a contrary ideological position. Nevertheless, as long as the reader recognises this possibility, the novel cannot be excluded from this study on such grounds, for the underlying frame of reference remains available for examination even though the author's perception is uncommon. Overall, however, the suggestion persists that literature is a product of its time and can be so read that it will reveal conditions of its historical moment that help our understanding of subsequent historical developments. In the crudest sense, then, literature will do one of two things; it will throw doubt upon contemporary cultural and ideological values and thereby instil desires for an end to the status quo, or it will confirm those values and sustain the social structure that has produced

influences wholly beyond its control; notably, literature will be unable to sustain a social system indefinitely which owes its form to an economic order which has been superceded. Nonetheless, it is in the movement between these two extreme positions of doubting and confirming that provide the student of history with the opportunity to consider attitudes held at a time of rapid change and the ability to interpret subsequent events in the light of such attitudes. In that sense the literary developments do throw light upon the political ones.

I have already suggested that it is the communication between the writer and his reader that makes complete a work of literature. I have further argued that that end can only be achieved if the writer conforms to certain standards of sense expected of him by the reader. From these two points it cannot be difficult to observe that it is from the public that the author takes his characters, as well as finding his readers. It is because of this relationship that the author is able to make his characters ring true.

The student, therefore, must enquire as to who is in the novel? Are the problems of the characters connected to the popular and general socio-historical problems, or are they merely privatised? If the latter is found to be the case then all ties between historical events and private destinies are severed. A private history is chaotic, confusing to everyone else, and in that confusion the need to explain events in the context of a process is obviated; the process itself is not put under scrutiny by the author. Clearly, that does not debar the work from this study, for if it is a general phenomenon of the literature of the period, then valuable insights into and conclusions about that society might still be drawn. More often, however, the lives of the characters

problems shared by readers. As importantly, if the problems are not shared, the solutions will typically correspond to the general expectations about responses to given problems. The character has both a social and a personal history; he/she is both type and individual. Though the reader's personal experience does not conform exactly to that of the character in the novel, the likely solution will conform with the reader's expectation of her/his own reactions in such circumstances. The individual problem has a typical acceptable solution, and it is in this area too that the history student can glean valuable information about what level of preparedness for radical solutions or demands for maintenance of the status quo exists at any time.

If the case for seeing literature as the articulation of a collective consciousness is accepted, then it must similarly be recognised that consciousness has been shaped both by experience and expectation, with the greater emphasis placed on the latter. Character creation then must be a distortion if not an outright caricature, and what provides the distortion is the intention of the author. Thus, distortion has a purpose, which may be crudely described as an attempt to impose a particular social order. Any view of an appropriate social order itself derives from the author's experience and expectations, however, and since these are held to be a reflection of a wider social consciousness, then it becomes easy to agree with Karoly Varga's assertion that,

"the force behind the literary endeavour to effect social changes is not the existing order but social progress".

(6)

Thus, while fiction is not the truth, no matter how "real" it may claim to be, it is nonetheless capable of revealing to what degree change is sought.

Recognising the historical content to the novel does not make its evaluation a straightforward process, however, particularly to an historian accustomed to the study of 'facts'. The problems are not insurmountable, but have to be recognised if they are not seriously to bias the conclusions. The greatest difficulty, as hinted above, is that fiction is not truth even when 'truthfully' presented; realism too is an ideology. Secondly, the novel is not even representational of its own period, insofar as it is an example of erudite culture; however, since political power tends to reside amongst the literate section of the population, the novel's value as an historical source may even be increased by this complication. Lastly, the novelist can only emerge in a society in which there is sufficient surplus wealth to support his/her non-productive efforts; as a result, the author has a contradictory interest in stability, in the existing social order, even when social change might be expected to provide further benefits. Only through realising that this 'source of great importance' is ideologically based upon the ambivalent interests of an already privileged group can we come to an accurate evaluation of the evidence it provides.

CONCLUSION

It is argued that literature as a source for historians is neglected and that, given its particular ability to reveal abstract concepts, that neglect is doubly to be lamented for the lack of other fields in which to glean such information.

It is further argued that literary shifts, insofar as they are indicative of ideological change, can add to the historian's appreciation of political shifts, themselves stemming from ideological change, and therefore accessible to historians through more traditional sources only with difficulty.

the demand for and direction of changes to the social order as revealed by some novels of Brazil in the period 1870 to 1890.

NOTES

1. WALTER LAQUEUR; 'Literature and Society', in Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 2, No. 2. (1967), p. 9.
2. LIONEL STEVENSON; 'Darwin and the Novel', in Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Vol. 15 (1960-61), p. 29.
3. RAYMOND WILLIAMS; 'Literature and Sociology : in memory of Lucien Goldmann', in New Left Review, Vol. 67 (May-June, 1971), p. 14.
4. LAURENCE HALLEWELL; Books in Brazil : a history of the publishing trade, Scarecrow Press (1982).
5. RAYMOND WILLIAMS; op. cit. p. 12.
6. KÁROLY VARGA; 'The Sociological Approach to Literature', in Literature and its Interpretation, edited by Lajos Nyírő, p. 271. Mouton Publishers (1979).

BRAZILIAN HISTORY, 1868-1889

Before considering the literature for the period, it would be useful to set it contextually. By and large Dom Pedro's reign had enjoyed internal and external peace; brought to the throne in 1840 in an attempt both to be rid of the unpopular Regency and to end, hopefully, rebelliousness in some provinces, Pedro presided over a rapidly, if not always predictably, growing economy. It took until 1845 for the Farrapo rebellion in Rio Grande do Sul to be settled, finally, but thereafter, apart from the intervention in Argentina (1850-52) which was realised successfully and ended with the overthrow of Rosas, and the longer Paraguayan War (1864-70), also ending in victory, Pedro's reign displayed peace and prosperity to a degree unusual in Latin America. Indeed, between 1840 and 1889, production and income grew ten-fold, with perhaps the biggest single boost coming from the ending of the slave trade in 1850 and the resulting release of resources for investment elsewhere.

A notable beneficiary was the industrial sector, and in the 39 year period ending with the fall of the monarchy, factories in Brazil rose in number from 50 to 636. Growth from such a low base should not be over-estimated in importance, however, the more so in what is an overwhelmingly agrarian economy, but in that sector too growth was impressive. Sugar production, not often seen as a growth area, nonetheless managed a 100% production increase between 1840 and the 1880s, while coffee output rose substantially quicker to overtake sugar in importance from about 1850.

Nor did the expansion of the infrastructure lag far behind, with steam navigation, new developments in communications, and a railway network all contributing to the bouyant overall picture. Such developments aided and encouraged overseas trade, even as the

westward expansion of the railway opened up new territories to the coffee growers eager to meet increased overseas demand.

Why, then, did there appear any need to overthrow the system of monarchical government which seemed to have served Brazil so well for certainly its last 49 years? Five explanations are generally advanced as contributing to the overthrow.

(1) **Disputes with the clergy**

In 1865 Pedro II banned the publication of the Pope's Quanta Cura Encyclical, aimed at proscribing freemasonry. In fact, this Encyclical had been drawn up in the light of European experience of the freemasons, an experience which contrasted sharply with that in Brazil. In announcing the ban Pedro was in fact within his rights, and Pope Pius himself seems implicitly, and however pragmatically, to have recognised both this right and the different character of freemasonry in Brazil and Europe in his advice to his more ultramontane bishops to moderate their demands over the "irmandades" run by the masons. Before his advice could be followed, however, the dispute had deteriorated to the point where both the Bishops of Olinda and of Pará had been arrested and charged by the crown. Crown and clergy were effectively polarised.

Though Pedro might be criticised for his somewhat precipitate action in jailing the bishops, he was strictly within his rights. More damaging may have been the apparent lack of sympathy he had revealed towards the Church. Nonetheless, what clearly emerges is that disputes between Church and Crown were initiated by changes within the former, rather than by the latter. It was the ultramontism of the Church rather than the intransigence of the Crown that had caused the rift, and it is very important to make this point in any assessment of the degree to which the dispute led

the Catholic Church in Brazil at this time was not the maintenance of strong relationships with Pedro (after all, the Church was not, unlike elsewhere in Latin America, a major landowner, and was therefore not tied in quite the same way to the fortunes of the established order) but the kind of Church there was to be going into the 20th Century. The feeling amongst some of the clergy was that the Church had moved rather too markedly into the area of matters temporal, to the detriment of those spiritual. The row that blew up over freemasonry effectively distanced the Church from the State, the spiritual from the material, and thus isolated the Church was free to put its own house in order, untouched by the currents of liberalism coursing through intellectual circles. Nor should it be forgotten that this was exactly the aim of the Quanta Cura Encyclical, in the European context.

However, if Pedro's apparent lack of commitment to the Church did contribute in any way to his overthrow, the support of his daughter, Isabel, next in line to the throne, must certainly have more than compensated. Indeed, such was her devotion to the Roman Catholic Church that this is itself cited as a factor in propelling others towards Republicanism!

Republicanism in general, and its Positivist ally in particular, do not seem to represent more tellingly sympathetic State alternatives than does Monarchism, even under the ailing Pedro. Indeed, the probability is that the majority of the clergy were genuinely disappointed at the passing of the Monarchy, and that the disputes between State and Church were merely the more obvious manifestations of a struggle within the Roman Catholic Church itself, rather than an indication of any fundamental objection to the institution of monarchy.

(2) Disputes with the Army

Since it was the army who ultimately secured power for the Republican Party, it is important to consider the basis of their opposition to Monarchism. Throughout the period under review, an unmistakable tension is apparent in relations between the army and the governments, Liberal and Conservative, of Pedro II. The tone was set during the Paraguayan War, when large numbers of Brazilians had their first experience of contacts with the world and the ideas outside their own frontiers. Their allies were, of course, from Republican nations where they typically enjoyed rather more influence in the political sphere than did the Brazilian officers. The appointment of the Conde d'Eu to the command of the Brazilian forces was not a popular one, and this representative of the Braganza dynasty seemed curiously inept in ending the war with the hugely out-numbered forces available to the Republic of Paraguay. But if slowness in persecuting the war was to be blamed upon poor leadership, eventual victory was nonetheless expected to add to the army's laurels. Were not the returning officers and the dead left behind the saviours and martyrs of Brazil respectively? Yet in the period after the war they returned to a dull barracks life spent watching over their own steady contraction ... while the period between 1864 and 1870 had seen a six-fold increase in numbers recruited, by 1880 the total numbers had fallen back below the level seen in 1860. Not the sort of environment designed to keep army morale maintained at a high pitch. Indeed, just when the army had become aware of its potential power, it saw that potential relentlessly eroded by those currently enjoying power.

Obviously, the injustice these returned heroes felt at such a situation was compounded at the more personal level by the frustration of their own ambitions for promotion, for as army

numbers contracted so did opportunities for promotion, contrasting starkly with their experiences of the 1860s. Had even contraction in army size been presented as the natural reduction following wartime expansion, the sense of grievance would have been markedly restrained, but there was a feeling that the monarchy's support for the army as an institution was less than enthusiastic, a feeling which was not without some justification. The Emperor had little interest in the army, and would gladly have increased spending on education at the expense of the military. However, he did recognise the need for some kind of balance to sustain Brazil against external threats. The Conde d'Eu on the other hand took an even more hostile stance towards the army; fearing its Republican sentiments, he tried to prepare a National Guard to replace much of the army, and since he was of course married to the successor to the throne, his influence and the younger officers' concern about their own future arising from that, both contributed to the very sympathy for Republicanism that so worried the Conde!

Clearly, the balance in the army of younger officers with Republican sympathies, to longer established officers whose loyalties were to Dom Pedro II, shifted over time in favour of the former. Nonetheless, so long as the latter held the most senior posts, the monarchy seemed secure. Yet even these men could not but be drawn into political disputes instigated by their younger colleagues, if for no other reason than a misplaced esprit de corps, and ultimately it was upon the most senior officers that the success of the coup depended. The paradox is that Marshall Deodoro da Fonseca, the titular head of the revolt though far from being its moving spirit, was used by more radical elements to secure Pedro's overthrow. Deodoro appears to have convinced at least himself that he was acting to remove the Liberal government, bearing the Imperial

flag as he marched on the elected ministry and telling Ouro Preto that he was going to demand of Dom Pedro that he appoint a new ministry. Indeed, even Dom Pedro appears to have believed this expressed intention, accepting Ouro Preto's 'resignation', and then appointing in his place Silveira Martins. Since he was even more disliked by Deodoro than was Ouro Preto, the Emperor had thereby sealed the fate of himself and of the monarchy in Brazil.

Crucial as the army was in the overthrow of the Emperor, however, it does not explain how the mood of the nation had so shifted as to allow such an outcome. A bewildered Conservative deputy, who surely might have been expected to know better, is quoted as saying,

'It seemed to me impossible that 14,000,000 inhabitants, until then almost entirely faithful to the monarchy, could see it overturned in the public square, by a man supported only by a wing of a battalion, that, moreover, was not aware of what was going on, without at least one voice raised in protest'(1)

But if the army were merely the means whereby the monarchy was toppled, and even if they were responding to a more popular wish for change of which the deputy was unaware, they still do not explain why there was a 'popular' desire for change.

(3) **The Republican Party**

While disagreements with the clergy and the armed forces go some limited way toward explaining Pedro's fall, historians have traditionally pointed to the growth of the Republican Party as evidence of popular disillusion with monarchy. It is first worth remembering that the Church might expect very little from a Republican State, so it would be difficult to aggregate these 'explanations'; however, the Republican Party was most adept at taking advantage of disputes involving the monarchy, and would do so whenever the opportunity presented itself. Two examples are of

particular significance; Rui Barbosa, despite many political disappointments, had been a loyal member of the Liberal Party throughout his career, until Ouro Preto took up the reins of government instead of Saraiva. Without a seat in Parliament himself, Barbosa used his immense influence as a journalist to belabour first Cotegipe's Conservative government, then Ouro Preto's Liberal one. And it was the republican newspaper, the Diário de Notícias, that gave him his platform to promote liberal principles. Thus, as a Liberal without a seat, the Republican Party gave him the opportunity to attack Conservatism, and reaped the benefits when he stayed to attack the Liberal Party. The second example is linked to this; Barbosa's most virulent attacks were often in defense of the army, for he saw that that was where Cotegipe was vulnerable. The army, already familiar with and sympathetic to republicanism, were therefore reinforced in their belief that the Republican Party spoke more forcefully in their favour than did either of the traditional, monarchical parties.

The truth was rather different; formed two years after the fall of the government led by the Progressive Zacarias, the smallness of the Republican Party led it to cast around for more powerful allies. In the army, and particularly amongst its younger officers, the Republican Party identified a group whose loyalties to the throne had not yet developed, and who indeed, for reasons quite extraneous to the Republican Party, were actually becoming alienated from monarchism. The fortunes of the two groups, therefore, became linked primarily in a spirit of mutual self-interest.

Consider next the extent to which the Republican Party reflected popular disillusion with monarchism. The Republican Manifesto was issued on December 3rd, 1879, but it was not until

1884 that the party succeeded in having any deputies elected, in the subsequent election their representation fell from 3 to 1. More significantly, in August 1889, a mere three months prior to the declaration of the Republic, only two members were successful in securing their election. It must of course be recognised that, given the facility with which governments could manipulate election results, numbers of parliamentary representatives may not be the best yard-stick by which to assess support for political ideals; further, as Frank Coulson notes (2), Conservative members during Ouro Preto's government, were apt to support the Republican Party merely to spite Liberals and the monarch. Certainly, it was a Conservative member, and a priest to boot, who shouted in Parliament (11.6.1889),

'Down with the Monarchy! Long live the Republic!'

However, even in São Paulo, traditional heartland of republicanism, the Party could muster just 25% support amongst the electorate as late as the 1889 election. Nor could this be interpreted as an expression of 'popular' support, for suffrage at this time was still severely restricted with fewer than 1% of the population voting (3). Despite its smallness, however, the Republican Party enjoyed an influence that belied its size. I have already commented on the links with the army, but the Party also had the support of significant numbers amongst the expanding commercial class. These latter felt no loyalty to the traditional Conservative and Liberal parties, creations of the land-owning elite, and unable to see their interests served by either, they were easily seduced by an apparent Republican promise to extend their group's influence and remove restraints on their further advancement.

It should already be clear that the Republican Party represented a focus for dissent from all quarters, and that it was

able to use this position to advance its own claims for power. Perhaps the best illustration of the Party's ability to be all things to all people is provided by its thoroughly ambivalent stand on abolition; it berated Liberals and Conservatives alike for the slowness with which emancipation was introduced, yet after 1888 it presented itself to the landowners as the means by which they might gain revenge on the monarch. This piece of opportunism nearly backfired, however, when its abolitionist supporters threatened to change allegiances. José de Patrocínio, a committed and most articulate republican, and abolitionist, was moved to say that

"If the Republican Party wishes to ally itself with the slave-owners, we will have to make an alliance, if necessary even with the Emperor." (4)

Some of the greatest support for the Republican Party, however, came not from their own efforts but from the disillusion felt by many with the traditional parties. Increasingly, they could be presented as engaged in a sterile struggle to maintain position and privilege for themselves, and although debates could be heated and distinctive programmes submitted, the accusation that there was nothing so like a Conservative as a Liberal in power carried a great deal of weight. Over-concentration on political in-fighting to the detriment of any programme of national development led to the frustration which drove men like Barbosa, Nabuco, and Rebouças into the Republican camp. As Evanson notes,

"The inability of Liberals to deal with socio-economic as well as political issues ultimately became the greatest weakness of the party." (5)

This should not be taken to imply that there was no reform in the period from 1868-1889, but rather that it was patchy, often ill thought out, and tended to be reluctantly given. For example, the Liberals eventually introduced a measure of electoral reform in 1881 ('Lei Saraiva') intended to promote the 'fair elections' for which

they had called in 1888. However, this reform included a literacy qualification, yet nowhere was there a commitment to improve the education provision. Political reform without socio-economic development. Similarly with the abolition debate; each measure towards final emancipation was signed into law by a Conservative government, only when the pressure had become irresistible, and in an attempt to delay full emancipation. With Parliamentary inertia so apparent, extra-Parliamentary criticism was bound to receive a degree of attention which its alternative proposals might never deserve.

Notwithstanding any of the above comments it is worth noting that, paradoxically, what may ultimately have pushed the Republican Party into the coup was the programme of reforms proposed by Ouro Preto's Liberal government in 1889. There are three, not necessarily complementary, elements behind this suggestion. At the most obvious level, the Republicans may have felt they had to act, because they had frequently pointed to the inertia of the existing system as a justification for their criticisms, and now Ouro Preto was showing just how radical a Liberal government could be! Worse, he was stealing Republican Party clothes in the process! If they did not act now, they may find themselves in the future with even fewer grounds for complaint ... and no distinctive programme. Further, the odd conglomeration of interests that the Republican Party had gathered around itself may have created pressure for action; thus, Barbosa and Nabuco pressed for the Republic because the reforms did not go far enough. Or rather, because Ouro Preto had put federalism back as a low priority, concentrating instead on fiscal reform, a move which Barbosa at any rate identified as an attempt to erode urban middle-class support for the Republicans. Conversely, many of the land-owning group could point to the

abolition of slavery, and to Ouro Preto's reforms as confirmation that the Liberal Party were bent on introducing the radical proposals outlined when they were in Opposition at their National Party Conference, proposals which seemed to presage land reform of a kind they felt was against their interests. A case, in short, of too little and too much uniting against the middle. Finally, there is a curious ambivalence about the desire for change in Brazil at this time; many wanted change, believed they would benefit from change, but wanted stability too. The apparent contradiction may be explained by differing perceptions of the kind of change required, but at any rate it expressed itself in the toppling of a Liberal Government in a position and willing to implement change, in favour of a Republican Party seemingly being moved by forces of tradition and revolution simultaneously. What would emerge from such an alliance could scarcely have been predicted at the time, nor is it within the scope of this thesis to examine the outcome, though it is worth noting that many historians believe the spoils went to the more cautious elements in the country. Graham puts it as follows:

"By 1894 they (the land-owners) were back in power and by 1898 their position was secure. Land reform was forgotten and not revived as a real issue in Brazilian politics until the 1960s ..." (6)

Thus, while Ouro Preto thought his reforms would make the revolution unnecessary, by not taking appropriate account of the disparate and conflicting interests within the Republican Party, he may actually have prompted the very thing he feared.

Having considered the part played by the monarchical parties in advancing the status of the Republican Party, I now turn to consideration of the Emperor himself in this context. In theory he was empowered, even required constitutionally, to weigh public opinion against national interest and assess the merits or otherwise

had authority vested in him by the 'poder moderador'. Though frequently used before 1868, and sometimes crucially thereafter (as for example in 1878, 1885, and 1889 to dismiss governments), Pedro endeavoured to limit its use. But its existence, even when falling into disuse, provided the Republicans with a focus for their resentment of the old order and its privileges. He was accused of corrupting the 'poder moderador' into a 'poder pessoal', and certainly the facility it provided for arbitrary government made the charge appear more reasonable than actual usage gave it substance. Though an advocate of Pedro II, João Camillo is probably rather closer to the truth than were the Republicans when he claims:

"somente havia um adversário do 'poder pessoal': o próprio Imperador." (7)

More significant may have been apprehension about his successor, Isabel, and how she might make use of it. Certainly Pedro II was not expected in 1889 to live very much lower. Though Ouro Preto's reforms included the abolition of the 'poder moderador' it had by then provided too long-lasting a grievance to Republicans to be quite so easily dismissed.

The subject of succession gives rise to another point of weakness in the case for monarchism; despite being the second oldest constitution in the world when it fell, democratic monarchism had distinctly shallow roots where they needed to go deepest; that is, in its tradition of succession to the crown. Joao VI had of course left the country and returned to Portugal; Pedro I had abdicated; and Pedro II had been prematurely crowned in a Liberal coup. Further, the aristocracy was largely honorific, with peerages granted for life only.

Lastly, there is a view held of the monarchy, promoted by Graham, that it no longer adequately protected planter interests;

those very interest groups had advanced monarchism in 1840, but found that it represented a greater threat to them than did Republicanism because, unlike 1840, it no longer was an obstacle to radical change.

"The planters ... joined the Republican movement not so much out of spite and bitterness (at emancipation) but to avoid what seemed to them an even greater disaster than abolition: land reform. They had discovered that neither they nor the political structures of the Empire were strong enough to avert abolition, and they knew that land reform was part of the abolitionist 'bag' ... They felt the Emperor was now too weak and the party structure too chaotic to prevent the success of those who had organised the abolitionist onslaught." (8)

Pedro II's usefulness as a figurehead had diminished precisely because he was too reformist personally and, therefore, threatened the planter class whose creation he had been.

Those then are the two views of the Republican coup; that it was initiated to overcome the arbitrary use of power by Pedro to thwart long overdue reform, and that it was because the Republican Party, or at least strong elements within it, were less interested in reform than in power ... in the power indeed, to forestall reform.

(4) **Abolition of Slavery**

In the introduction to Hélió Silva's popular history of the Brazilian Republic (9), 9 events are listed in the chronology leading to the overthrow of Dom Pedro II; of these, 5 refer to slavery measures, 2 to clerical matters, and 2 to the history of the Republican Party. Though for many years abolition was cited as the primary explanation for the ending of monarchism in Brazil, and the close coincidence of the Declaration of the Republic and the Golden Law certainly tempted many to that conclusion, now explanations are sought which encompass the two events as symptoms of some more fundamental change rather than merely as cause and effect.

Slavery in Brazil was an unconscionable time a-dying; the process began in 1850, reluctantly, with the ending of the slave trade, and was only completed in 1888. At the earlier date slaves numbered approximately 2.5 million, while at the time of abolition their numbers had fallen to 600,000. In fact, anti-slavery legislation is conspicuous for the very few numbers of slaves it freed, with the single exception of the Golden Law, for between 1850 and 1888 the largest number of slaves only gained their freedom with death, always a rather unsatisfactory method.

The abolitionist case was increasingly argued on the grounds that it was not merely morally indefensible but that it was economically inefficient, since this seemed to be a line of reasoning to which the slave-owners were more willing to listen. However, it also provided those same slave-owners with better grounds for delaying abolition, for they were able to claim that Brazil needed its plantation production, and the plantations needed labour. Neither the abolitionists nor the land-owners seem to have expected freed slaves to seek work. In fact, as Delfim Netto points out,

"after 1886 world markets showed extraordinary growth, specially in the United States. Between 1885 and 1890, consumer income increased rapidly and, therefore, demand. This resulted in increasing prices. And the tendency was reinforced in 1888 with the abolition of slavery." (10)

So while production did indeed fall in the 1887/1888 harvest of coffee, much of the loss was made up by higher prices. Further, the 1888/1889 harvest represented a new record output, with prices continuing to rise. The significance of this is clear; the Republic was declared when plantation income was at an all-time peak, for the generality of coffee producers at least, though abolition was an immediate blow to some planters. Clearly the labour was found somewhere, by most, and while some of the answer is

slavery, many of the freed slaves must have found their way back onto the plantations whether they wished it or not. Also note, that in the period between 1871 and 1888, total numbers of immigrants were 572,000 ... or only marginally below the actual number of slaves freed in 1888.

Further, as Netto indicates, São Paulo planters were less dependent on slave labour than were the Rio de Janeiro coffee growers, but the former were nonetheless able to show sustained increases in their share of coffee production throughout the period. Thus, falls in output in Rio province were as likely to result from frosts and the sort of problems that Stein has identified as from any genuine labour shortage (11). He shows that agricultural techniques consisting predominantly of slash and burn principles, combined with pest infestation, over-harvesting, and inefficient management to produce soil erosion of such devastation that with or without slaves, the fazendas were in all probability doomed to failure. The case for abolition as the sole cause of any fall in coffee output is far from proven.

It is also worth recalling that it was in São Paulo, not Rio de Janeiro that Republicanism was most popular. Taken together with the 18 month time lapse between passing of the Golden Law and the overthrow of Pedro II, the former appears an increasingly unsatisfactory motive for the latter.

Further evidence suggests that labour shortages were more imagined than real; between 1877 and 1887 the price for a slave fell by half, and although it might be argued that this reflected the known approach of emancipation (and the Conde d'Eu had abolished slavery in Paraguay when the war ended there), it should nonetheless not have dissuaded a planter from buying or renting when the

alternative was loss of production and rotting fruit on his trees. In addition the southern states, including Rio de Janeiro, imposed import tariffs against slave exports from the sugar growing regions of the North East, and throughout the country slaves were being given their freedom voluntarily by their owners at a growing pace. Some planters must have been seriously disadvantaged, but not in numbers sufficient to explain the overthrow of the monarchy.

But if abolition of itself fails adequately to explain the overthrow of monarchism, its indirect contribution may have been enormous. I would suggest two such factors, though their relative significance would differ in different parts of Brazil. First is the association of slaves with capital; the most important single element of fazenda wealth was the slave. Russell quotes a newspaper article of 1889 as follows:

"O valor das terras da lavoura fundava-se sobre o valor dos escravos; quando se queria saber quantos contos de réis representava um estabelecimento agrícola, perguntava-se que número de trabalhadores servis tinha ele ..."(12)

Stein provides more specific evidence for this idea in his examination of the Vassouras coffee growing region. He shows that in 1870, the value of slaves there expressed as a percentage of total property values, amounted to 61%; by 1885 this figure had fallen to 31%, still a very high figure. The result, as Stein concludes, was that

"rapid slave depreciation cast a pall over fazendas years before abolition by reducing the security upon which planters depended for loans." (13)

Related to this point is the fact that simultaneously with the erosion in the value of the collateral against which fazendeiros wished to borrow, these same people were faced with an increased need to borrow. Deteriorating productivity of some lands, particularly in Rio province, meant more money was required to

immediately important was the need for cash to pay the alternative to slave labour, wage labour, throughout the country. Ridings notes for example that in Bahia

'... the abolition of slavery in May of 1888 fell like a bombshell; the province's already inadequate cash supply would not be saddled with, or so many felt, a large-scale conversion from slave to paid labour.' (14)

Interest rates were so raised that even some of those who owned no slaves but competed with slave-owners for available finance were moved to support them in their resistance to abolition. Bad as the situation was in Bahia, however, it was still worse in those areas around Rio de Janeiro which had earliest ventured into coffee-growing. As a crop coffee is far more capital hungry than sugar, the traditional Brazilian crop. In consequence, planters had, from an early stage in coffee's development, been forced to turn to non-traditional sources of credit ... to turn from family and/or local resources to institutional and urban capital providers. Coming on top of this change, reluctant as even it was, abolition threw the traditional system of rural credit into still further disarray.

None of this need have mattered quite as much as it did, but for the government's inability to compensate the slave-owners for their loss. Having calculated the likely cost of indemnity to the Brazilian government, a letter from the Bank of London and South America to its head office concludes,

"Isso não pode possivelmente ser enfrentado pelas taxas de importação e não conseguimos encontrar qualquer esquema baseado em indenização que possa ser ajustado ao estado atual das finanças brasileiras!" (15)

Since Nabuco and Rebouças were both advisers to this company, the 'inability' of the government to pay may owe something to their political unwillingness to pay, and Graham contradictorily notes,

"Since the imperial government in late 1888 and again in early 1889, had borrowed huge sums in England to finance

lost the most slaves were to have been given preference,
it would seem wiser for them to have awaited results."
(16)

Since the alternative was a Republic in which Nabuco and Rebouças might have been **expected** to hold dominant positions, then they would indeed have been wiser to await results, if indemnity was the issue. However, if more wide-ranging fiscal reform was desired, then the planters may have felt their interests could be better served under a Republic.

The second indirect consequence of abolition which may have weighed heavily upon slave-owners and others, was the precedent it set in depriving them of property rights. Nor was such concern wholly groundless. Consider the following quotes from Nabuco and Barbosa respectively:

"We intended simply to free the slaves but in doing that we got all this; the formation of a sovereign public opinion, the influence of the press, the autonomy of the provinces, and arbitration. Begun as a work of pity and compassion, abolition became a focal point of a vast ideal of justice." (17)

"The abolitionist movement did not only emancipate our slaves. The long and violent conflict which it opened between the sentiments of the people and the powerful interests of slavery, infused into the nation the consciousness of a will independent of the throne and capable of subjecting it." (18)

Indeed, even these espousals of mild surprise at how much more than abolition had been achieved are somewhat disingenuous, as the following quotation from an abolitionist newspaper in 1887 clearly indicates:

"The battle is far from finished; abolitionism is at once a revolution concerning both labour and land, and it can finish with the democratization of the land and with the definitive constitution of the Brazilian nation ... The year 1887 ought to see the first attempt at the organisation of an abolitionist party, not only for the abolition of slavery, but for the abolition of all its related problems, beginning with territorial monopoly."(19)

Rebouças was calling in 1883 for a

"rational subdivision of the exaggerated expanses of land owned by our coffee and sugar planters." (20)

while Nabuco himself viewed emancipation as the first step in ending the monopoly enjoyed by large slavocrats in land and capital, in addition to labour. In short, the precedent and its associated politicisation of the people, was what the elite feared. Again the question must arise of why then would they plump for a Republic whose expected leaders could appear on occasion so hostile to them? The answer may be provided by one part of Pedro II's speech from the throne at the opening of a new session of Parliament, on May 3rd, 1889; he said that

"not only should the law regarding the private acquisition of public domain be revised, but Parliament should decide regarding 'the advisability of granting the Government the right to expropriate in the public interest lands bordering railroads that are not being used by the owners'." (21)

If the Monarchy, viewed by many planters as their own creation, was prepared to contemplate expropriation of private lands, then an alternative would have to be found which restored power to them, which was in their control once more.

In conclusion it is important to remember that emancipation was only achieved when the slave-owners' Conservative government so decreed. The government only did so when they believed their planter supporters were prepared to accept such a measure. The declaration of the Republic, therefore, seems to have depended on something other than abolition; perhaps, as I have implied, on a desire for financial reform with social stability. Abolition merely illustrated the inability of the monarchical government to provide either.

(5) **The Developing Economy**

Notable by its absence from Hélió Silva's list (22) is any

political change. Yet as was indicated above (p.12), Brazil was experiencing rapid, albeit patchy, economic expansion. Though it may reasonably be argued that it was the patchiness rather than the expansion that was of greater importance, the criticism adds to the significance of economic developments as promoters of social and political pressures rather than detracts.

The problems behind the unstable nature of the economy were various with perhaps the most important being the anachronistic system of land-holding and its consequently inefficient management. The availability of slave labour had helped to disguise the degree of deterioration in certain sections of the agricultural area, but the disguise was steadily removed. The problems were exacerbated for some by the unequal regional development. The North-Eastern sugar areas lost their dominant economic position to the coffee-growing areas to the South; yet even in the South, the older coffee plantations encountered grave difficulties which their near neighbours in São Paulo did not suffer. Though the disparity was based on crop and soil differences respectively, it was often easier to interpret the difficulties in terms of central government partiality. São Paulo complained of being deprived of the fruits of its labour and berated Dom Pedro in particular, and central government in general, for rewarding northern sugar planters for their continuing loyalty with favours paid for out of southern endeavour and prosperity; it also goes without saying that those who lived in the northern provinces, in decline, never felt that any such favours were either adequate or worthy of their loyalty, which they therefore increasingly withheld. The expanding and aspiring coffee planters competed with the declining and disillusioned sugar planters for the right to grasp the reins of political power. Pedro

enmity of the other; by trying to steer a middle course he was left without support from either side.

If, as has been argued, the monarchy was based on the strength of the land-ownerclass, then it seems reasonable to wonder why the empire should cease if the rural oligarchy continued to hold sway, albeit with a shift in terms of crop-dependency and geographical situation. Why, in short, should the throne not equally well be sustained by fazendeiros growing coffee as by fazendeiros growing sugar? The answer lies in the increasing commercialisation of agriculture, together with the shift in emphasis from slave-ownership to land-ownership. With the best coffee coming from the 'terra roxa' areas, and grown by waged labour, land values became significantly more important than control of labour. Further, the cost of establishing a coffee plantation, particularly in view of the time bushes took to reach maturity, was considerably greater than had been the case with sugar. The banking sector took a much larger share in financing the operation, but there planters were faced with competition from the railways and other new communications networks, amongst others, and interest costs were significantly higher. In consequence there was in Merquior's words, 'uma fugaz redistribuição de renda em detrimento dos proprietários de terras'. (23) Though he associates this flight of capital from rural fazendeiros to urban institutions with abolition, there is no doubt that the process had been a steady and a lengthy one.

Industrial expansion, mostly concentrated in the urban centres, was also significant at this time, albeit from a small base, with very little official encouragement, and subject to even more sudden rises and falls than those experienced in the agricultural sector. The astonishing rise then collapse of Mauá was merely the most noted

such examples, and though some, including Paine II, felt that he was a crook, his huge financial support for the Paraguayan War effort was not matched by government support when he required official loans if his companies were to survive.

Despite the dizzying pace and the unpredictable direction of economic development, it is possible to see through it a pattern, of urban expansion (in commercial and mercantile, industrial, and professional areas) and rural transformation. It seems then hardly surprising that the patriarchal social system of the first half of the eighteenth century, which expressed itself politically in monarchical government, should appear anachronistic to the expanding bourgeois population of the cities. For the planters, too, whether in decline relatively in the North-East or burdened in the South by the deadweight of the rest of the country, monarchical government epitomised and perpetuated central interference to the detriment of their own affairs. Thus, for a variety of reasons, the majority of white middle class and aristocratic Brazilians perceived monarchy as inimicable to their interests, and were consequently not disposed to support it in the face of an attack by an army officer supported only by a wing of a battalion.

Sílvio Romero (1851 - 1914) was one of Brazil's leading philosophers over the period covered by this study. The son of a wealthy businessman and a graduate in law, Romero closely resembles other members of the expanding bourgeoisie. Since independent economic development was one of the major concerns of this group it is not surprising to find that Romero examined and promoted the idea of a history of Brazilian culture as a distinct feature rather than merely a distortion of an inappropriate European model. Nor is it to be wondered at that he should identify parallels in Brazil's economic and literary development. In his História da Literatura Brasileira he makes the connection quite specific. Having reduced Brazilian literary history to just four movements (17th century, 18th century, the first half of the 19th century, and the contemporary period... he was writing in the 1880s) he goes on to assert,

"Míope será quem não reconhecer por trás dêstes acontecimentos literários outros tantos momentos econômicos do país". (24)

He describes the then current literary tumult in the following terms:

"o grande abalo nacional, que aí vem marulhoso de todos os cantos, do Para como do Rio Grande do Sul, torrente ainda mal definida, hasteando tôdas as bandeiras, mas tendo um só alvo:- a mutação social". (25)

The tumult he of course associates with the current economic crisis:

"agora que todos êstes produtos (açúcar, ouro, e café) estão desacreditados nos mercados europeus, onde não podem lutar com rivais mais aperfeicoadas, nós, que não temos mais a África e o ventre das pretas para nos socorrerem em nossa miséria, aproximamo-nos da grande crise econômica, que aí vem espumante e fatal!" (26)

In short, the historical process described in the previous chapter that saw some shift between the rural and the urban economy (in the broadest terms) cannot be divorced from contemporary literary

developments. It has been argued from the outset that social relationships, the concern of the novel, are significantly affected by economic life; clearly then, the shift in economic balance from the independent, slave worked sugar fazendas of the North, to Southern coffee plantations reliant upon urban capital, will be reflected in parallel literary developments. As Schwarz comments:

"a gravitação cotidiana das idéias e das perspectivas práticas é a matéria imediata e natural da literatura, desde o momento em que as formas fixas tenham perdido a sua vigência para as artes ... Assim, o que estivemos descrevendo é a feição exata com que a História Mundial na forma estruturada e cifrada de seus resultados locais, sempre respostos, passa para dentro da escrita. ... A matéria do artista mostra assim não ser informe: é historicamente formada, a registra de algum modo o processo social a que deve a sua existência." (27)

There was a further, re-enforcing element to the pressure for literary development, which arose from economic development also; in the first instance, the changing economy changed social relationships, and the novel tended to reflect these. The new relationships in turn required a different ideology to explain and justify them, and ideologies, as argued above, are similarly the area of literary concern. Brazil being a primary producer, heavily reliant on trade with Europe and North America, it is not surprising that there should also be an exchange of intellectual thought, with Brazilians adopting eclectically those ideologies which fitted their circumstances. Cruz Costa is one to recognise the pattern specifically at this time, though of course all Latin America had been greatly influenced by European thought for many years.

"Por volta de 1870 um novo período vai se abrir na história do pensamento brasileiro ... O positivismo, o naturalismo, o evolucionismo, enfim, todas as modalidades do pensamento europeu do século XIX vão se exprimir agora no pensamento nacional e determinar um notável progresso de espírito crítico. Este progresso de crítica, de compreensão, era concomitante - resultado talvez - do notável progresso econômico que se expressa no Brasil a partir de 1860 ..." (28)

others [who together provided what one Brazilian historian described as "o sopro de renovação mental que da velha Europa ventava" (29)] the ideological emphasis shifted. Previously, abstract reasoning had been the principal feature of philosophies in Brazil; now empiricism came to dominate amongst popular ideology, a development which is unsurprising against a background of relative rural decline and urban expansion.

In short, economic developments bore directly upon contemporary Brazilian literature by changing the social relationships on which novels relied for plot development, and indirectly by promoting ideological justifications (for those new social relationships) which novels re-defined in terms of their lived consequences. Despite this widely recognised 'coincidence' of economic and literary agitation, however, Cruz Costa argues that

"as influências filosóficas e literárias aparecidas naquele período não levariam os intelectuais para a idéia republicana." (30)

Nor perhaps should this surprise us, since Brazilian literature was clearly of the literate bourgeoisie, while republicanism was nominally at least of all people, the majority of whom were, in the Brazilian context, illiterate. There could be unanimity of opposition to monarchy without there also being agreement as to the alternative form of government, so that the republicans sought democracy not monarchy, while the bourgeoisie favoured a hierarchy based on natural selection not inheritance. The imported philosophies provided the ideological justification for the latter group's views:

"A noção do aperfeiçoamento indefinido do indivíduo, que a filosofia evolucionista encerra, condizia com os interesses dessa nova classe de bacharéis e doutores ... A elite burguesa brasileira encontraria no evolucionismo uma síntese filosófica que justificava a sua atitude política, social, e até religiosa." (31)

This intellectual justification manifested itself in the literary field in the dislodging of Romanticism from its position of dominance, and the substitution of Naturalism. Returning again to Cruz Costa, he tellingly quotes Höffding, the turn-of-the-century Danish philosopher (himself much influenced by Spencer), as follows:

"O romantismo 'no seu entusiasmo pela unidade do pensamento, negligenciava a diversidade do real, e na sua firme convicção da verdade da ideia, esquecia o rigoroso encadeamento mecanico ao qual tudo o que deve subsistir no modo da realidade deve submeter.' Ao contrário, 'o positivismo tem o seu ponto de partido no que é dado de fato a abre-se às diversidades e às oposições da realidade, e esforça-se por encontrar as leis segundo as quais os fenômenos do mundo real aparecem e se desenvolvem'". (32)

If late nineteenth century Brazilian literature tended then to glorify facts where ideals had once held centre-stage, it is nonetheless important to recall that facts are selected ideologically so that interpretations might be predicted, indeed directed to confirm the ideology. Consider, therefore, who was writing and who reading novels .. briefly! According to Machado Neto (33) available information indicates that over two thirds of authors relied upon journalism as a source of income, a massive 80% held some form of public office, and marginally under half were employed in the field of education. (Clearly, the majority held more than one post!) Almost no authors relied solely upon income generated by their writing to support themselves. The vast majority were university educated, usually in law, and while they might be born almost anywhere in Brazil they typically lived and died in Rio de Janeiro. Of the 60 authors studied the largest group known were the sons of professionals (twenty two) while the sons of the fazenda accounted for just 7. (The occupations of the fathers of 14 of the authors are unknown).

Hallewell (34) provides good statistics on the likely size of

production run and would take perhaps at best 4 years to sell out. On the other hand, novels would often be serialised in newspapers and although not all purchasers would read the serialisations, it is interesting to note that the 'Jornal do Comércio' had a daily print run of 15,000. He also notes that the total number of literate people in Brazil in 1872 was 1.5 m, while by 1890 this figure had risen to 2.1 m. How many of these were Brazilian and how many from immigrant stock it is impossible to tell; either way, Romero notes

"A mais completa indiferença pelo que é produto intelectual brasileiro aqui reina." (35)

And Hallewell reminds us that foreigners practically monopolised the Brazilian book-publishing trade. Though readers undoubtedly outnumbered book sales, availability meant that the readership was disproportionately skewed towards the urban areas, and insofar as literacy was usually a prerequisite of familiarity with the novels, readers tended to be drawn by and large from the same academic background as the authors. It was in the cities too that the most remarkable growth in population was to be found and it was there that the cult of Naturalism first took root.

Returning to Cruz Costa we can now see why. Romanticism had neglected the diversity of the real world, had overlooked the strict connections of the real world, because they enjoyed the fruits of a tradition which exalted their difference and independence from others; by contrast the new urban class, and particularly those whom Cruz Costa describes loosely as 'bachareis e doutores', felt their interests better served by a philosophy that recognised their emergence into positions of authority in the real, interdependent world. Tradition baulked their continued, natural progress. Romero is of the latter group and his criticism of the former is keen:

"a despeito de nossa riqueza aparente, somos uma nação

é viciosa, onde a posse das terras é anacrônica. Aquele anda nas mãos dos negociantes estrangeiros; estas sob o tacaço de alguns senhores feudais." (36)

If after 1870 the expanding urban bourgeoisie was still unable to break forcefully into the political arena, to the extent that its members wished, they were nonetheless creating an intellectual climate which they could expect to secure their eventual ascendancy. The above quote from Romero, however, betrays a weakness, a contradiction even in their republican sentiments to which I have already drawn attention (p. 36). Land-ownership could undoubtedly be reorganised by getting rid of the 'feudal' system of monarchism; however, there was nothing in the evolutionist philosophies which would guarantee a redistribution of wealth away from foreign businessmen ... arguably quite the reverse! Thus a government which continued to discriminate in favour of certain groups, contrary certainly to Positivism (the evolutionist theory which gained most currency in Brazil at this time), would be required to secure the desired transfer. The danger would be that those with greatest experience in the operation of such a system would be likely to make most use of it if it continued in any form!

In a sense, however, it matters less in a study of this kind whether, as Romero argued, literary efforts are directed at securing 'a mutação social' or, as Schwarz insists, it is upon social developments that literary material 'deve a sua existência'. What I am attempting to identify through an examination of contemporary literature is how the perception of social relations changed between 1870 and 1890, and how it was anticipated they would change in the future.

It will, of course, be impossible to examine every novel written or even every novel of a selected group of authors. I have, therefore, decided to consider just six authors, chosen for their

late 1860s and early 1870s, and their experiences derive from an earlier, Romantic period; the other three are selected from amongst the 1880s novelists working in the context of the approaching Republic. In total I will consider here 15 novels directly, though occasional reference to other works by their authors, notably Pompeia and Machado de Assis, are made when it is helpful to expand upon a point or to clarify it.

Before engaging in the examination of their novels, some brief biographical details of the authors, together with an indication of the critical esteem in which they were held, and the titles and date of publication of the selected works, may be of interest. These details are to be found in the Appendix to this thesis.

NOTES

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17. Philip Evanson, op. cit., p. 294.
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Cidades, 1977, p. 24-5.

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33. A.L. Machado Neto, Estrutura Social da Republica das Letras, Editorial Grijalbo, 1973. Esp. Chpt. 5, and p. 238-253.
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José de Alencar

O TRONCO DO IPÉ (1)

The story, set throughout on a fazenda, revolves around the devoted love of a young girl, Alice, for an embittered, dependent youth, Mário. The author is also the narrator, though all his knowledge of events derive from an aged slave, living as a hermit on the deteriorated fazenda 15 years after the events he describes. Alice is the daughter of the Baron on whom Mário and his mother depend, but Mário has reason to believe that the estate is his own and that the present Baron has cheated him of his inheritance. For his part, the Baron shares Alice's affection for Mário, then becomes indebted to him when Mário saves his daughter's life. The Baron adds to his already considerable kindness to Mário by paying for his education in Paris, and while distance lessens Mário's bitterness his return provokes all his earlier resentment. Indeed, the presumption everyone makes that he will now marry Alice only serves to heighten his resentment, for it underlines his 'agregado' status. Despite Alice's distress, Mário determines to leave. The Baron then sees himself as sole obstacle to his daughter's happiness, for as long as he is around Mário feels unable to remain. He therefore attempts suicide. Mário saves him, as he had saved his daughter, and in his continuing remorse the Baron admits that he had cheated Mário of his inheritance. It had always been his intention, however, to return the fazenda to its rightful owner by marrying his daughter to Mário. The Baron's secret is not revealed any further, and Mário gladly marries Alice. The fazenda, however, bears too many sad memories for Mário, and after the marriage all leave to live in town, while the fazenda falls into disrepair.

The novel is divided into four parts, separately entitled Price, Sale, Ownership, and Redemption, this last having a deliberately ambiguous significance. Aurélia is the first character to whom we are introduced; beautiful, and independently minded, she has inherited sufficient wealth to attract many suitors. However, she wishes to 'purchase' Seixas as her husband and his own financial difficulties, allied to his genuine affection for Aurélia, persuade him to accept the baldly monetary arrangement on which the marriage is based, despite his initial misgivings. Since all the arrangements are made through a third party, Seixas is unaware until after the wedding that Aurélia knows of the financial 'package', and his humiliation is described as total when, on their wedding night, she tells him that she has bought and paid for him.

It transpires that she too had been humiliated, by him, when he broke off an earlier engagement in order to marry where a dowry was guaranteed; at that stage she had not, and seemed never likely to come into wealth. Despite their love for each other, therefore, Seixas decided to leave her rather than give up his life of relative ease and luxury for one where he would have to earn a living. Now, ironically, he devotes himself to hard work in an attempt to wipe clean the debt he incurred in marrying Aurélia, and gain his self-respect and freedom. Eventually, and with the help of the success of a slightly nefarious deal struck before he married, Seixas is able to repay Aurélia the sum for which he had been bought. The moment is expected by both to provide the opportunity for their permanent separation, but instead they are reconciled to each other; his regeneration provides both financial and moral redemption.

Like Senhora this novel too has an urban setting, though unlike that novel the setting is of almost no significance. The action is confined to two neighbouring houses in a rich suburb; in one, Amália lives a life of luxury and irresponsibility, while in the other lives the widower Hermano. His hermit-like existence is explained by his grieving devotion for his late wife, Julieta; indeed, his very sanity was at risk until a trip to Europe resulted in a measure of improvement in his spirits, though no lessening of his determinedly isolated existence. The story of Hermano's love for Julieta intrigues Amália, and though at first sceptical, she eventually comes to believe so strongly in Hermano's and Julieta's continuing love for each other that when she suspects him of betraying that love she determines to avenge Julieta. This she proposes to do by attracting Hermano to herself, with a view to spurning him subsequently. However, she falls in love with him, as he too appears to do with her, and they marry.

There is some pretence of happiness, and of the exorcism of memories, but it proves only superficial; then Amália discovers two wax models of Julieta in a room which has always been locked to her, and she realises that Hermano's love for Julieta continues. Curiously though, the models bear only an approximate likeness to Julieta, and Amália realises that Hermano loved an ideal, not a real woman. She resolves to become that ideal. She succeeds to such a degree that Hermano has difficulty in distinguishing between Amália and Julieta, and rather than risk betraying the latter, he decides to commit suicide. Amália arrives in time to save him, and through loving him convinces him of her distinctiveness, and of the possibility of happiness with someone else. The house, however, is razed by fire, and the wax models destroyed.

they now have a daughter, and as they look at the ruins of their house Hermano can no longer understand how he had ever confused Julieta with Amália. Their daughter, however, is the image of Julieta.

At first reading, the only apparent similarity between these three novels lies in their single author; more careful consideration, however, reveals details common to all three; they are set either contemporaneously or in the recent past; the social background is anti-pathetic, whether rural or urban; the major protagonists are white and wealthy (ultimately) while the minor characters fall into broadly two categories ... scheming and ambitious or content and unambitious, both categories being white and financially insecure; slaves are virtually absent; the central plot concerns the love and marriage of couples who seem destined to be kept apart; and the solutions are in each case harmonious. And it is from consideration of these common details that a thematic pattern begins to emerge, a pattern which, if repeated elsewhere, will illustrate the ideology of at least the white, wealthy and powerful sector of Brazilian society.

(i) SOCIETY

The rural society of O Tronco do Ipê is comprised of three groups; the largest in terms of numbers is the slave group, yet it plays no part in plot development even though the narrator is himself an elderly slave. Between the two white groups there is some confusion; the land-owning group, represented by the Barão has come to a position of prominence not through inheritance as might have been expected, but through financial expertise allied (we learn

as a result of his father's profligacy. Their two families apart, however, all other whites fall clearly into the dependent group, which Alencar seems to view with distaste. At best they are good-natured but bumblingly incompetent; thus Domingos Pais:

'é um ente maleável que se presta a todas as feições e toma o aspecto que apraz ao dono da casa; é um apêndice da família da qual ele se incumbe de suprir quaisquer lacunas, e de apregoar as grandezas ... além da família a que se agrega, tem uma família própria, mas ésta só lhe serve para formar os pimpolhos que dão lugar ao compadresco, e para exercitar a paciência indispensável ao bom desempenho de seu emprego. Como chefe da família, sua missão pois não é criar filhos, mas unicamente fabricar afilhados.' (4)

At worst, deceitful, ambitious, and opportunistic; thus the priest, who knows on which side his bread is buttered and eschews the sort of loyalty distinguished by Domingos Pais in favour of greater readiness to seize the main chance:

'começou a ruminar a idéia de bandear-se para a oposição a fim de derrocar a influência do barão.' (5)

Between the two groups there is remarkably little conflict, with the example provided by the priest, above, indicative less of conflict than of light-footed self-interest; the individual's main objective is not to replace the land-owning group, but merely to secure as advantageous and secure a position of dependence as is possible. Mário is, of course, something of an exception, though his hostility toward the baron is entirely personal in that he believes himself to be the rightful owner of the fazenda. For his part, the Barão feels no threat to his position, not even fearing the lesson he has taught will be taken up by some other and return to plague him; on the contrary, his major concern is in ensuring the property reverts to its rightful family! Slaves represent no threat whatsoever to either white group, nor do they even feel themselves disadvantaged,

within the dependent group, as characters jostle for favourable position. The overall picture, then, is of social stasis, not development, with individual movement contained very largely within the group, rather than between groups. Little wonder, therefore, that the 'correct' social order is reinstated by the end, for any other solution would be at odds with the static social picture Alencar has drawn.

The urban setting of Senhora provides a view of a new social grouping; it may be likened to the dependent white group of O Tronco do Ipé insofar as it is neither land-owning nor slave, but its dependence is not apparent and is not included as an influence by Alencar. However, we can see even more clearly in this isolated group the intragroup rivalry as individuals strive to secure their own position or to advance through the group. The social order is determined by money in a manner that was not apparent in the rurally-based novel considered above, and it is quite clear, as Schwarz says, that Alencar here puts the 'coisificação burguesa das relações sociais' at the very heart of his novel (6). The poverty of Aurélia's family causes them to be ostracised, though when she inherits a fortune they rally loyally to her side; she is courted by many young men, almost all of whom balk at marriage without a dowry; Seixas ends his engagement to her when offered 30 contos and Amaral, but agrees once more to marry Aurélia when she comes up with a more financially attractive offer. With individual worth financially determined it is not surprising that great efforts are directed toward creating the appearance of wealth (and therefore of personal worth). Thus Seixas presents a public face which blatantly belies his private circumstances :

anunciavam um trato de sociedade, como só tinham cavalheiros dos mais ricos e francos da Corte.' (7)

The character which best represents Alencar's view of the typical member of this group, however, is not Seixas but Lemos. Personally greedy and self-seeking, his faith in the power of money is boundless; when Seixas first rejects the offer of marriage with a dowry of 100 contos on the grounds that it too obviously smacks of a financial arrangement (a view, incidentally, which he did not seem to hold at the time of his engagement to Amaral), Lemos asks,

'E o que é a vida, no fim de contas, senão uma continua transação do homem com o mundo?' (8)

Familiar as Lemos is with the society in which he lives, his confidence that Seixas will change his mind is not misplaced. Indeed, for Seixas to have persisted in his rejection of Aurélia would have been out of character with his social background, as Seixas later implies;

'a sociedade no seio da qual me eduquei, fez de mim um homem a sua feição.' (9)

And Alencar re-emphasises this point in an appendix, where a fictional contemporary writes :

'Seixas é uma fotografia; eu conheço vinte originais dessa cópia. A sociedade atual gera aos pares desses "homens de cera", elegantes, simpáticos e banais, que se moldam a todas as situações da vida artificial dos salões.' (10)

In this society, then, change is more apparent than real, and social position derives as much from imitation of others as from any more fundamental, economically determined status. Social movement is confined within the only group the novel considers, yet so frantic is the jostling for advantage that the impression is conveyed of a rapidly developing new social structure. It is illusory, as Alencar was surely aware. Even Aurélia, who moves spectacularly upward in

It was her earlier impoverished condition which was false, and the correct order is restored by her fazendeiro grandfather.

In Encarnação, the author presents a character obsessively but vainly attempting to shape his own ideal. Society apparently plays no part in this shaping process, other perhaps than as a model to contrast with the ideal, and in consequence very few of the protagonists are developed within their social context; rather they pursue their lives in isolation, making contributions to the plot as necessary, but otherwise having no relationships of any moment with each other. The complete absence of other groups (i.e. not of the wealthy urban class), allied to this curiously isolated condition of the characters, ensures there is no conflict other than the internalised tension experienced by Hermano.

Consequently, the very few occasions on which Alencar touches upon the particular social context, by their great selectivity, make them assume a significance that they might not otherwise have done. They may correspond to readers' expectations of society, but they almost certainly reflect Alencar's personal view of the particular characteristic of his society to which he is drawing attention. Specifically he seems to point critically to the possession of wealth as a determinant of social position; consider Sr. Veiga's response to the question of Dr. Teixeira's 'suitability' as a husband to Amália Veiga;

'o Sr. Veiga era homem prático e muito conhecedor do seu mundo ... sabia êle que a riqueza supre perfeitamente na sociedade, a virtude, o talento, o saber, e até a afeição. O marido de Amália com duzentos contos de réis de dote, e o dôbro em perspectiva, não precisava de apresentar-se; estava apresentado pela sua fortuna!' (11)

Practical Sr. Veiga may be, but his practicality clearly stems from an accurate, if cynical, appreciation of the society in which he

however, gives added force to the suspicion that Sr. Veiga's practicality owes as much to Alencar's cynicism as to his own, fictional, appreciation of his society.

A further occasion on which the author depicts society as based upon a family structure which is financially rather than emotionally bound together is provided when we are told of the circumstances surrounding Hermano's marriage to Julieta;

'foi geral a admiração quando se soube que D. Julieta, a moça por quem (Hermano) se apaixonara a ponto de sacrificar-lhe a liberdade, não era rica nem bonita. Ninguém esperava que êle, nas condições de pretender as filhas dos primeiros capitalistas, e escolher entre as mais aristocráticas belezas da corte, fizesse um casamento tao desvantajoso.' (12)

Though she was the closest Hermano had found to his ideal (as presumably was he to her's), so much at odds with society's expectations was the marriage that it is little wonder that they should steadily withdraw from that society, so non-socially had they behaved. After Julieta's death Hermano was able to construct a model even closer to his ideal, and at the same time moved further from society to live like a hermit. Only in its slightly ambiguous solution does Alencar give any indication that he recognises such withdrawal as fruitless and potentially self-destructive.

One feature of society which is notable for its absence from any of these novels is the existence of slaves. In Encarnação none appear whatsoever; in Senhora, the novel which one critic has described as a confrontation between noble passion and human vileness (13), the single contemporary issue which attracted most passion precisely because it, slavery, epitomised human vileness, makes only the briefest, incidental appearance. We are told that Seixas had inherited four slaves, which he rents out to supplement

have felt humiliated by his position, the comparison with real slavery does not hold; a more valid comparison may be made with the inferior position of women who were regularly 'bought and sold' into marriage as Alencar presents it, and as Aurélia's mother was quite prepared to do with her. I don't believe that Alencar was trying to criticise slavery so much as passing Romantic criticism upon the unsentimental dowry system of marriage. Only in O Tronco do Ipê do slaves appear in any number and for any extended time, and even here they remain peripheral, a necessary part of the rural setting of the novel. Even Pai Benedito, present throughout, fails to develop as a character in his own right; rather he provides a purely literary function, introducing an element of superstition that allows tension to be developed without stretching credulity and coincidence too far. However, at those points when Alencar describes him the picture that emerges is patriarchal at best and demeaning at worst; loyal and devoted he may be to Mário, but it is the loyalty and devotion not of equals but of an animal trained by its master, as the following examples illustrate.

'Nada mais interessante do que ver o negro atlético dobrar-se ao aceno de um menino, lembrando um desses cães de Terra Nova, que se deixam pacientemente fustigar por uma criança, mas estrangulariam o homem que os irritasse.'
(14)

Once when Mário and Pai Benedito are standing together,

'O menino permaneceu imóvel diante da cruz; e o prêto velho, encostado ao tronco do ipê, cobria-o com um olhar de compassiva ternura, repassada contudo de respeito. Naquele momento dessas duas almas, a viril era a da criança, a infantil era a do velho.'
(15)

And finally, of Benedito, while Mário sleeps after rescuing Alice from drowning, his mother prays for his recovery and

Nor is Benedito exceptional; with the slave group similarly treated; for instance, the author observes that

'o escravo tem o instinto do cão de caça para farejar o segrêdo do senhor e as novidades da família.' (17)

And finally, if ever a group was damned by association it is in the following description of slave reaction to Alice's presence amongst them in the fazenda;

'Os prêtos batiam palmas; o gado mugia; as ovelhas balavam.' (18)

(ii) LOVE / MARRIAGE

In each of these three novels the central plot concerns the mutual love of two individuals. Their love is obstructed, again in each case, by a conflicting sentiment experienced by the man, while the woman straight-forwardly pursues the Romantically logical conclusion. Only the negative sentiment differs between the three novels, being respectively hatred for the prospective father-in-law (Mário), fear of poverty (Seixas), and obsessive attraction for an unrealisable ideal (Hermano). Eventually, with the collapse of the negative emotion, all couples wed and wed happily. Superficially these are relatively uninvolved Romantic plots, though the trials through which the 'hero' is put are not typical in either Encarnação or Senhora. In the former, Hermano must overcome his own psychological barrier, self-imposed, while Seixas in 'Senhora' must undergo a test of both moral and financial rectitude which is set by his female partner. However, if these two are unusual in a Romantic sense, what really sets them apart is the contrast which can be drawn with those marriages made around them, as the following brief sample illustrates :

Mário's parents; troubled by lack of money;

Alice's parents; married through greed and vengeance;

Mário's grandparents; second wife self-interestedly turns the grandfather against his natural son, Mário's father;

Domingo Pais; his own family serves solely as a 'guinea pig';
neighbours seeking arranged marriages for their own benefits;

Pai Benedito and Tia Chica; an almost 'ideal' marriage, though in reality slave marriages were discouraged other than to provide off-spring, yet this couple were childless.

Senhora

Aurélia's parents; marry out of love but are constrained to keep it secret and live in dread of discovery, so socially disadvantageous is their marriage held to be;

Aurélia's grandparents (natural); unmarried, because socially unacceptable;

Torquato and Amaral; eventually happily married, though only coincidentally, after the appropriate financial requirements have been met;

otherwise, marriages agreed on grounds of convenience.

Encarnação

Few examples in this very closed novel, but the general expectation appears to be that marriages are a matter of a dowry and of social advancement.

The dilemma for Alencar appears to be that while he favours Romantic love as the basis for marriage (and, presumably, the loving family as the basis for society) what he sees around him and cannot exclude from his novels for fear of making them unwieldingly complicated and incredible, are marriages of convenience and of financial calculation. This clearly produces a quite different kind of society to that which would emerge from a loving family unit; the

representative. Only in Encarnação, with the abandonment by Hermano of his 'ideal', does anything approaching a 'real' marriage become possible, yet even this Alencar contrives to make atypical and Romantic by making the 'ideal' appear unhealthy and aberrant; real romance triumphs eventually over the mutant version.

The contradiction seen between the three central couples and the social background against which they live only serves to highlight the difficulty faced by an author whose experience has been gained from a culturally Romantic and economically largely non-moneyed society, who now finds that fanciful, contrived, arbitrary, and capricious plots are out of temper with the growing evidence of and desire for comprehensible and predictable order. Whether from an imported fashion for intellectual reasoning, or arising from the growth of urbanisation (and its concomitant, a wish to move away from the rural, land-owning practice of patriarcalism), or both, Romanticism was becoming increasingly unsustainable. Hence the tendency for real backgrounds to operate as crutches for the haphazardly contrived Romantic plots.

(iii) MONEY

Though its influence is most marked in Senhora, and to which I will return for closer consideration later, money also plays a not insignificant part in plot development and solution in the rurally based novel, O Tronco do Ipé. The Romantic conclusion is only made possible after Mário has been freed from (real) financial dependence upon Alice's father, while the basis for the plot is more concerned with financial matters even than it is with Alice's love for Mário. The Baron had come by ownership of the fazenda through a combination of his own business acumen, including fraud, and his friend's (Mário's father's) financial incompetence. As a result,

social order, and embittered. While it is this last which provides the obstacle to his marriage, it is the first which raised the obstacle. Mário's mother too is dependent, but as a matter of life-long necessity she has avoided bitterness, an avoidance which was perhaps made easier by the traditionally dependent role of women in Brazilian society. Nonetheless, Alencar provides a graphic description through her of the humiliation she must feel (a humiliation which neither Mário nor Seixas can tolerate) because of her dependent status :

'O suplício de viver da compaixão alheia, comendo o pão saturado com as lágrimas da humilhação, êsse martírio, padecia-o ela a todas as horas e a todos os instantes. Mas a dor cruciante dêsse crivo d'alma já não lhe deixava sensibilidade para sofrer com o pungir de cada espinho.'

(19)

While the tear-soaked bread may owe more even to hyperbole than to poetic licence, there can be no mistaking where she and other dependents stand in the social order, and her preparedness to accept humiliation without bitterness may be assumed to be more typical than is Mário's rebelliousness. Indeed, only the Baron's guilty conscience combined with his wish to return the fazenda to its rightful owner can explain the fact that Mário's behaviour was tolerated at all. Ordinarily, as his mother fully appreciated, such behaviour could only result in their destitution.

While in 'O Tronco do Ipé' money operated indirectly via landownership to determine the social order, its influence is brought directly to bear in 'Senhora'. Position in, and movement through the social order, together with relationships between individuals within that order are entirely determined by money. Paradoxically, however, this leads to a far more complex society. In the rural sector, the social order was fixed and recognisable;

individuals rise in social standing as wealth increases, so the ostentatious display of wealth brings a presumed status which was impossible to feign in the rural context. There, there was but one land-owner, and others could not pretend to land-ownership in the same way that one could (and Seixas was at pains to) pretend to financial wealth in the city. This makes for an interesting comparison between Mário and Seixas; the former loathes the baron, whereas Seixas aspires to hold the equivalent position in his urban society as the Baron does in his rural one. It might be argued that Mário did indeed seek to become the Baron, but such untypical ambition was intended to restore the correct social order, the Baron having usurped fraudulently Mário's entitlement to the land; by contrast, Seixas is not interested in restoring a theoretical social order, nor, it must be admitted, in toppling the existing one ... rather he was interested in his own advancement through the social order. Money let him do that; short of the Baron's confession, Mário had no recourse to achieving his ambition.

Given that money could assure Seixas' progress through society, it is odd that we are given very little idea of how he, or almost any of the characters, earn a living. Seixas works in some kind of office with an unusually advanced system of flexi-time, and supplements his income through gaming and some rather speculative business deals. Ribeiro is a badly paid doctor; Aurélia's brother was a cashier in a cafe; women pick up some money through sewing; of the other characters nothing is known. Indeed, the only significant input of money to the city dwellers comes by way of an inheritance from a rural landlord, and that is concentrated in a single individual. Yet it is through money that each character's

Consider too Alencar's perception of the result upon social relationships of structuring society on the basis of money; Eduardo Abreu provides an excellent example ... he is introduced to us as being 'rico e nomeado entre os mais distintos da corte' (20). When he falls on hard times 'perdeu a riqueza e com ela os amigos, a consideração, tudo que lhe tornava doce a existência' (21). Since social position changes so rapidly, it is perhaps not surprising that people should pretend to a wealth that they do not have in order to enjoy the benefits of a social position to which their actual wealth would not entitle them. When we first meet Seixas, as noted above, Alencar is careful to contrast his public appearance with his private circumstances. Little wonder then that Aurélia, the major victim of this society, should comment,

'no fim de contas, o que é tudo neste mundo senão uma ilusão, para não dizer uma mentira'. (22)

Most interestingly she here echoes Lemos, a symbol of virtually everything Alencar considers repugnant about urban Brazil. Lemos had earlier commented

'E o que é a vida, no fim de contas, senão uma contínua transação do homem com o mundo?' (23)

Once again Aurélia is being used to mimic Brazilian society, and such cynical sentiments coming from this epitome of total purity, as one critic has described her (24) serve only to emphasise the author's distaste for the ideas. The question then arises of whether this is an accurate representation of contemporary Brazil? For despite the concern about money expressed in the novels, Brazil was not a noticeably moneyed society; Balzac's Europe was, however, and his influence, along with that of other European Realist writers, was by now beginning to be felt in Brazil.

One further point is worth making here; Alencar has

critical stance. The difference between marriage arranged by the prospective bride's father, and accompanied by a dowry, and a marriage arranged by the bride herself, still accompanied by a dowry, is rather slight. Had Aurélia not been an orphan, then something very like her marriage would have occurred anyway ... as indeed she ensured happened with Amaral and Dr Torquato! Taking the most general usage of dowry as 'the money or property the wife brings her husband' (O.E.D.), then Seixas differs in a matter of only small degree from Mário (in O Tronco do Ipé) to whom the Baron intends to return rightful ownership of the fazenda via the dowry. Similarly Seixas felt no sense of humiliation when agreeing a dowry with Amaral's father prior to his earlier engagement. Alencar certainly sees a difference, but it is surely one of degree rather than principle, and the radically different way in which the author deals with them and interprets them, denies his criticism the consistency which it requires. How can financially arranged relationships be acceptable when one partner is ignorant of the contract, and unacceptable when she is its initiator and moving spirit? The inconsistency, however, may well indicate Alencar's perception of a changing social climate in the way that property control was transferred. Another possibility is that Alencar identified a wish for social position to be earned rather than merely inherited or married; certainly, what distinguishes Seixas from such as Mário, Torquato, and Teixeira, is that he does not deserve the wealth that comes his way when first he marries Aurélia. It is only when he redeems the debt and in the process acquires moral redemption (a curiously Protestant ethic!) that he earns his position. Nevertheless, the entire plot is based on a premise which

insofar as it was unusual, the explanation is to be found in Aurélia herself, not Seixas, as a postscript to the novel clearly demonstrates; Seixas

'não é um homem vil. Tem a honestidade vulgar, com que a sociedade acomoda-se. O fato por êle praticado, no fundo não passã de um casamento de conveniência, cousa aceita e respeitada pelo mundo.' (25)

Alencar may claim to be out of sympathy with the rest of the community on this matter, but he appears quite willing to use such marriages uncritically elsewhere.

Aurélia clearly despises 'a coisificação' of social relations and Alencar sympathises with her as the reader is intended to do also. But it is Aurélia's independent nature which is at odds with society, and paradoxically in a way which Alencar may not have intended. While he criticises bourgeois materialism through Aurélia, she simultaneously epitomises it, for her financial independence (critical to the plot) contrasts with the clientage and patriarchalism all around. Her position changes from marketable commodity to commodity dealer, but until the very end she reinforces the very system she professes to despise. In this she is assisted by Seixas, who explains his preparedness to persist in marriage after his 'humiliation' in terms of obligations imposed by 'a honorabilidade comercial' and 'a fé do contrato' (26), at once a Romantic and a bourgeois concept. Through both characters Alencar appears to have given mistaken value to the very thing the plot is intended to criticise.

By way of contrast, consider briefly the confusion surrounding inheritance, the traditional method of securing the social order. Mário's title to the fazenda is obscure to say the least; his grandmother had died and his grandfather remarried. His second wife turns the grandfather against his own son, Mário's father, who had

Mário's father and grandfather are secretly reconciled, they both die within days of each other. Before Mário's mother and stepgrandmother can dispute the title to the estate, the future Baron emerges to claim it all in settlement of outstanding debts. Mário eventually marries the Baron's daughter, and the legitimate title passes to Mário in a thoroughly arbitrary fashion.

Incredibly, the title which Aurélia has to her inheritance is even more contorted and fanciful, so the immediately preceding example will suffice to make the point. At one level, of course, such confusion may simply be taken as literary naivete, wherein wealth assumes no more significance than as a 'deus ex machina' plot device, rather like a fork of lightning carrying off a villain (even though wealth appears able to strike several times in the same place!) At another level, however, it is difficult to avoid the question of why such a convoluted, indeed contrivedly confused picture of inheritance should have been displayed at the heart of these two novels. Intended or not, the level of arbitrariness exhibited undermines the traditional basis for determining the social order, so that just as Alencar inadvertently gave value to bourgeois order, he here reduces the 'system' of patriarcalism to one of disorder and unpredictability. In so doing he represents a criticism of the traditional order that was voiced by the growing contemporary urban society. He represents it, but he does not whole-heartedly share it. Despite the confusion and contradictoriness of his plots and his apparent intentions, he ultimately is revealed through his solutions to favour the traditional arbitrariness over bourgeois order.

Alencar's most biting social criticism is contained in 'Senhora', so it is significant, and appears to confirm the point made immediately above that in its plot solution the 'independent' Aurélia plumps for traditional female dependence, the social order and the personal role which she prefers. Indeed, all three novels end with harmonious order restored, the deserving rewarded, and social movement at an end. From this we should be able to deduce Alencar's preferred social order, as compared with the kind of society in which he believed himself living, as revealed by the previous themes.

Specifically, the values he admires and those he dislikes can be classified as spiritual and material respectively. Romantic love, honour, generosity of spirit, all are regarded favourably; ambition, striving to accumulate wealth, and the social mobility that entails are all looked upon disparagingly. However, these are characteristics which most people would profess to see similarly; what makes Alencar's view of particular interest is the way in which the desirable attributes are to be found associated with those people who either are already in possession of wealth or have no interest in acquiring any. Conversely, those eager to amass money, and, therefore, implicitly anxious to alter the existing social order, typically manifest the undesirable traits. This tendency is confirmed in that once wealth is acquired, all the desirable attributes are simultaneously assumed, and the undesirable ones sloughed off. In the happy ending to O Tronco do Ipé, Mário gains possession of the fazenda, ceases despising the Baron, sheds bitterness, and becomes magnanimous to the point of self-denigration. Likewise, when Seixas seeks money to gain social position he is selfish, vain, immature and thoughtless; when he

desperately unhappy and loses all self-respect. When he eventually 'merits' money he is redeemed, thereby at once earning Aurélia's fortune and her love (with which she willingly rewards him, and surrenders her independence) and forgiving all the humiliations he had suffered at her hands; not an outcome which one would have forecast given what we knew of Seixas beforehand. Though Encarnação differs somewhat from the other two novels in that we never truly see a cross-section of society, it is noticed that amongst this favoured, financially-secure elite there is no conflict ... perhaps not too surprising given the absence of ambitious other groups. Thus the happiness and harmony at the end of these novels stems from the major protagonists achieving their goals, spiritual or material, and in the latter case incidentally securing spiritual contentment. It is as though wealth had peculiarly regenerative qualities, though I doubt if that is what Alencar had intended.

However, there is no indication that Mário and Seixas are representative of a general upward movement of individuals through society, far less that it is a movement, limited as it is, of which Alencar approves. Consider briefly the minor characters; they fall into two categories ... they are either pushy and unsympathetic, or content and likeable; those who want money, or are dependent upon others with money, are almost without exception scheming, cynical, and selfish. Those who show no financial ambition, and who are largely independent, display positive qualities of loyalty and non-calculative behaviour, together with a sense of honour which overrides all their decisions. In the end one does not feel that the former group will achieve their goals, nor that the second will be rewarded for its loyalty; less stability than rigidity.

which had been threatened by bitterness (Mário) and greed (Seixas); for the order to be restored these threats had to be removed, so bitterness is dissolved by restoration of property rights, and greed by a new-found sense of honourable behaviour achieved only through a punitive period of humiliation.

NOTES

1. 'O Tronco do Ipê'. Edições Melhoramentos, 6th Edition, São Paulo.
2. 'Senhora'; Biblioteca Manancial, 1975, Rio de Janeiro.
3. 'Encarnação', in 'José de Alencar; Obra Completa', Editora José Aquilar, 1959, Rio de Janeiro; Vol. I.
4. 'O Tronco do Ipê', op. cit., p. 161-2.
5. Ibid., p. 248.
6. Schwarz, op. cit., p. 54.
7. 'Senhora', op. cit., p. 35.
8. Ibid., p. 46.
9. Ibid., p. 192.
10. Ibid., p. 196.
11. 'Encarnação', op. cit., p. 1252.
12. Ibid., p. 1228.
13. Merquior, op. cit., p. 85.
14. 'O Tronco do Ipê', op. cit., p. 42.
15. Ibid., p. 73.
16. Ibid., p. 141.
17. Ibid., p. 312.
18. Ibid., p. 190.
19. Ibid., p. 104.
20. 'Senhora', op. cit., p. 84.
21. Ibid., p. 158.

23. Ibid., p. 46.
24. Schwartz, op. cit., p. 34.
25. Senhora, op. cit., p. 195.
26. Ibid., p. 190.

The plot concerns the love of Lúcia, daughter of a materialistic fazendeiro Major, for Elias, a youth from a rural background but impoverished. In the face of the Major's opposition to their marriage, Elias leaves to make his fortune in the diamond mining areas.

Meantime, Lúcia is courted by a succession of men, all better financial prospects than Elias. The major is himself now badly in debt having abandoned farming and followed Elias into prospecting in the hope of easy pickings. He, therefore, has even more need for a wealthy son-in-law, and eventually he brow-beats Lucia into agreeing to marry Leonel.

His fortune apparently made Elias now returns to claim his bride, and is dismayed to find her engaged to Leonel, his erstwhile partner. Worse, his fortune evaporates when his money, got from Leonel, proves to be counterfeit. Recognised, Leonel determines that discretion is the better part of lust, and promptly abandons Lúcia.

Elias is disappointed by Lúcia's apparent reluctance to wait for him and is riding disconsolately out of town when struck down by fever and forced to lay up in a shack at the edge of the town. Shortly he learns that the Major and his family, even more impoverished now than himself, are living in destitution in a nearby shack. He resolves to marry Lúcia and raise her once more to her accustomed level, but unable to find the necessary diamonds, he reluctantly decides to step aside and leave Lúcia free to marry the latest wealthy suitor.

Riding out of town again, he meets Simão, his slave, who had persisted in the search for diamonds on behalf of his master. The

to be found. Elias goes straight to the Major and asks for his daughter's hand. In the face of such unquenchable love and so many diamonds, the Major proudly agrees.

O ÍNDIO AFONSO (2)

Introduced as a mixture of fact and fiction, the presence of three major characters who are confessedly of the author's creation, puts the emphasis distinctly on the latter ingredient. Afonso, in revenge for the supposed rape and murder of his sister, Caluta, bloodily maims Toruna, the perpetrator of the crime, who soon dies from his wounds. In fact, Caluta had not died but been swept away into safety by the river, later to be rescued. As a result of his crime, however, Afonso and his family are pursued by the police; at one with the countryside, Afonso almost always escapes their clutches. In time so successful at this is he, that the superstitious dwellers of the out-back take him for a wizard, the child of a water spirit.

This rather slight tale manages to sustain tension only through the brutality of certain passages, and the presumption of widespread superstition. These two elements are combined in the maiming of Toruna when Afonso gives him his own version of the stigmata of Christ. The town only imposes its presence upon the country in the bumbling efforts of the police to catch Afonso and to submit his act of honourable revenge to the criticism of their social justice.

A ESCRAVA ISAURA (3)

Widely hailed as Brazil's first anti-slavery novel, this was published just 13 years before abolition.

Isaura is the white daughter of the Portuguese foreman of a

technically a slave, she is not one in appearance and since she is brought up by the fazendeiro's wife in place of the daughter she had never had, she is not even a slave by custom. Unfortunately, Isaura's mistress dies without formally granting her freedom, and the son of the fazenda declines to look upon Isaura as his sister.

Leóncio, the son, is however in considerable financial difficulty and is obliged to marry Malvina in order to secure a dowry. Malvina initially offers Isaura some protection against Leóncio, but eventually deserts her husband when he persistently refuses to be rid of Isaura. Isaura now flees the plantation, aided by her father, and heads North to Recife, where she falls in love with, and is loved in turn, by Álvaro, owner of another, more prosperous fazenda, and a staunch advocate of abolitionism to boot. Even her denouncement as a runaway slave and her subsequent recapture by Leóncio do not shake Álvaro's determination to marry her.

Leóncio, Isaura, and her father return to the Paraíba plantation, and there she is forced to agree to marry Leóncio's gardener, a measure intended to assuage Malvina's concerns and simultaneously to ensure that Isaura is close to hand for Leóncio. Just as the marriage is about to take place Álvaro arrives to announce that he now owns the fazenda and all its property, having bought out all of Leóncio's creditors. Isaura too belongs to him. Foiled, Leóncio decides to shoot himself.

Two sections of society, even two quite distinct societies, are to be found in O Garimpeiro; we are introduced first to the rural sector, in the fazenda, where a strict, traditional order is maintained but where there is growing evidence of the detrimental impact on this order of encroaching external influences, associated with the second, urban section. Specifically Guimarães comments,

'Nas povoações do sertão de Minas, antes que a malfadada política de aldeia tivesse penetrado por elas, degenerando ou estragando a singeleza dos costumes primitivos, as famílias, pelo cordial intimidade que entre elas reinava, eram como grupos diversos de uma só família.'(4)

The threat to the order is described by Guimarães in two ways; firstly, in terms of the force of modern ideas upon the traditional, not to say unsophisticated understanding of rural inhabitants as represented by the fazendeiro Major. Consider, for example, the loaded way in which the author describes the Major:

'homem de espírito acanhado, frio e positivista, mas boa alma, o melhor dote que julgava poder dar às suas filhas era dinheiro e só dinheiro.' (5)

And later, as

'Homem de alma fria, pôsto que boa, julgava que as paixões sinceras e profundas não existem senao nas novelas.'(6)

Clearly a good man gone wrong; Positivism and anti-sentimentalism were characteristics of rising philosophical and literary trends originating in the urban areas, and the terms in which Guimarães describes the Major clearly demonstrate the author's dislike for such developments. The Major's subsequent financial ruin shows how much more sensible he would have been to reject these values and to concentrate his resources in the traditional, unchanging rural setting.

The second threat, more practical than theoretical, is illustrated by Azevedo's pursuit of Lúcia; a merchant with a city

Major appears a willing though misguided collaborator. He rejects Elias despite the latter's rural origins, and displays in his encouragement of more appropriate suitors where his ambitions for his daughter lie. There are many suitors but just three emerge as serious obstacles to Elias: Azevedo, 'um negociante fluminense'; Leonel, a confidence trickster who passes himself off as a diamond-trading businessman; and a third, un-named suitor described only as a 'negociante bem principiado'. The Major's ready acceptance of these men affirms Guimarães' view that traditional values are imperilled in part by the ambitions of urban financiers but in part too by the abandonment of those values by the traditional elite. When he loses his fortune in the mines the risk has been realised and an inn-keeper is left to pass judgement on men like the Major;

'Os fazendeiros pensaram que garimpar é o mesmo que plantar milho, quiseram colher o que não tinham plantado, e quase todos vão dando com suas fortunas em vaza-barris.'

(7)

In short they have been seduced by the desire, prompted by urban influences, for money, and have mistakenly abandoned their rural resources, or jeopardised them in an area where they have neither experience nor knowledgeable appreciation of the risks involved.

The other sector of society, painted in much less sympathetic terms, is one which may be described loosely as non-traditional; it is made up of the representatives of the urban business community, and the town dwellers from the mining area. Whether accurately or not, this society is shown as much more independent and individualistic than the fazenda dwellers, who, with the sole exception of the Major, had been enslaved, subject to strict paternal discipline (Lúcia), or dependent (Eliás). In the mining area there is a very considerable levelling, and even Simão, Elias's

and after discussing potential courses of action eventually disagrees with Elias and stays on at the mines when his master goes to try his luck elsewhere. What kind of society is this? Well, it is, perhaps predictably, the very antithesis of the traditional, Romantically-sentimental one of Guimarães's imaginings. Specifically it is brutal, hard, and uncaring;

'o público é implacável para com o negociante ou especulador infeliz.' (8)

'só rendem culto ao ouro e ao diamante.' (9)

'piores que os lobos, são capazes de devorarem-se uns aos outros por um punhado de ouro.' (10)

'êste mundo é o inferno dos bons e o paraíso dos malvados.' (11)

Elias moves rather ambiguously between these two societies; as a suitor for Lucia's hand he is a rival to Azevedo, Leonel, and the other representatives of the non-traditional sector. But impoverished he is required to join it in order to make himself acceptable to the Major. Eventually the process threatens to carry him along in its own seductive logic, until a bout of fever forces him to rest and compose himself.

'Pois bem! bradava êle, já que o céu me não favorece, já não recompensa o trabalho honesto, condena a virtude às torturas da miséria, e só enriquece os ladrões, tomarei duas pistolas, irei me postar ai em qualquer ponto da estrada, e tomarei à força aos ladrões o que o céu despiedado nega a um anjo. Que importa! ... estou certo que em cada negociante que matar, mandarei para o inferno a alma de um ladrão, e é lá o seu lugar. É um crime!? não ... pelo menos a consciência não me remorde ... Não serei mas do que o agente da justiça do céu sobre a terra, já que nela não ha nem sombra de justiça.' (12)

Thereafter, Fate lends a decisive hand, securing the hero for the side of traditionalism. It was, however, a distinctly close shave!

If Guimarães shows in O Garimpeiro a society in which traditional values are at risk, and where a declining rural sector

aspect of the traditional which has been lost, regrettably in the author's view, forever. We may reasonably deduce that Guimarães believes the traditions of honour and justice have indeed been lost to his contemporary society because he felt obliged to go outwith his society and to construct a tale around a marginalised Indian community, where, as he indicates at the beginning and confirms at the end of the novel, social control is not available and the individual is forced to rely upon his own resources of self-sufficiency to defend himself and to exact retribution for injustices; he talks of 'uma súa de caboclos, quase selvagens, sem a menor tintura de civilização' (13) and goes on,

'Afonso pertence a esta raça de índios mestiços que vivem vida nômade e semibárbara pelas margens dos grandes rios do sertão, subsistindo quase exclusivamente de caça e pesca.' (14)

Then he concludes,

'Naqueles desertos, no fundo daquelas imensas florestas, onde a ação da justiça social é quase nula, o homem, por mais inofensiva que seja a sua índole, vê-se muitas vezes forçado a defender-se contra seus semelhantes, como quem se defende das oncas e das serpentes.' (15)

Yet one is left with the unmistakable impression that, just as it is Guimarães' contention that worthwhile traditional values have been lost, so is it only in his imagination that these values are still to be found embodied in the Indians. Certainly one learns more about Guimarães than about Afonso; ostensibly a true story, related to Guimarães by Afonso himself, the author uses this as his excuse for subjecting his readers to gory and sadistic passages, as for example when Toruna attempts to rape Caluta, and when Afonso exacts his revenge upon Toruna (16). Halfway through the latter incident the author specifically asserts the 'truth' of the tale as justification for imposing the details upon his readers'

'Confesso que não sei que expressões hei de empregar para contar aos leitores, e especialmente às delicadas e sensíveis leitoras, estas cenas de canibalismo e de horror, e vejo-me em tais embaraços, que já me arrependo de ter encetado a história de tão sinistro e revoltante drama.' (17)

However, in the preface to the novel Guimarães admits that,

'Caluta, Batista e Toruna são porém meras criações de minha imaginação, assim como o são quase todos os feitos e proezas que faço o meu herói praticar.' (18)

Thus, the brutal assault on Caluta and Afonso's even more savage revenge upon Toruna, illustrate not a reserve of traditional family honour system amongst the Indians but the literary tastes of the author and his readers in the cities. He is perhaps transferring tendencies which would be unacceptable if associated with whites, but which nonetheless reflected the brutality latent in Brazilian society by pandering to what Freyre described as a 'tendencia geral para o sadismo' current in Brazil.

Whether Afonso and the Indians do still observe traditional values or not, Guimarães clearly believes that social justice, negatively described as 'fria e impassível' (19) has been won in the cities and amongst white society at the expense of family honour, modern society at the expense of traditional values, an exchange over which the author clearly feels ambivalent. Yet he does recognise that there can be no turning back from the path his society has chosen to follow; Afonso is marginalised, living in constant potential conflict with his fellows (e.g. Toruna) and with the police (drawn as bumblingly ineffective representatives of modern social justice), and although he is apparently in harmony with his environment, life in the outback is precarious and dangerous. On balance, and not without some regrets, Guimarães here plumps for modernity.

Escrava Isaura to a more clear-cut, not to say polemical attack on a specific aspect of 19th Century Brazilian society ... slavery. Paradoxically, while Guimarães demands a reorienting of social relationships through the abolition of slavery, the methods apparently recommended seem destined to prevent social mobility while securing the appearance of freedom.

We are presented with a two class system, almost entirely, of slave and fazendeiro, and conflicts are between and within these two. The existence of any other group is barely recognised and while slaves had been invisible in other novels, here it is the dependent white group which disappears. At one point, Álvaro explains the way Isaura and her father have withdrawn from society (before he realises that she is an escaped slave) as follows :

'Eles têm poucos meios, e por isso evitam a sociedade, que realmente impõe duros sacrifícios às pessoas desfavorecidas da fortuna ...' (20)

Under these circumstances, 'society' will indeed effectively exclude other groups; however, the acquisition of wealth will not necessarily secure a position in society as it would in Alencar's view. Martinho illustrates this when he betrays Isaura to the authorities in order to get a reward; in fact, his status is further threatened by his behaviour, his friends commenting,

'tão vil criatura é um desdouro para a classe a que pertencemos; devemos todos conspirar para expeli-lo da Academia.' (21)

Otherwise there are only two classes with Álvaro and Isaura representing fazendeiros and slaves respectively; yet they do not conform with the behaviour of their own groups, and it is in this contradiction that Guimarães reveals his anti-slave as well as anti-slavery attitudes. Isaura, who will be considered more carefully below, is clearly unique amongst slaves and Álvaro, as an

abolitionist, is at least in the economic van amongst fazendeiros.

He is described as 'um desses entes privilegiados' and is

'dotado de entendimento lúcido e robusto próprio a elevar-se à esfera das mais transcendentales concepções.' (22)

Despite being 'privilegiado', however,

'tinha ódio a todos os privilégios e distinções sociais, e é escusado dizer que era liberal, republicano e quase socialista.' (23)

All comments designed to set him apart from his peer group, and his friend and colleague Dr Geraldo, more typical of their class, underlines the point when he asks,

'a tal ponto chegará a tua excentricidade?' (24)

In fact, Álvaro's 'excentricidade' provides for a couple of telling contrasts. Firstly with Dr Geraldo; both are modern men, yet do not share a common ideology. Indeed, they argue bitterly over the purpose of laws and on one occasion Álvaro asserts,

'Miserável a estúpida papelada que são essas vossas leis. Para ilaquear a boa-fé, proteger a fraude, iludir a ignorância, defraudar o pobre e favorecer a usura e a rapacidade dos ricos, são elas fecundas em recursos e estratagemas de toda a espécie. Mas quando se tem em vista um fim humanitário, quando se trata de proteger a inocência desvalida contra a prepotência, de amparar o infortúnio contra uma injusta perseguição, então ou são mudas ou são cruéis.' (25)

Social justice, then, is 'fria e impassível' in O Índio Afonso and 'miserável e estúpida' here. Dr Geraldo defends the law very much on the basis of the former, arguing that its very coldness and impassivity are its greatest strengths, for they guarantee impartiality. However, the author, who accepted that line of reasoning in O Índio Afonso, albeit with some regrets, here ensures that Dr Geraldo loses the argument; indeed the lawyer later warns Álvaro, and thereby highlights the partiality of its practice in Brazil, not to rely upon the law, saying

'a justiça é uma deusa muito volúvel e fértil em patranhas. Hoje desmanchará o que fez ontem ...' (26)

Thus, even the merit which Dr Geraldo attaches to social justice is undermined by his recognition of its inconsistencies. All the author's sympathies rest with Álvaro, and he tellingly has him comment,

'para o homem de brio a honra é superior às leis.' (27)

This may be preferable to Álvaro, to Guimarães, and to the readers but it is not a system which has afforded much protection to the slave Isaura, subject to the 'capricho tirânico' of a slavocrat possessed of neither 'brio' nor 'honra'. Perhaps she should show equal disdain for the laws of the land? Guimarães thinks not;

'bem via, que aos olhos do mundo tirar uma escrava da casa de seus senhores, e proteger-lhe a fuga, além de ser um crime, era um ato desairoso e indigno de um homem de bem.'
(28)

The slave for whom Guimarães wrote the novel appears to lose both ways under the author's system; in this instance, he opts for observance of statutory rather than moral laws, but either way the victim remains the same. Indeed, adding further to the confusion about where exactly the author stands in relation to social justice, Álvaro eventually resorts to the law in order to purchase the chattel-slave Isaura, along with all the rest of Leóncio's property.

The second contrast which Álvaro provides is with Leóncio, and is apparent at a more practical level. Both are land-owners, yet one prefers slave labour while the other is an ardent abolitionist. The former appears indifferent to the management of his estates and ignorant of its financial plight. He and his father have consistently taken the product of the land to finance their excesses in town. Álvaro clearly is of a different stamp; first, he is rich which may be taken as indicating his mastery of the financial need of land-ownership. In addition, and clearly not coincidentally, he doesn't use slaves to work his land. By implication, estate management is more efficient and productive if non-slave labour is

used. The traditional methods of farm production, therefore, are revealed as inefficient as well as being inhuman. This fact is underlined by the rather dubious advantage bestowed upon Leóncio by his inheritance, composed significantly of debt; such money as is to be made from the fazendas in the future cannot be based upon the bankrupt legacies of previous practices in land-management.

Slaves

Slavery as a theme appears in just two of these novels, 'O Garimpeiro' and 'A Escrava Isaura', though something of the prevailing perception of non-whites by whites is also apparent in 'Índio Afonso'. In the first of these novels slaves are not developed as individual characters, but appear either as a literary device allowing the author to pass information to the reader and to progress the plot, or as a detail in the background of the picture Guimarães paints of Elias's and Lucia's love story. The author uses Lúcia's slave Joana as a means of informing the reader of Lúcia's innermost thoughts, while Simão, Elias's slave, provides the diamonds on cue in the final chapter. Even from this restricted viewpoint it is possible to deduce a particular perception of the slave as seen through 1870's eyes; clearly, as well as being 'boa e fiel' (29) Joana is completely trustworthy, and may even be expected to advise her mistress in the absence of her mother. This trust is not misplaced, for when freed (a manoeuvre intended only to prevent Joana falling into the hands of the Major's creditors), Joana declares,

'quero ser livre para poder ser escrava de minha sinhazinha.' (30)

Simão is described in similar terms, as 'fiel e infeliz' (31) though his unhappiness stems not from his state of slavery but from his separation from his master ... a thoroughly dog-like reaction.

Indeed, Joana and Simão show remarkably similar character traits in their relationships with their young masters to Pai Benedito and Tia Chica in Alencar's O Tronco do Ípe .

No other slaves take a specific part in the novel though they are present; when they appear briefly in the background it is not as individuals but as a group, bearing group rather than individual characteristics. These are not flattering;

'as quatro ou cinco raparigas que ali se achavam também ocupadas na lavagem da roupa, acudiram a um tempo, a garrular como uma chusma de periquitos.' (32)

And again,

'Lúcia via-se zonza no meio daquela algazarra de pedidos importunos que choviam sobre ela a um tempo a atordoar-lhe os ouvidos, como um bando de maritacas.' (33)

Again the similarity with the generality of slaves in 'O Tronco do Ípe' is striking. Nor is it to be wondered at that this rather undistinguished group is not freed but used to help pay off the Major's debts.

Turning to A Escrava Isaura one may be surprised to find that in a purportedly abolitionist novel (a) there should be so few slaves, and (b) they should be so ill-represented. Indeed, Isaura herself, though technically a slave is unique amongst them, as the author frequently reminds us. He constantly differentiates between Isaura and the other 'genuine' slaves, and thereby weakens his case by implicitly accepting differential treatment of them. Isaura is young, gifted, and white; she outshines even the elite group representatives in her beauty and intelligence and her freedom is argued on these grounds rather than on the injustice of slavery. It is as though Guimarães is objecting to the indiscriminating nature of the institution, not to its principle. This is not to suggest that Guimarães was not genuine in his support of the abolitionist cause, but rather to hint at the race perception of the Brazilian

whites; the implication is that while for most slavery is no injustice, the indiscriminating nature of the institution means that some individuals are unjustly treated. For these few, the institution must be destroyed.

Isaura herself seems hardly opposed to slavery; indeed, she goes so far as to comment,

'eu não penso em amôres e muito menos em liberdade.' (34)

And later, when challenged by Rosa about where she would rather be, here amongst the slaves or up at the fazenda, she insists

'creio que hei de ficar mais satisfeita e sossegada aqui.'
(35)

Eventually she does flee, but her flight is from Leóncio, not from slavery to which she was entirely resigned. Even her flight follows the vain attempts of her father to purchase her, and the novel's solution still sees her change hands for money.

Turning to the more general slave group, for whom we might expect in an anti-slavery novel some sympathy to be shown, we find instead only anti-slave prejudice, usually in the frequent comparisons with Isaura. For instance, when Isaura is sent to work in the weaving shed, Guimarães comments

'ninguém diria que era uma escrava que trabalhava entre as companheiras, e a tomaria antes por uma senhora moça, que por desenfado, fiava entre as escravas. Parecia a garça real, alcando o colo garboso e altaneiro, entre uma chusma de pássaros vulgares.' (36)

But examples are legion; Isaura even wishes she had been born 'bruta e disforme, como a mais vil das negras' (37) then later fears Álvaro will treat her like 'uma escrava abjeta e vil' (38). The page Andre, confessing his love for Isaura, tells her

'dói-me deveras dentro do coração ver aqui misturada com esta corja de negras beiçudas e catingentas uma rapariga como tu ...' (39)

This constant separation of the enslaved Isaura from slaves seems to argue her case for freedom, but at the expense of the abolitionist cause. Since this cannot have been Guimarães' intention one can but conclude that his prejudice is obscuring his humanitarian purpose.

Supporting her case further is the fact that Isaura has no living Negro relatives; only her white father is present and he thereby reinforces her claim to be treated as a free person. Since she also has all the attributes usually associated with the daughter of a fazenda (i.e. not of the senzala), this deserving element is further enhanced. A further significant instance of Isaura's unlikeness to slaves is provided by Rosa; if the author draws comparisons between Isaura and the generality of slaves, to the former's benefit, he repeats and reinforces the process at the individual level. Rosa is described as 'invejosa e malévola' (40) and 'maligna e vingativa' (41), though more significantly she is described at length in the following, loaded terms :

'Quase branca ... uma rapariguinha a mais faceira e gentil que se pode imaginar nêsse género (i.e. mulata). Esbelta e flexível de corpo, tinha o rosto mimoso, lábios um tanto grossos, mas bem modelados, voluptuosos, úmidos e vermelhos como boninas, que acabam de desabrochar em manhã de Abril. Os olhos negros não eram muito grandes, mas tinham uma viveza e travessura encantadoras. Os cabelos negros e anelados podiam estar na cabeça da mais branca fidalga de além-mar. Ela porém os trazia curtos e mui bem frizados à maneira dos homens. Isto longe de tirar-lhe a graça, dava à sua fisionómia zombeteira e espevitada um chiste original e encantador. Se não fossem os brinquinhos de ouro, que lhe tremiam nas pequenas e bem molduradas orelhas, e os túrgidos e ofegantes seios que como dois tréfechos carbritinhos lhe pulavam por baixo da transparente camisa, tomá-la-íeis por um rapazote maroto e petulante.' (42)

Isaura had a complexion 'como o marfim do teclado' (43) whereas Rosa is 'quase branca'. Isaura is beautiful in an objective and thoroughly chaste way, while Rosa's description is distinctly,

sensual. Isaura is thoughtful, even slightly melancholic, while Rosa has 'viveza e travessura encantadoras'. We later learn that while Isaura has resisted Leóncio's advances, Rosa has been his willing mistress and hopes to be so again. As deserving an individual as Isaura is, Rosa is not. Peculiar circumstances have of course shaped Isaura, and it is those circumstances that make unjust her continued enslavement; Rosa's circumstances on the other hand have been far more typical of slave expectations, and far from arguing that slavery is unjust in her case, Guimarães appears to support the view that the mulata slave was a seductress who tempted white slave-owners along the path to perdition. It is a view which appears quite often in this novel and takes for granted its wider acceptance and even legitimacy. Leóncio's father, we are told,

'olhava as escravas como um serralho à sua disposição.' (44)

a view which his son certainly shared. The description given of Rosa reveals her willingness to use her sexuality to lighten her other duties as a slave, while Isaura's insistence that

'uma escrava que ousasse olhar com amor para seus senhores, merecia ser severamente castigada' (45)

serves only to confirm Guimarães's view that slave owners must be strict to prevent their slaves taking advantage of them. Malvina, Leóncio's wife, is eventually so convinced that Isaura is the threat to her marriage that she seeks to have her banished from the house, saying 'é bonita demais para mucama' (46).

Nonetheless, the author does occasionally address himself to how abolition should be achieved, since all slaves clearly cannot marry their masters. Álvaro's treatment of his slaves is clearly intended to be exemplary, and I shall examine it in that light. His 'modernity' is emphasised by his decision to free all his own slaves, and to initiate a settlement on their behalf; highly

philanthropic, if not a tacit recognition of the compensation to which the slaves were entitled. The reasoning, however, is different;

'A fazenda lhes era dada para cultivar, a título de arrendamento, e eles sujeitando-se a uma espécie de disciplina comum, não só preservavam-se de entregar-se à ociosidade, ao vício e ao crime, tinham segura a subsistência e podiam adquirir algum pecúlio, como também poderiam indemnizar a Álvaro do sacrifício, que fizera com a sua emancipação.' (47)

It is Álvaro, not the slaves who are to be compensated at the end of slavery, while the slaves are seen slipping into habits of idleness, depravity, and crime if not subjected to some form of continued discipline. Such discipline, in the slaves interests, will incidentally provide a useful measure of compensation for the loss of fazendeiro property rights. Interestingly, the slavocrat Leóncio uses a not dissimilar line of reasoning, but designed to delay abolition, not hasten its progress. When Malvina insists that he free Isaura, he argues that

'não devemos por ora entregar Isaura a si mesma. É preciso primeiro assegurar-lhe uma posição decente, honrosa, e digna ... e isso não se arranja assim de um dia para outro.' (48)

Though he may well be accused merely of paying lip-service to the emancipationist case, it is interesting that he should pick up their line of argument and turn it to his advantage. How many other slavocrats similarly offered jam tomorrow? It will be remembered, for instance, that Mário, in O Tronco do Ipé advised measures similar to Álvaro's.

The anti-Negro bias noted above has some parallel in even the sympathetic treatment of the Indian Afonso, in the third of Guimarães novels, and it is in the confirmation of this latent racism rather than any specific references to slavery that the novel falls within this theme too. Consider firstly the dehumanisation of Afonso, already noted in relation to slaves;

'Quem diria que aquele homem que ainda há pouco vimos perpetrar o ato da mais bárbara vingança com a fria e impassível ferocidade do tigre, também sabia chorar? Era assim Afonso : era pior que um jaguar, quando a raiva lhe fazia estuar a sangue no coração; quando lhe falavam n'alma os doces afetos da família, as emoções do amor e da amizade, era uma pomba de mansidão e de ternura.' (49)

Elsewhere he is presented as part human, part water-spirit, with magical, inhuman powers which always secure his escape:

'Afonso, quando mais seguro o julvagam, desaparecia como um duende, ou escorregava como uma traíra. Tais proezas praticou, que ficou sendo tido por mágico ou mandingueiro.' (50)

Since he had committed no act of vengeance, and had no family to weep over, far less any reason to flee magically or otherwise from any pursuers, his likeness to animals and part-humans is all in the author's mind. But one of the more interesting comments in this regard, however, involves a conscious comparison between Indians and whites when the two groups gather at a waterfall to catch fish. Local fazendeiros come, we are told,

'regalar-se de fresco e sabroso peixe, e fazer dêle abundante provisão.' (51)

In contrast,

'grande número de caboclos, dêsses nômadez semi-bárbaros que vivem por aquelas matas, costumam levantar deus ranchinhos à beira do rio junto à cascata, e levando apenas sal, pimenta e aguardente, comendo peixe e tocando viola, ali passam semanas e semanas folgando em santo ócio.' (52)

The white fazendeiros come to refresh their diets and add to their stocks of comestibles, while the half-breed Indians come to while away their time in blissful idleness! This white perspective is consistent when addressed toward non-whites, be they Indians or Negro slaves.

Love and Marriage

Very much a central theme to two of these novels is, again, the mutual love of two individuals and their struggle to overcome

externally imposed obstacles to their marriage. In O Garimpeiro the obstacle, poverty, is raised by social convention and is only overcome when Elias, with the intervention of Fate, becomes extremely wealthy and thereby meets the requirements of convention. In A Escrava Isaura the obstacle, slavery, is judicial, and the abolitionist Álvaro overcomes the obstacle by meeting the law's requirements. In short, both Elias and Álvaro realise their personal ambitions by complying with the very norms of society against which they had previously, and vainly railed.

This is an important aspect of the theme to bear in mind, for it clearly separates love from marriage, with the former revealed as a purely individual phenomenon while the latter is socially determined. Only coincidentally, apparently, and for the strongest and most deserving of characters, will the two accord. The Major in O Garimpeiro can refuse Elias's request for his daughter's hand in marriage, and simultaneously he tries to arrange a marriage that runs directly contrary to his daughter's wishes. Marriage is evidently viewed as a contract, designed to maintain or secure the family status, and it is on that principal that the Major rejects or accepts proposals. To this extent he is at one with Leonel since they have both subsumed spiritual emotions under financial convenience; the Major,

'julgava que paixões sinceras e profundas não existem senão nas novelas.' (53)

while Leonel is possessed of a desire

'não inspirada por um casto e sincero amor mas filha dêsse desejo material e libidinoso das almas libertinas, e jurou possui-la custasse o que custasse.' (54)

The difference between these two men who see marriage in commercial if not material terms seems merely a matter of degree.

In A Escrava Isaura Leóncio quite specifically marries

Malvina in the interests of his estate's financial health; nor does this appear abnormal, for Dr Geraldo, immediately upon learning of Álvaro's latest love, cynically enquires into her social position and wealth;

'êsse anjo, fada, deusa, mulher ou o que quer que seja, não te disse donde veio, de que família é, se tem fortuna etc., etc., etc.' (55)

Even Isaura's father agrees to persuade her to marry against her will (using arguments remarkably similar to those used by the Major to Lucia), in order to secure his release from prison. Malvina, after expressing considerable surprise at the proposed marriage of Isaura to the gardener, later tries to sway her by emphasising the 'advantages';

'sempre é alguma coisa sair do cativoiro a casar-se com un homem branco e livre.' (56)

All seem to overlook the fact that Leóncio has no intention of respecting Isaura's marriage oaths, in fact intends using them to ensure her continued availability to him, but given his known reasons for marrying Malvina, such behaviour should come as no surprise to the reader.

Money

Guimarães attaches considerably less importance to money as a theme than does Alencar; nevertheless, its presence is felt to a degree, and in such a way that it complements the more important social theme. Alencar regretted that money promoted social movement; Guimarães merely recognises, and that obliquely, that some people are able to acquire social status through the accumulation of wealth, but his regret is that money should prove an obstacle to the happiness of a deserving individual (Elias), and that existing institutions should prevent social movement (Isaura). Even the latter, however, is argued at the individual level, so that

what is regretted is less the absence of genuine social movement as a result of the institutions than their inability to distinguish and then permit meritorious movement.

In O Garimpeiro, Elias and Lúcia are separated by their financial circumstances. Though it is the Major who keeps them apart, Elias is curiously his collaborator for they basically agree on the importance of money in marriage. Thus his initial anger gives way in the face of 'reality' until he is the one to reject marriage without money;

'Mas a pobreza, Lúcia ... por mim só eu a suportaria como tenho suportado, de coração alegre; mas doer-me ia horrivelmente ver-te em minha companhia sofrendo as inclemências e privações da indigência sem poder erguer-te a uma condição mais feliz.' (57)

This closely parallels the Major's comments later, when he has been reduced to poverty and wishes his daughter to marry a man he believes wealthier than Elias;

'Estamos pobres, como sabe; por mim, que já pouco tenho a viver, pouco me importaria a pobreza. Mas custar-me-ia muito resignar-me a ver minha Lúcia sofrer as privações da pobreza, podendo dar-lhe uma posição mais cómoda e brilhante na sociedade.' (58)

Little wonder then that when he at last comes by a fortune Elias, far from pointing out the error of his way to the Major, admits that he was entirely correct :

'Tinha um motivo justo de proceder assim, eu o reconheço; ... e tanto a reconheço que ainda hoje, ao levantar-me do leito onde passara a noite em lágrimas, torturado de angústia e o desalento n'alma, vendo-me pobre, sem futuro e sem esperança depois de mil vãs tentativas e desesperados esforços para adquirir algumas coisas, parti para aqui com a firme resolução de renunciar para sempre ao meu amor e a todas as minhas esperanças de felicidade, desligar-me de todos os juramentos e protestos que nos dias de esperança fizera a sua filha e com o meu exemplo e minhas palavras aconselhá-la, alentá-la, para que se resolvesse a aceitar o esposo que podia ampará-la neste mundo, e esquecesse o desgraçado que não podia servir senão de estorvo à sua felicidade e à de sua família.' (59)

So similar are their views that the reader might accurately guess at

how Elias would react in future when faced with prospective sons-in-law. Indeed, his own relationship to Lúcia is similarly tinged, for though he claims to love her, that love is not easily distinguishable from his sentiments towards most 'things'; when he discovers first that Lúcia is to marry his erstwhile partner he comments,

'Oh! aquele homem ... para si o dinheiro de minha bolsa, o amor de meu coração, o ar de meus pulmões, o sangue de minhas veias.' (60)

Further, though once he had lamented that Lúcia was 'calculada em ouro' (61), by the end he is in a position to 'buy' her and it is little wonder that she is reduced to a spectator as the two men bargain over her.

Elias's movement towards the Major's position is made both more curious and more significant because it appears to have been contrary to the author's intent. All Guimarães's polemical points have been put into Elias's mouth;

on poverty;

'Ah! Pobreza! tu és o pior dos males que afligem a humanidade, pior que a fome, pior que a lepra, pior que a morte mesmo. De toda parte és repelida, como se fôras um mal contagioso.' (62)

on wealth;

'A riqueza, principalmente quando é acompanhada de um verniz de cortesia, generosidade e cavalheirismo, é sempre cortejada e adulada.' (63)

and on greed;

'Elias ... tratou imediatamente de abandonar aquela terra ... terra de maldição, como dizia êle, coito de fariseus vis e disalmados, que só rendem culto ao ouro e ao diamante, e que seriam capazes de entregar até o próprio Cristo, se entre eles aparecesse, à sanha de seus algozes por um punhado de ouro.' (64)

It is ironic that finally the solution should be so bound by the author's view of the credible that Elias had to give best to the values he purportedly despised, and the Major's 'vil procedimento'

is revealed in fact as having a 'motivo justo'.

Lúcia does not share their belief, insisting instead,

'Antes miserável contigo do que milionária com um Leonel, ou com quem quer que seja.' (65)

She remains, however, perhaps necessarily, a peripheral figure in this debate. So much so that she eventually is forced to recognise her lack of independence within the essentially business transaction;

'Eis-me aqui, meu pai! ... bradou com voz rouca e cortada de soluços. Eis aqui, não a sua filha, mas a sua escrava. Faça dela o que bem lhe aprouver!' (66)

These are, appropriately, the last words she speaks in the novel. Elias and the Major seal their agreement and the role of money in society is confirmed despite the suspicion that that had not been Guimarães intention at the outset.

There is another aspect to money which is touched upon in 'O Garimpeiro', and that concerns its ability to provide an illusory status. When the impoverished Elias denounces the wealthy Leonel, nobody believes him except Lúcia, who throughout places no importance in money. She is unlikely, therefore, to be seduced by its ostentatious display, but others are deceived. As Guimarães remarks,

'a riqueza, principalmente quando é acompanhada de um verniz de cortesia, generosidade e cavalheirismo, é sempre cortejada e adulada.' (67)

Quite logically, no one visits the jailed Elias, for just as wealth bestows a status and a legitimacy upon those who possess it, so the impoverished are denied any such legitimacy.

For Isaura, however, money is not an obstacle; indeed, it is money which eventually enables her to realise her objective. Money is simply a tool; Leóncio marries in order to lay his hands on some and thereby secure his position in society. As a financial speculator he uses money to make money. Álvaro uses his money in

order to correct what he sees as an injustice, though he is also more than willing to use it to break the law when attempting to bribe Martinho.

Interesting too are the relative positions in wealth of the abolitionist Álvaro and the slave-owning Leóncio; the former is extremely wealthy and clearly advancing toward greater wealth still. The latter comes from a one-time wealthy family which is now in decline. We are not told what is grown on the two estates but might assume from their geographical positions that Leóncio lives on one of the older coffee estates and Alvaro in the sugar-growing area. That also ties in with their separate positions on slavery, while the question of financial strength adds further support; older coffee estates were in severe financial difficulties, with soil erosion seriously affecting profitability. In his pursuit of money at any cost we know Leóncio grows coffee obsessively; one of his slaves, fearful of banishment from the estate textile sheds, says

'o que quer é café, e mais café, que é o que dá dinheiro'.
(68)

The overuse of land would also explain his neighbours' inability to buy Leóncio out, as profitable and expanding estates might be expected to do. Álvaro is a rather different case, however; sugar was enjoying some modest expansion, though it does rather stretch credulity to accept that he could afford to buy out a financially moribund coffee plantation. The main point here, however, is that abolitionism is associated with greater financial as well as moral rectitude, while slave-owning is associated with moral depravity and financial inefficiency.

In O Índio Afonso, since the characters are removed from society there is no means of exchange, individuals instead relying upon what they can catch or pick. An exception to this may be

Toruna, described as a thief, though presumably he does not prey upon the nomadic families such as Afonso's is described. Further there are the police, representatives of a distant society and presumably protectors of those from whom Toruna would rob. Not, however, protectors of Afonso's group. Overall, money cannot be said to play a part in this novel other than in a negative sense; that is, the absence of financial concerns **may** be what allows the author to produce a tale that concentrates on, indeed revels in, his perception of more basic human emotions, for they have not been blurred and compromised by a money-oriented society's values.

Education

This may represent a further theme, not apparent in Alencar's works. It appears, however, in just one of Guimarães novels, but is given special significance by its inclusion in the most polemical of them. Towards the end of A Escrava Isaura the author notes that part of the explanation for Leôncio's financial ruin lies in his poor standard of education.

'Leôncio, com a educação e a índole que lhe conhecemos, era o homem menos próprio possível para dirigir e explorar um grande estabelecimento agrícola.' (69)

Given that Guimarães himself was to become a teacher later, his comments upon the manner in which Leôncio was taught deserve some attention.

'Mau aluno e criança incorrigível, turbulento e insubordinado, andou de colégio em colégio, e passou como gato por brasas por cima de todos os preparatórios, cujos exames todavia sempre salvara à sombra do patronato. Os mestres não se atreviam a dar ao nobre e munífico comendador o desgosto de ver seu filho reprovado.' (70).

Clearly Guimarães wishes to criticise a tendency he believes exists within Brazilian education to respect the parents' financial position even at the long-term expense of the child's education.

Solutions

The parallels with Alencar's novels are most apparent in their solutions; eventually, harmony is restored with the deserving rewarded, the undeserving unchanged, and the villainous punished. Meritorious is the word which keeps coming to mind in relation to the treatment of the principal characters in the plot solutions. Elias worked extremely hard with a view to marrying Lúcia; in a different age and a different place he might even be said to have earned Lúcia, but his efforts are in vain and he is still denied her. He resigns himself to Fate;

'Está decidido! ... É essa avontade do céu, e é escusado lutar contra o destino. Portanto ou devo me desfazer dela desde já, ou resignar-me à minha sorte. O meu dever de cristão é curvar-me e aceitar cheio de resignação o calix da amargura.' (71)

Only then does Fate intervene on his behalf in the person of Simão. The slave it is who finds Elias's diamond vein; clearly it was never intended for Simão (though he had earned it) for he promptly dies. Similarly it was never intended for anyone other than Elias because,

'a providência tinha ali depositado aquele pequeno tesouro unicamente para servir de recompensa à virtude daqueles dois fiéis e dedicados amantes.' (72)

No sooner had he mined enough to keep all three in comfort than the vein was exhausted. Lúcia, too, deserves to realise her goal while the 'negociantes' are not favoured by Fate because they do not recognise its omnipotence. Leonel deserves more positive punishment, and is jailed.

Afonso's goals are two-fold. Firstly, he wishes to kill Toruna. This he achieves with considerable cruelty, but the author excuses him to a certain degree on several grounds; (a) Toruna deserved punishment; (b) Afonso's motives were good, and in line with Iberian 'pundonor'; (c) Afonso's experiences and circumstances

largely determined that he would act that way; and (d) he had acted without reflection, on the spur of the moment. His second goal, arising out of the first, is to maintain his freedom; this has been achieved to date though he is still pursued by the police. Guimarães does seem consistent in denying Afonso complete freedom, untainted by the need to maintain constant vigilance, for though he may profess to sympathise with Afonso, he could never condone such behaviour in his own society.

Finally, in 'A Escrava Isaura', the heroine recognises that she has no control over her own fate, insisting to Leôncio that 'minha sorte depende unicamente da vontade de meu senhor' (73). As property her 'life' will be determined by financial bargain. Nonetheless, she too deserves better (for her talent, beauty, chasteness and whiteness) and is ultimately rewarded with a new owner who will free her into marriage. Álvaro is rich, generous of spirit and an abolitionist; clearly, he deserves a beautiful slave/wife, while the indebted, cruel, and slavocrat Leôncio deserves little better than he gets, which is a bullet in his temple. Appropriately, however, and unlike Afonso, Álvaro's and Isaura's goal is not under any kind of threat because it has been achieved within the law. In their society, continuous flight would have been impossible, as Isaura discovered when she abandoned Leôncio's plantation; any solution which left their goal in jeopardy would not have been satisfactory. That said, however, Álvaro has little faith in society's law and believes he has simply made use of it while acting as God's instrument against another unjust institution.

In sum, the solutions to these novels appear to affirm that justice will out and each individual be rewarded or punished as his/her behaviour merits. Heartfelt goals tend to be realised while

preferably, adherence to the law. One's own efforts are not sufficient of themselves, for they carry no guarantee of bearing fruit or, as in Afonso's case, may be compromised to the extent that they conflict with the requirements of the dominant section of society.

NOTES

1. 'O Garimpeiro'; in Quatro Romances, Livraria Martins Editôra, S.P. 1944.
2. 'O Índio Afonso', *ibid.*
3. 'A Escrava Isaura'; Edições Melhoramentos (7a Edição), S.P. 1966.
4. 'O Garimpeiro'; *op. cit.* p. 306.
5. *ibid.*, p. 248.
6. *ibid.*, p. 291.
7. *ibid.*, p. 295/296.
8. *ibid.*, p. 287.
9. *ibid.*, p. 316.
10. *ibid.*, p. 328/329.
11. *ibid.*, p. 339.
12. *ibid.*, p. 339.
13. 'O Índio Afonso'; *op. cit.*, p. 364.
14. *ibid.*, p. 365.
15. *ibid.*, p. 402.
16. *ibid.*, p. 370-372; and 377-380, respectively.
17. *ibid.*, p. 379.
18. *ibid.*, p. 361.
19. *ibid.*, p. 402.
20. 'A Escrava Isaura'; *op. cit.*, p. 75.
21. *ibid.*, p. 101.
22. *ibid.*, p. 78.
23. *ibid.*, p. 78.
24. *ibid.*, p. 112.
25. *ibid.*, p. 116.
26. *ibid.*, p. 118.
27. *ibid.*, p. 135.
28. *ibid.*, p. 86.
29. 'O Garimpeiro'; *op. cit.*, p. 331.
30. *ibid.*, p. 332.

32. *ibid.*, p. 240.
33. *ibid.*, p. 247.
34. 'A Escrava Isaura'; op. cit., p. 16.
35. *ibid.*, p. 52.
36. *ibid.*, p. 51.
37. *ibid.*, p. 53.
38. *ibid.*, p. 88.
39. *ibid.*, p. 54.
40. *ibid.*, p. 49.
41. *ibid.*, p. 51.
42. *ibid.*, p. 47.
43. *ibid.*, p. 13.
44. *ibid.*, p. 20.
45. *ibid.*, p. 31.
46. *ibid.*, p. 40.
47. *ibid.*, p. 79.
48. *ibid.*, p. 59.
49. 'O Índio Afonso'; op. cit., p. 381.
50. *ibid.*, p. 387.
51. *ibid.*, p. 395.
52. *ibid.*, p. 395.
53. 'O Garimpeiro'; op. cit., p. 291.
54. *ibid.*, p. 311.
55. 'A Escrava Isaura'; op. cit., p. 72.
56. *ibid.*, p. 151.
57. 'O Garimpeiro'; op. cit., pp. 334/335.
58. *ibid.*, p. 354.
59. *ibid.*, p. 356.
60. *ibid.*, p. 334.
61. *ibid.*, p. 273.
62. *ibid.*, p. 267.
63. *ibid.*, p. 313.
64. *ibid.*, p. 316.
65. *ibid.*, p. 335.
66. *ibid.*, p. 351.
67. *ibid.*, p. 313.
68. 'A Escrava Isaura'; op.cit., p. 48.
69. *ibid.*, p. 161/162.
70. *ibid.*, p. 17.
71. 'O Garimpeiro'; op. cit., p. 339/340.
72. *ibid.*, p. 357.
73. 'A Escrava Isaura'; op. cit. p. 65.

In the sense that Simplício views society from outside its rules and conventions, this tale may be described as picaresque. Simplício is not a criminal but his physical blindness explains a moral blindness which makes him incapable of adhering to social canons. He is introduced to a magician who provides him with a pair of spectacles which allow him to see, but in an exaggerated manner, all the evil around him. This allows the author the opportunity to roundly criticise 1860s society. Simplício grows to hate that society, and it in turn hates him for the indiscriminating way in which he views its members. He eventually destroys his glasses.

They are next replaced by another pair which permit Simplício only to see good; this ability proves as great a curse for where once he was despised now he is ridiculed. On the point of taking his own life, Simplício is saved by the magician, who offers to make him one last pair of glasses with the ability to let him see with good sense. Simplício eagerly agrees though the Armenian magician warns him that they will not make him any happier, for he will not always be able to act in accord with the good sense with which he is now blessed. Simplício resolved to tell no-one of his new ability, fearful of a society which has hated and ridiculed him in turn. Thus the reader is denied the opportunity of seeing the society without the exaggerated perspective of the previous chapters.

O RIO DO QUARTO (2)

Set around 1750, the novel concerns the avarice of Padre Martin and his subsequent murder. His daughter Luiza loves, and is loved in turn, by Millo, but despite the great affection in which Martin holds his daughter, he will not contemplate her marriage to Millo, because he does not wish his money to go out of the family. He

him to Luiza.

Manoel, the nephew, is unaware of this intention, however, and when he arrives in Brazil expecting to be the sole heir to his uncle's wealth he is sorely disappointed to find a potential rival in Luiza. Manoel turns to the local money-lender for an ally, and together they hatch a plot to murder the priest before he can write a will; it is assumed that that would leave Manoel as the sole inheritor for Martin had never publicly recognised Luiza as his daughter, and the legal presumption would then have been that as a celibate he could have no children. Martin is duly ambushed and killed, but before Manoel can escape Luiza's dog struggles with him long enough to ensure his capture. Manoel is hanged, the money-lender jailed for life, and Millo and Luiza married.

AS MULHERES DE MANTILHA (3)

Though set in the middle of the 18th century, Macedo draws deliberate comparisons in this novel with his contemporary society. The novel describes Alexander Cardoso's abuse of his high position within vice-regal government including graft, assault, and rape. One who loves his power even more perhaps than Cardoso is Maria, but when she finds her hold over him diminishing she resolves to secure his downfall.

She learns of his passion for Inês, daughter of a loyal but honourable local dignitary, and she anonymously keeps the vice-roy informed of all Cardoso's steps toward the kidnap of Inês. Inês's father confirms the suspicions raised in the vice-roy's mind, and in due course Cardoso is arrested and shipped back home to Portugal. Public opinion, however, is also strongly against the vice-roy for his dilatoriness in bringing Cardoso to justice, and he too is

Maria quickly forgets Cardoso, having wreaked her revenge upon him, and she wastes little time in re-establishing her position at the centre of power by becoming a subsequent vice-roy's lover.

While the temptation must be to describe the first theme in the same terms as its counterparts in the previous works (Society), the different emphasis placed by Macedo on human characteristics as determining social relationships rather than new social values undermining individual contentment, persuades me to title this section distinctively. While both Alencar and Guimarães appear to hold the view that 'characteristics' such as ambition, greed, and cruelty are encouraged in a competitive, money-oriented society, to Macedo, though rather ambiguous on the point over the development of the three novels, these characteristics appear more like individual aberrations, and, therefore, not a consequence of the way society is structured or directed.

Simplício, in A Luneta Mágica, illustrates the ambiguity, with individual weakness and public opinion jointly shaping human perspectives and relationships. As a picaresque (*) novel, the author uses Simplício to innocently point up the all-pervasive hypocrisy and self-interestedness of society at large. Simultaneously, of course, he draws attention to the unreliable nature of this particular witness, and ultimately leaves it to the reader to consider where the greater significance lies, and where credence should be placed. Consider these two elements in turn;

(*) Picaresque only insofar as Simplício views society from outside its rules and conventions. He is not criminal, but his moral blindness makes him unconscious of, and therefore unable to adhere to social canons, and he thus poses a threat to that society in much the same way as does a criminal.

adding to his learning nor reducing his blindness; his brother cheats him, and his cousin tries to trick him into marriage; after he is blessed with 'visão do mal' he searches in vain for a good wife or an honest lawyer; the courts, he discovers (but as presumably all others already know and choose to overlook) are places of patronage not justice; the virtuous are hypocrites, and priests merely sanctimonious, not charitable. In short,

'em casa o quadro constante de triplíce traição na companhia obrigada de meus três e únicos parentes; fora de casa a pronta descoberta da maldade e da perfídia de todos os homens e de tôdas as mulheres.' (4)

But what of Simplicio? At first, and by his own confession, he is childlike, believing everything he is told because he has no eyes to see the truth of what he is told, and associated with that no moral comprehension to assist him in distinguishing truth from falsehood. Thereafter he 'sees' as the Armenian told him he would see ... everything as bad. In other words, he is still incapable of distinguishing. Indeed, he increasingly becomes independent of the glasses when it comes to seeing evil; shortly after he is enabled to 'see' people's inner imperfections with the artificial aid of glasses, he claims that something of those imperfections manifest themselves in the person's external appearance and that he does not require even the three minutes reflection that the Armenian had said was necessary before the 'visão do mal' took effect;

'em breve desconfiei mesmo daqueles, que não estudara por mais de três minutos com a luneta mágica.' (5)

Little wonder that Simplicio should feel himself poisoned or that, as he comments,

'a visão do mal, o conhecimento das paixões ruins, dos vícios, dos intentos perfídios ... começavam a produzir no seu espírito os seus naturais efeitos.' (6)

As a result, he begins to behave like others, using 'disimulação

effects make his perspective more or less trustworthy? If he is poisoned then how accurate is his assessment of those he meets, and how justified therefore his mimicry of their supposed behaviour? The same, of course, applies when he wears glasses which give him the power of 'visão de bem', for uncritical acceptance of all things is as shortsighted as its opposite, and Macedo makes clear with the 'visão de bem' just how poor a witness Simplício is and how, consequently, we must interpret his savage earlier criticisms pertaining to the 'visão do mal'.

On balance, the author appears to be using the shortsightedness of a single individual as a metaphor for the exaggerated and blinkered perspective of public opinion. It too lacks discretion. To be more precise, it is characterised by common sense entirely lacking in good sense; some of Macedo's most humourous, and most telling comments are reserved for the actions and demonstrations of the working of common sense. For instance, Simplício, while still blind, is delighted to learn that at least he has common sense, because he is appointed as a juror;

'No princípio do ano corrente de 186..... o excelente sistema de govêrno que nos rege, deu-me o sinal de minha regeneração civil e política.... O juiz de direito que presidira à revisão da lista dos jurados resolvera um problema até então intricadíssimo, declarando que podia ser jurado, e que por consequência eu tinha senso comum, condição exigida pela lei.' (8)

And lest the reader should suspect that a judge is capable of erring, and therefore representing a flaw in the otherwise 'excelente sistema de govêrno', the author adds,

'um juiz de direito é sempre tão infalível na ciência do direito, como um padre na ciência do latim.' (9)

Common sense and tunnel vision, therefore, are the characteristics of Simplício and of public opinion, and the resulting perspectives are fatally flawed.

'A exageração degenera os sentimentos, desvirtua os valores, desfigura a verdade. Exagerar é mentir.' (10)

In these circumstances the individual is as likely to be the victim of public opinion as a contributor to it, as Simplicio learns to his cost. His exaggerated perspective, itself a characteristic of public opinion, brings the full wrath of that public opinion down upon himself because it is at odds with the reigning perspective and not necessarily because it is exaggerated:

'Por consequência estou definitivamente declarado doido pela opinião pública que é a rainha do mundo, e cujos decretos não têm apelação.' (11)

What must be recognised, however, in Macedo's satirical study of his contemporary society, is his underlying support for traditionalism. His criticisms of society, radical as they may appear in their use of ridicule, are in fact fundamentally anti-democratic in their distrust of public opinion. However, since his criticisms are based upon the assumed imperfection of man, they rely upon the most conservative elements of traditional philosophy. Thus, the Armenian, joint repository with the author of all wisdom, comments,

'A imperfeição e a contingência da humanidade são as únicas idéias que podem fundamentar um juízo certo sôbre todos os homens. Fora dessa regra não se pode formar sôbre dois homens o mesmo juízo.' (12)

Once you accept the fundamental and unchanging imperfection of man, there is no longer any need to see conflicts within society as arising from anything other than human weakness, whether it be expressed in terms of greed, ambition, vanity or whatever. Certainly in 'A Luneta Mágica' there is no social movement and such hostilities as emerge are directed at and by the individual Simplicio. The absence of other groups in the urban setting contributes to this overall impression, but when we turn to 'O Rio do Quarto' the effect is identical. Again social movement is

the rivalry of interest groups within society but from conflicting weaknesses in two individuals, Padre Martin and his nephew Manoel. There is the introduction of a money-lender, João Maneta, but his social role is decidedly secondary to his literary role as the provider of motive and opportunity to Manoel for the murder of Padre Martin.

Oddly, no other group makes an appearance in the novel though the urban setting would normally also involve at least representatives of the fazendeiro class and their slave workers. Martin, Manoel, and João-Maneta are all outsiders and consequently at no time does the actual structure of this society emerge as a contributor to their behaviour. Quite the opposite, since without any explanation for it, that behaviour can only be interpreted as aberrant, even as being in spite of society and deriving from some innate characteristic.

Even in As Mulheres de Mantilha, where there seems superficially the safest grounds on which to find a criticism of the structure of society, it is at Cardoso's door that the bulk of the blame for social unrest lies. It is his individual abuses of the system, and not the system itself which is held to blame. Specifically, his weakness for women, an expensive life-style, and gambling place demands on him individually that he is in a position socially to satisfy. The reader may enquire as to the part played by a vice-regal (or monarchical) system in promoting an hierarchical structure which would attract a Cardoso and from which he would then be able to take benefit, but that is not Macedo's intention; rather he is warning against the assumption that human weakness will not emerge to jeopardise even the most constitutionally correct system of government. The author underlines this feature by drawing

regal system of a century before, and the post-Independence government at the time of writing :

'é preciso dizer o que era e o que podia naqueles tempos o ajudante oficial-de-sala do vice-rei. A melhor lição é o exemplo; e dizer o que nos nossos dias, e nos nossos costumes corresponde hoje àquele cargo da época colonial. O exemplo e a explicação saem ingênuamente e sem malícia alguma. O ajudante oficial-de-sala do vice-rei era então o que é hoje em dia o oficial-de-gabinete do ministro de Estado ou do presidente de provincia.' (13)

And further on still;

'O mais humilde, e especialmente os mais humildes dos pretendentes do nosso tempo sabem de quantos milagres e de quantos abusos é capaz um oficial-de-gabinete.' (14)

As a politician only lately removed from office Macedo might quite reasonably be expected to cast aspersions on the character of individuals now holding positions, without the reader thereby concluding that Macedo would wish the system overthrown.

Of the three novels, therefore, we may note that Macedo is slightly ambiguous in his identification of where conflict is to be found. In O Rio do Quarto he clearly identifies individual weakness as the problem, while the tendency for mass opinion to distort the truth, not least because it is founded on individual short-sightedness, and thereby create tensions within society seems to be the force of his argument in A Luneta Mágica. Then lastly, he implicitly recognises in the latest of his novels, As Mulheres de Mantilha, that the institutional structures of society may represent a threat to that society, but only because they are subject to abuses by individuals. Whereas Alencar and Guimarães were in broad agreement, that a society which was money-oriented represented a threat to the individual, Macedo appears to have held the view that the individual, because of his inherent imperfections, was a danger to harmony within any society.

It follows from the above that money does not appear in Macedo's work as a theme in the same sense that it does with the two other authors. Its role differs in providing Macedo with a means for exemplifying human weakness rather than as a means by which social movement is achieved. Simplicio's brother lies for it; his doctors cheat him for it; in the courts justice is bought and sold for it; a woman charitably donates some to the poor, then cruelly compensates herself from her slaves; but no one's position in society is altered by its accumulation or loss, at least insofar as Macedo shows the reader. Rather does it appear sought for itself, and not as a means to some other specified end.

Likewise in O Rio do Quarto no one pursues money for what it can do, but for itself. Money is the priest's passion, and as such is not subject to rational evaluation. Manoel may put it to some use if he can lay hands on it, but the author gives no such hint. Even the usurer João-Maneta, despite long years of accumulating money, is content to live in near squalor and does not try to improve his social standing. Similarly the disregard for money as an object of value is associated by Macedo with positive human worth; thus Luiza is as profligate in distributing alms to the poor as Padre Martin is miserly. Also the faith-healer refuses monetary reward for her part in restoring Luiza's health. In such circumstances money becomes merely a signal of individual worth and no longer is used to determine social position as it largely had in the work of Alencar and Guimarães. The sole exception to this may be provided by Millo, a character who recalls Elias in O Garimpeiro; thus when his unsuitability as a husband for Luiza, on the grounds of poverty, is explained to him, Millo leaves in much the same resigned fashion as did Elias. Both leave out of love for

tolerated in the fazenda, and lack the wherewithal to support the women in the manner they deserve.

Returning to the urban setting in As Mulheres de Mantilha, money becomes instrumental to the plot only insofar as Cardoso's gambling and such like makes his corruption necessary. In consequence there is no need for the author to introduce his partners in graft, of whom there must have been many, and their motives varied. Macedo, however, is only concerned with Cardoso's abuses of the system for personal satisfaction and not for his social advancement. Note, too, that Emiliana, one of his victims, inherits a fortune from Clélio, but that does not begin to compensate her for the dishonour suffered at Cardoso's hands. She is the opposite of Cardoso, yet confirms with him the unimportance of money.

In sum, therefore, money serves no social function in Macedo's view, representing instead one more way in which he can illustrate man's imperfection, his greed, corruptness and rapacity.

Love and Marriage

On this subject the three authors appear as one. In A Luneta Mágica it appears less centrally only because the author examines such a wide range of contemporary issues; however, it remains important as a theme as much for what the author assumes his readers will take for granted as for anything he specifically mentions. Simplício's cousin Anica tries hard to persuade him to marry her, and is quite willing to deceive him in the attempt. Clearly she does not love him, so marriage must be a social requirement which her plain looks do not allow her to comply with. Unaware of such socially determined pressures, Simplício regards Anica as 'a joven

means to give, but would not expect to be similarly viewed by anybody with a better ability to appreciate her true intention. The problem seemingly arises from the fact that love is an emotion felt by individuals which is publicly expressed in the institution of marriage; but the institution has assumed, at least in late 19th century Brazil, an importance of its own which requires observance even without the original emotional element. Only Simplício doesn't see that.

In 'O Rio do Quarto' we are introduced once more to the types of marriage with which we are already familiar from reading Alencar and Guimarães. There are differences of degree, but the parallels are more striking. Millo and Luiza are in love with each other, but are prevented from marrying by Millo's poverty. Two other influences have a bearing on their marriage, however; the priest's avarice, and his reluctance to see his money go to a 'stranger'. In fact, this last is seen as being of over-riding importance, as the solution to Martin's dilemma illustrates. He proposes that Luiza should marry her cousin, despite the fact that they are real 'strangers' to each other, and that Manoel is no more wealthy than Millo. The importance of inheritance must be assumed to have been recognised and understood by all of Macedo's contemporaries. The cousin Manoel remains unaware of his uncle's plans for him, yet curiously makes no attempt to pursue the logical course of action for someone in his position, i.e. to marry Luiza. That remains as a flaw in the credibility of the novel (despite its necessity for plot purposes) without contradicting or disproving the principle that inheritances should be secured within the family. The marriage of convenience, if not exactly the rule, was very far from unique. However, Manoel agrees instead to marry João-Maneta's daughter as

fortune. João-Maneta is of a similar age to the priest, and at least his equal in terms of wealth, but Manoel does not even begin to calculate that he would also inherit the money-lender's hoard. Manoel may believe that having got João-Maneta's help, and through that the priest's money, he will be able to renege on his agreement to marry Fabrícia, yet it remains a singularly contrived means to arrive at the objective; all other evidence would suggest that his marriage to Luiza, despite her protestations, would have been the expected and socially acceptable outcome. Anything else would be, relatively, a marriage of inconvenience.

A brief note is also required on the subject of Luiza's parents; Padre Martin is rumoured locally to be her father, a fact which is subsequently confirmed for the reader, but not the villagers. Her mother was seduced by the priest when he was 55, a practice which the author hints was unusual neither at the time the novel is set, nor when it was written. The incident is described in terms more reminiscent of a running national joke than of any stronger anti-clerical sentiment. At any rate, Padre Martin is chased from São Paulo into a remote village, Itaborai, by outraged relatives. His illicit affair introduces another, as yet unseen, variation to the love/marriage theme, which is not a true love-match, or a transaction, or even a physical assault of the kind already seen in As Mulheres de Mantilha. Rather it is a temporary liaison which refutes the unnatural commitment to celibacy; as such it may provide an early glimpse of a subject to which naturalist writers would frequently turn ...man's sexual drive and the perversity of social conventions in attempting to restrict it.

Next there is As Mulheres de Mantilha; Inês is desired by Cardoso, and marriage seems the only way he can lay hands on her.

is willing to marry her. He has money problems, and although marriage to Inês would bring a substantial dowry that is not the primary motive behind his marriage ... he has quite distinct solutions to that problem. Emiliana, who has been raped by Cardoso, seems likely never to marry, a likelihood which is accepted by all, from the vice-roy to Clélio the money-lender and almost certainly encompassing the reading public too. The two characters, however, are agreed that she should marry, and Emiliana thereby becomes very rich and a widow with her respectability maintained so far as everyone else is concerned. She, however, remains unhappy; the social and the financial requirements of marriage have been met, but for Emiliana that is not enough; nor, presumably is it for a Romantic author like Macedo.

The marriage of Inês and Isidoro appears a peculiarly chance affair; he took refuge in the Lírio house, fleeing the army draft, dressed as a woman. When Cardoso's thugs attempt to kidnap Inês, Isidoro is on hand to save her, but in so doing reveals he is a man. Jerónimo Lírio is so grateful to Isidoro that he promptly offers him the hand of one of his daughters; either daughter. (And presumably either hand). Isidoro and Inês are, fortunately, in love but that was not a matter of Jerónimo's consideration when he sought to reward Isidoro. Here are two marriages then that do not fit the usual pattern of Romantic literature; Emiliana's is contracted out of sympathy felt by another of Cardoso's victims, while Inês's is simply a reward for services rendered. Neither being central to the main plot of the novel, it is noticeable that Isidoro and Emiliana's poverty represents no obstacles to their marriage.

Unusually for such a central character, Maria falls into none of the other categories shown by the three authors so far. She has

security previously associated with marriage. But she seems not to want marriage, but power, and since the hands which hold the reins of power are liable to change, she decides against being permanently tied to any one individual. She is not motivated to marry for heartfelt or calculative reasons; in fact, she calculatedly avoids marriage, and in so doing is distinguished from the more common picture of the prostitute in Romantic literature. The latter tends to be a fallen woman who subsequently seeks redemption, or who is living in utter misery, often madness. Maria has more in common with the Naturalist picture of a calculating woman with few regrets and a fairly shrewd idea of what she is doing.

Slaves

Slaves and slavery are again distinctly peripheral to this author's vision, appearing not as characters in their own right but as background detail, like the rest of the scenery against which white drama is enacted. In A Luneta Mágica they appear least of all, and then only to provide examples of the venality and hypocrisy of other, white characters. For instance, amongst other flaws, Sr. Nunes is accused as follows :

'surrava os escravos sem piedade, vendeu-os todos há poucos meses, apremata outros em praça para vendê-los em breve prazo, e e entusiasta da emancipação.' (16)

There is, too, an unusually harsh criticism (for Brazil) of the sort of treatment meted out to slaves. It is customary to accept that slaves were better treated in Brazil than anywhere else in the world, but that is not the picture drawn by Macedo of relationships between one mistress and her slaves;

'essa mulher casara rica, dominava o marido, gastava anualmente vinte contos de réis em vestidos e enfeites, economizando exageradamente em casa, negando ceia aos escravos, dando-lhes almoço e jantar muitas vezes insuficientes, e compensando a penúria da alimentação com

The rural setting of O Rio do Quarto means that slave presence is marginally more obvious. The priest Martin owns three slaves (remember that this novel is set around 1750) who, because of the protection offered them by the charitable Luiza, live apparently contentedly without freedom. However, where before slaves served to point out the cruelty of their owners, here they are simply included to draw attention to the goodness of their mistress. An interesting comparison is also drawn with free, white labour;

'Millo era inteligente e infatigavel: o pomar do sítio mudou em breve de aspecto; não só tornou-se mais vicoso, como augmentou de proporções; os animães engordarão, e em um canto do pomar apparecerão em poucos meses lindos tableiros de flôres.

Nenhum dos escravos do Padre Martin trabalhava tanto como o inteligente Millo.' (18)

Once again, slaves are introduced merely to illustrate a virtue of Millo, but the manner in which Macedo does so incidentally reveals an argument then (1870s) gaining currency, that slave labour was inefficient, economically.

By the time he comes to write As Mulheres de Mantilha Macedo appears to have refined his views on slavery considerably. He refers to 'o cancro da escravidão' (19) and after a lengthy passage on the arbitrary authority of slave-owners, and the unsurprising servility, not to say deceitfulness of slaves that that provokes, Macedo concludes on the self-patronising yet self-interested use by slaves of terms of endearment for their young masters and mistresses;

'O nhonhô, a nhanhã, a sinhazinha em casa de seus pais significam alegria da família, patronagem dos escravos, perdão de castigos, emancipação, para um ou outro, e esperança para muitos desses miseros condenados. O nhonhô e o travesso que assegura impunidade aos cúmplices; a nhanhã é quem as vezes acalenta em seus braços a filha ou o filho da escrava de sua predileção: o nhonhô, a nhanhã, a sinhazinha são quase sempre amados pelos escravos da casa.

beija-flores, pombinhas rôlas a criar, o pouco, que é muito, porque é tudo quanto êle pode dar.

E essa afeição que alguns escravos tributavam aos senhores mocos a quem tinham visto nascer e crescer, era (como ainda se observa) talvez o único sentimento generoso contrastador do ódio que todos os escravos naturalmente votam aos senhores.' (20)

Affection paid as tribute and as a disguise for the genuine hatred which slaves feel for their masters ... clearly Macedo's criticism of the unhealthy relationships perpetuated by the institution remove any ambiguity about how he sees that institution. Further he seems to have dropped any references comparing white and slave characters to the substantial benefit of his criticism.

Solutions

Once again we have an author who tends to round off his novels neatly; admittedly in 'A Luneta Mágica' there is an element of ambiguity; though blessed/cursed with the 'visão do bom senso' Simplicio seems destined to enjoy only as much contentment as any other individual, at best, and the Armenian warns him that he will not be happy; why?

'Porque ainda com o bom senso há ardendo, na alma do homem uma flama insaciável, que torna impossível a felicidade perfeita.' (21)

Further, he is warned,

'Pela visão do bom senso reconhecerás onde está o bem e o mal, e mil vezes não poderás aproveitar o bem, e livrar-te do mal.' (22)

This is a slightly untypical line of solution to adopt, not least because of its strong suggestion of pessimism. There is in it, too, a hint of contradiction, for it implies that he was as near to happiness as it was possible to get before he acquired sight. This smacks of the suggestion that ignorance is bliss, a contention against which Macedo had seemed to argue earlier in the novel (23). Rather than contradiction, however, it is possible to see this

authors; that is to say, that Simplício is neither more nor less deserving than his fellows, and consequently will enjoy neither advantage nor disadvantage over them, all being equally doomed to unhappiness. The main intent of the novel, however, remains less moral than the others, being more a critique of the blinkered perspective of public opinion together with a parallel plea for moderation in human relationships.

However, the author unmistakably returns in O Rio do Quarto to a plot which is intended to point up a moral, and there all characters get their desserts, with one chapter specifically entitled 'A Punição começa'. Millo wins his bride Luiza, while Manoel and João-Maneta are punished for their crimes. Padre Martin is perhaps rather excessively punished for his sin of avarice, but his death is required to ensure that no obstacle exists to the marriage of Millo to Luiza. There was too his earlier sin of seduction, but even in combination it is difficult for the modern reader not to suspect that his genuine love for his daughter had not earned him a better fate (as indeed it did for the Baron in O Tronco do Ipê). It is also worth noting that had Luiza's maternal grand-parents been able to lay hands on him, Martin would have died a bloody death much earlier; punishment, however, was merely delayed until such time as others might benefit.

Similarly, in As Mulheres de Mantilha, the innocent are rewarded (Isidoro and Inês with each other and Jerônimo with the maintenance of his family's honour); the guilty punished (Cardoso and the vice-roy are both ordered home for their sins of commission and omission respectively, and Clélio's greed results in his death); and the victims compensated (Emiliana, to the tune of 600 contos). Maria represents something of an exception; she is difficult to

superficially 'bad' she is nonetheless the instrument by which the innocent, the guilty, and the victimised are appropriately rewarded. Nor is the lack of a specific fate for her to be interpreted as indicating that she has escaped due punishment, or that the author implicitly regards her as capable of redemption. As he makes clear at the end of the novel a sequel is to follow, so her fate simply remains to be decided (24).

Education

As with Guimarães this appears less of a theme than of a nagging concern in the author's mind. At one level, of course, one might argue that all three of Macedo's novels are cautionary, and intended to educate against perceived risks. But there are also incidents when the actual education of individuals is addressed, and that in generally derogatory terms.

For example, in A Luneta Mágica Simplicio contrasts the natural behaviour of a young girl with her later 'educated' behaviour;

'Coitadinha! era uma menina, que talvez tivesse nascido com excelentes disposições, branda, condescendente, alegre, assim o devo supor, pois não creio que alguém nasça mau e pervertido;' (25)

Unfortunately, she attends school;

'nesse internato, onde as educandas de todas as idades se confundem e se acham em contato de dia e de noite com seus diversos costumes, com seus bons e maus instintos, com suas imaginações travêssas, com suas malícias em fim, a pobre menina aprendeu demais o que devia ignorar e quase nada o que precisava saber ...' (26)

Simplicio's solution is greater parental control, or ignorance.

'Quantos perigos, meu Deus, há nos colégios e nos internatos de meninas! ... Ah! se eu tiver uma filha, hei de fazê-la instruir-se ao lado e aos olhos de sua mãe; e se então me achar em pobreza, a não puder pagar mestres, minha mulher e eu ensinaremos como pudermos, e o que pudermos à nossa filha, e em último caso ficará ela

Macedo displays a similar concern in 'O Rio do Quarto' over the effect of education upon natural, and by definition better behaviour. Specifically, when Luiza tries to dissuade a young neighbour from drowning a dog which the family cannot afford to keep, Macedo identifies his behaviour as resulting from a defect in his education, though whether formal or of environment he does not make clear;

'O sentimento de Luizinha era natural; a frieza a insensibilidade com que João ia praticar aquella acção repugnante e cruel era o resultado de um grave defeito de educação.' (28)

One does not need to agree with Macedo's interpretation to recognise the fact of his concern about the way children were being educated in Brazil. Nevertheless, it is not a theme which he chooses to develop in these novels (perhaps Romanticism did not lend itself to such a theme), but is more simply an observation incidental to the plot development.

NOTES

1. A Luneta Mágica ; Editôra Ática, São Paulo, 1971.
2. O Rio do Quarto ; B-L. Garnier, Rio de Janeiro, 1880.
3. As Mulheres de Mantilha ; Edições Melhoramentos, São Paulo, 1965.
4. A Luneta Mágica ; op. cit., p. 54.
5. *ibid.*, p. 58.
6. *ibid.*, p. 39/40.
7. *ibid.*, p. 41.
8. *ibid.*, p. 14.
9. *ibid.*, p. 14.
10. *ibid.*, p. 179.
11. *ibid.*, p. 67.
12. *ibid.*, p. 179.
13. As Mulheres de Mantilha ; op. cit.. p. 7/8.
14. *ibid.*, p. 8.

16. *ibid.*, p. 46.
17. *ibid.*, p. 55.
18. O Rio do Quarto; *op. cit.*, p. 102.
19. As Mulheres de Mantilha; *op. cit.*, p. 36.
20. *ibid.*, p. 37.
21. A Luneta Mágica; *op. cit.*, p. 180.
22. *ibid.*, p. 181.
23. See for instance, *ibid.*, p. 11, including the following:
'Para ela (minha tia) a minha miopia física é um imenso benefício da providência, que assim menos exposto me deixou às tentações do diabo, que ataca o pecador pelos olhos; e a minha miopia moral ainda mais precioso dom, porque dos pobres de espírito é o reino do céu. A lógica da tia Domingos seria capaz de levá-la a rezar para que eu me tornasse surdo, mudo e paralítico, a fim de ser completa a minha bem-aventurança na terra.'
24. The author makes this quite clear in As Mulheres de Mantilha, *op. cit.*, p. 208, where he concludes:
'Mais tarde me empanharei em escrever a história ou o romance desses amôres do vice-rei marquês de Lavradio e a formosa cortesã.'
25. A Luneta Mágica; *op. cit.*, p. 51.
26. *ibid.*, p. 51.
27. *ibid.*, p. 52.
28. O Rio do Quarto; *op. cit.*, p. 69.

Catherine Belsey has argued (1) that where ideology is in a state of flux and uncertain, so too will be literary texts. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, given the growing complexity of society and the expanding readership, the themes which appear in the novels of the 1880s are more diverse in number and less constant in accord. The three authors here considered illustrate the point, not least because while Alencar, Guimarães and Macedo were all writing within an established literary style, Azevedo, Pompéia and Machado de Assis were experimenting with styles, seeking a particular model to correspond with the changes they saw in society and its values.

Azevedo is generally held to have been a Naturalist, and Sodré has described 'O Cortiço' as 'o grande livro que a escola nos deixou'; nevertheless, Azevedo recognised, and was unhappy with, continuing evidence of Romanticism in his work. He believed he was writing for two distinct groups; for critics familiar with the latest trends in French literature and anxious to find its equivalent in Brazil; and for general readers familiar only with traditional styles. As a result he was obliged to produce a literary hybrid while he steadily accustomed his readers to Naturalism;

'É preciso ir dando a coisa em pequenas doses, paulatinamente: um pouco de enrêdo de vez em quando; uma ou outra situação dramática de espaço a espaço, para engordar, mas sem nunca esquecer o verdadeiro ponto de partida - a observação e o respeito à verdade.' (2)

Pompéia felt no such constraint and in the novels was thoroughly polemical in style, uncompromisingly so. His is an angrier, more robust criticism of his contemporaries' values and he makes no attempt to follow Azevedo's dictum and observe dispassionately. Indeed, Pompéia believed that no work of art was

complete without inclusion of what he termed 'parênteses da personalidade' of the author (3). In consequence his work most closely resembles Impressionism, though at an early and confused level.

Machado de Assis is the most difficult of all to categorise, and I shall not attempt here to achieve what so many others have failed satisfactorily to do. Though part of the problem arises from the considerable body of work which Machado produced over a long timescale, it is not for that alone he is hard to categorise. Striking only an uneasy balance between what he wished to say and the constraints placed upon that intention by writing within the Romantic tradition, Machado abandoned the attempt towards the end of the 1870s. Not that he disliked Romanticism, but rather felt it was incapable of dealing adequately with the realities, the non-fictional characteristics of his readers' lives. But he did not particularly take to Realism in its stead, far less any of the sub-Realist schools such as Naturalism. Mimicry was not for him, whether of an earlier Brazilian style or a contemporary French one; logically, he did not even wish to mimic what passed for reality in the world in which he lived, preferring to probe behind the observable. Only there could he incorporate human motives and histories, and only then could characters be made comprehensible without being predictable; in short, life-like. The resulting novels are more real for recognising such influences than is a straightforward Realist novel.

NOTES

1. Catherine Belsey in Critical Practice, London, 1980.
2. Quoted in Aspectos do Romance Brasileiro by Eugênio Gomes; Livraria Progresso Editora, Bahia 1958; p. 117.
3. *ibid.*, p. 113.

O HOMEM (1)

Magdá, the central character in this novel, had developed over many years a loving relationship for Fernando. Both assumed they would marry upon completion of his studies, but as that day approaches, Magdá's father reveals that they are half-brother and sister; marriage is impossible. But it also proves impossible for Magdá to transfer her affections to any other man, and she slips into depression and physical deterioration. She proposes entering a convent but is prevented by her father. An alternative solution is provided by Dr Lobão, the family physician, who recommends marriage with or without emotional attachment.

The family moves to the country with the hope that Magdá will recuperate. There she is served by Justina, as robust and healthy as Magdá is nervous and drawn. Out walking one day Magdá collapses and is carried in the arms of Luís, a young quarrier and the antithesis of Fernando. That night, asleep, Magdá cannot forget Luís and over a period of time she becomes obsessed with him. However, Luís comes from a different class from Magdá, who consequently believes their marriage is impossible; the question anyway is hypothetical, for Luís is already engaged, to Justina's sister, Rosinha.

If Magdá cannot marry Luís in reality, she is nonetheless capable of eloping with him in her dreams, which state of mind she now positively encourages through increasing doses of laudunum. Her health steadily deteriorates and her preference for sleep over wakefulness makes it ever more difficult for her to distinguish between the imagined and the real. In her dream world she eventually gives birth to Luís's son, who bears a striking physical resemblance to Fernando.

However, even in sleep reality begins to make its presence felt as Rosinha enters more and more frequently into Magdá's dreams, competing for Luís's affections. In reality, the marriage of Luís to Rosinha proceeds, and learning of this Magdá invites both to a celebratory drink. In her weakened, nervous, and irrational condition, Magdá poisons them both before being taken off to gaol.

O CORUJA (2)

The orphan, André (nicknamed 'o coruja') is taken by his guardian priest to school and abandoned to fend largely for himself. He is disliked by everyone for his morose uncommunicativeness, but earns the grudging respect of masters and fellow pupils for his intellectual application and toughness of fists, respectively. After some time he establishes an unlikely friendship with Teobaldo, his opposite in almost everything; their friendship stems, Azevedo tells us, from the fact that both are ostracised by their fellows, though in Teobaldo's case this is because of his excessive arrogance, arising from considerable wealth. On André's part, the friendship is the first and only one he has ever had, and in consequence he invests it with singular significance; he further decides to repay Teobaldo's friendship with unswerving devotion and loyalty.

They move to town, their school studies completed, and enrol at college together; André cannot stay, however, lacking the financial wherewithal to pass his examinations. Teobaldo, his intellectual inferior, passes without difficulty. Teobaldo's family, however, is bankrupted and André, employed privately as a teacher, strains every sinew to earn enough to allow Teobaldo to hide his poverty from society. In the process André jeopardises his own marriage, though admittedly it had not been contracted out of love.

Teobaldo next marries Branca, in the face of her father's opposition but in expectation of a substantial dowry. Branca genuinely loves Teobaldo but suffers a succession of disillusionments once married. Not the least of these is Teobaldo's callous exploitation of André's devotion. Such is her sympathy for André that Teobaldo even comes to suspect them of having an affair. He tries to shoot André, but only succeeds in crippling him. André still holds him in the highest regard, but Teobaldo's remorse on discovering his innocence of any affair is short-lived. Little by little, and at the prompting of new-found friends, Teobaldo shows André the distaste he feels for his company.

Eventually, Teobaldo attains the highest social positions, but far from being satisfied he is now more conscious than ever of the worthlessness of his achievements, and of the associated sycophancy and dissimulation of those around him. The knowledge destroys him, and withered and unloved, he dies. Coruja follows the funeral procession at a distance, smiling lightly in disdain, then breaking down in tears. These are dried by the memory that he must find from somewhere money for the evening meal.

O CORTIÇO (3)

Widely held to be Azevedo's best work, and by some to represent the apogee of Brazilian Naturalism, O Cortiço is clearly the most complex of his novels here studied. That complexity is reflected in the difficulty in identifying a single plot when outlining the novel. Insofar as there is a consistent thread then it must lie in the slum itself, and the manner in which it develops over the course of the novel; however, it would be more accurate to see the slum as a focus for, and a determinant of the action of a wide variety of sub-plots, too numerous to detail in a précis such as this.

There are broadly just two groups of characters, represented by

the 'sobrado' and the 'cortiço'; the constituent parts, notably of the latter are constantly changing, however, as does the relative position of the two groups. This culminates in the marriage of João-Romão to Zulmira, respectively the owner of the 'cortiço' and the daughter of the owner of the neighbouring 'sobrado'.

Before that collusion of interests, João-Romão had stolen, cheated and scraped his way towards his wealth. His neighbour, Miranda, envies him his independence because he had come through wealth by marrying into an aristocratic family of long-standing. João-Romão in turn envies Miranda his respectability, and aspires to a title at least as great as Miranda's. In time, both see their interests best served through a merger, in marriage; for João-Romão there is an increased likelihood of a title and the prospect of inheriting Miranda's wealth. For Miranda there is the association with a representative of the new, expanding capitalism and the hope of some independence from his wife accruing. For the residents of the slum there is only higher rents or eviction; certainly, no movement through society. It is through exploitation of them, however, that João-Romão was able to advance financially, and in consequence, socially.

Family

Though the family clearly looms large in Azevedo's works here considered, his view of it is scarcely consistent. In 'O Homem', Magdá is driven eventually insane because she resists her natural sexual desires; but that resistance stems from an earlier, incestuous attachment for Fernando. In 'O Coruja', it is the lack of any familial affection felt by André that explains his excessive affection for Teobaldo, while Teobaldo's inadequacies are largely explained precisely by the great affection in which he is held by

his family; both are destroyed by their opposite circumstances. In O Cortiço, a great many families are present but it is clear that they are families born out of recognition of convention, or out of financial consideration; almost devoid of sentiment they might more properly be described as couples than as families.

Nonetheless, certain common features do appear despite the absence of a consistent pattern, and after examining the 'coincidences' we may recognise whether they represent criticisms of his contemporaries, or reveal something of the author's own unconscious perspective. Consider first the institution of marriage; whereas this was seen before as a theme in its own right, it is here reduced to a sub-theme within the broader one of the family. Note that as the author progresses through the three novels, his perception of marriage grows increasingly complex. There are three aspects to this in 'O Homem' which are of interest; it is noticeable at once that marriage is seen as the 'normal' way. Fernando is single, and dies young in somewhat mysterious circumstances. Magdá also is single, and goes mad. Her aunt is a spinster, whose distinctly unhealthy religiosity (4) she uses to try to make Magdá more like herself. What appears to make it 'normal' is the natural, physical necessity to have a mate; this is an aspect of marriage at which Alencar, Guimarães, and Macedo did not so much as hint. Marriage becomes a social convention to disguise and make respectable the sexual drive; it is no longer necessarily either a loving commitment or its opposite, a business arrangement, the two sides of the coin to which Romantic authors addressed themselves.

But what of the steadfastness and faithfulness within the institution of marriage? The most rounded, complete character appears to be Magdá's father; wealthy, content though widowed, it

is easy to forget that it was through his adultery that Magdã's 'condition' arose. Fernando's mother, too, was theoretically bound by marriage vows, which both chose to ignore.

The third point is related to this question of 'normality' and non-observance of vows. Consider the only marriage actually to take place in this novel; the ceremony is sandwiched between two illuminating events and concurrent with a third. Some days before the wedding, Azevedo describes the delivery of a most symbolic bed then switches our attention to Magda, watching through the bars of her window:

'Estranho abalo punha-lhe nos sentidos aquela escandalosa exhibição de cama em pleno ar livre. Vendo-a, como a viu, públicamente armada e feita, patenteando sem menor escrúpulo o seu largo colchão para dois, com travesseiros duplos, afigurava-se-lhe ter defronte dos olhos um altar que se trazia de longe para a cruenta e religiosa cerimônia do desfloramento de uma virgem. Havia alguma coisa de pagão e bárbaro em tudo aquilo.' (5)

Next comes the wedding itself, and a generous, joyous feast of food and drink; there is only one blight on Luís's happiness:

'era ver entre aquelas moças, todas elas gente direita, a peste de uma bruaca que morava lá perto.' (6)

Luis becomes untypically irritated with the aged and half-crazy prostitute, and Azevedo seems to agree that as a representative of un-licensed sex she is an embarrassing intrusion at this formal, ritualised preparation for sex within marriage. She serves another purpose, however, for she is the reverse of the natural pairing of Luís and Rosinha, a point which is tellingly made as she makes her departure from the feast:

'mal acabou de jantar, ergeu-se e retirou-se logo, confessando-se indisposta. Sem dúvida foi para casa vomitar as tripas, que estômagos daqueles já não resistem à forte comida dos que se levantam antes do sol e trabalham doze horas por dia.' (7)

A singularly unscientific comment by Azevedo, clearly intended to present her in contrast to Luís rather than as evidence of dietary

degeneracy as symptomatic of moral degeneracy. The contrast extends to revealing something of society's hypocrisy, for this sad creature is uncharitably and unreasonably reviled by Luís, not for her profession, but for her attendance at the wedding.

The last point to note about this wedding again refers to the groom, Luís. When the bed is delivered so spectacularly,

'Luís, ao lado da noiva, acotovelava-a, sorrindo e piscando o olho para o lado dos colchões.

-- Ali em cima é que eu te quero pilhar! ... considerou, dando-lhe uma pontada no bojo do quadril. Rosinha conteve o riso e resmungou, abaixando os olhos: -- Este sem-vergonha! ...' (8)

(This expression, interestingly enough, is the identical one to that she uses at the wedding when she sees the prostitute). Yet, after the wedding-night, their behaviour undergoes something of a reversal; Rosinha now smiles confidently, even victoriously, while

'O sorriso do Luís já era outro; um sorriso de sonso, de felizardo consciente da largueza da sua fortuna e da escassez do seu próprio merecimento. Não levantava o rosto e não olhava de frente, como a espôsa; tinha os olhos em terra, e torcia e destorcia entre os dedos calejados o seu chapéu novo de abas largas.' (9)

In short, marriage is portrayed as normal behaviour, as the means by which relations are made respectable, and even as an egalitarianising process. Yet at every step its underlying motive is to 'legitimise' sex, and in that social requirement for a natural human expression lie inevitably the seeds of hypocrisy. Thus, Luís can be both a 'sem-vergonha' for his too-early sexual innuendo, and a pitiless critic of others. So what Azevedo here observes is the effect upon Magdá of suppression of her natural sexual impulses together with a recognition of the hypocrisy in the very institution intended to relieve that suppression. Magdá is the main sufferer of society's hypocrisy because the convention becomes an obstacle to what she most needs (in Azevedo's view) yet paradoxically what it was devised to legitimise. It requires an outsider, Dr Lobão to cut

through the hypocrisy and propose the only cure:

'É o diabo! Esta menina já devia ser casada! ... Seja lá com quem fôr! O útero, conforme Platão, é uma besta que quer a todo o custo conceber no momento oportuno; se lho não permitem, dana! Ora, aí tem.'

'Casamento é um modo de dizer, eu faço questão é do coito!'

'Noutros circunstâncias, sua filha não sofreria tanto, mas ... se não casar quanto antes, irá padecer muito; ira viver em luta aberta consigo mesma! ... a luta que se trava sempre que o corpo reclama com direito a satisfação de qualquer necessidade, e a razão opoe-se a isso, porque não quer ir de encontro a certos preceitos sociais.' (10)

For the good doctor, marriage is a matter not of the heart nor even of the wallet, but of the uterus. The social conventions that try to pretend otherwise are the very causes of Magdá's condition.

In 'O Coruja' the author puts considerations of the link between psychological health and physical need aside, concentrating instead on the contrast between the social significance of marriage and the moral bankruptcy of those who falsely claim to observe it; in other words, on the hypocrisy inherent in the institution. In the process Azevedo reverts to a consideration of marriage closely akin to one aspect of it as viewed by the previous three authors, viz. the self-interestedness of marriage. There is first the sympathetic character, Barão Emílio de Albuquerque; of his two marriages we learn that, first,

'talvez na intenção de refazer os seus bens já minguados, casou-se, ... com uma rapariga de Malabar, filha natural de um negociante Português.' (11)

Next, that his marriage to Teobaldo's mother was achieved in the face of paternal disapproval, and

'Emílio teve de lançar mão de todos os recursos insinuativos de sua raça para conseguir captar a confiança do pai e o coração da filha.' (12)

Despite his considerable subsequent happiness, and his little-delayed death after the passing of his wife, there is more than a hint of calculation in the contracting of both his marriages, and the calculation concerns material advantage. However, he is

intended as a sympathetic character and we may assume the experience of his marriage had a cathartic effect upon him. Not so the next generation. Teobaldo displays still less ambiguity in his motives for marriage, with Branca seen very much as a package deal; but it is in his failure to develop beyond the materialistic that he contrasts most with his father. Particularly note his crass inconstancy within marriage as instanced by his career-climbing seduction of a 'comendador's' wife, 'uma gorducha quarentona'. There is too the inconstancy of the 'comendador' himself, who has no wish to enter into an embarrassing dispute with the rising star Teobaldo over the unimportant matter of his wife's adultery. Clearly it is not a unique occurrence.

Though André's marriage appears more formal (indeed, he enters it almost as though complying with social custom, like going to school, and not from any material or sentimental motive) both his wife-to-be, Inês, and her mother, Margarida, display varying degrees of calculation; but André it is who ends up looking at odds with all the rest of society, rather than the representative of its moral majority.

Interestingly, the most genuine loving sentiment is associated with an unlikely character, the prostitute Leonília. She desperately loves Teobaldo and would give up everything for him, even her not inconsiderable fortune, but he rejects her for her lack of virtue. The reader is left in no doubt, however, that married Leonília would be completely faithful to Teobaldo, and demand the same of him. As we already know, Teobaldo had no qualms about prostituting himself within marriage. Leonília is a most interesting character, for though a prostitute in a Naturalist novel (and there were many in them), she displays Romantic sentiments; specifically, she appears as a fallen woman in search of a way back into society, her

profession borne of circumstance, not lack of morality. Yet she is condemned ultimately to sink deeper into the mire of reality; her end, as befits one perhaps with such sentiments in a world where there are none, is pathetic.

Finally, there is Branca; her love for Teobaldo is akin to Leonília's in that it has distinctly Romantic qualities to it. However, it too is to be sadly disillusioned, and she eventually admits,

'Não, já não o amo, e é isso justamente o que não lhe perdoarei nunca! é ter-me obrigado desprezá-lo, é ter feito de mim uma esposa sem amor, uma mulher casada que não ama ao seu marido e que por conseguinte há de fatalmente ser mártir, quer submetendo-se a sua desgraça, quer tentando disfarçá-la com outra ainda pior.' (13)

In common with Leonília, and with all who are ruled by their sentiments, she is condemned to disappointment. Her circumstances differ from Leonília's, otherwise she too could have been forced into prostitution. Sex is marketable; sentiment appears out of place in the world in which Branca lives. Note too that her comments, quoted immediately above, are strongly reminiscent of those made by Aurélia to Seixas in Senhora; where Teobaldo differs from Seixas, and thereby illustrates how expectations of authors have changed, is that far from being redeemed, Teobaldo sinks inexorably deeper into the mire that is his society.

The process continues in O Cortiço, where the physical rather than metaphysical aspects of human relationships is even more pronounced. Whether the motive for marriage is material gain or physical desire is of less importance than the fact that no marriage is now contracted purely out of love. (An exception might be Piedade and Jerônimo, but their marriage eventually fails, so his love cannot have been as strong as his physical passion for Rita). As one would have predicted, the motive for marriage (financial or

otherwise) revolves around the possession of wealth. Miranda marries for money and lives in misery as a result, for he cannot break from his adulterous wife on whom he is wholly dependent. João Romão, too, comes to see marriage as a means to secure social advancement and to add to his wealth. For both, marriage is unmistakably a means to an end, not an end in itself. Their wives represent immediate or potential capital. Interestingly, for João Romão at least, the financially calculative element in his marriage is slightly less important than it was in most previous cases. He already has some wealth and continuing income, and it may also be that marriage in the urban setting in the late 1880s was no longer expected to bring with it much heritable property. What it did appear to offer, and so attracted João Romão, was a title and with it a measure of acceptability that was still denied him, despite his accumulated wealth.

Amongst the residents of the 'cortiço' however, financial questions are barely considered in the making of marriages. Pombinha's mother recognises the security that her daughter's marriage to João da Costa would provide, but that is a mark of her caution and not indicative of financial and social aspirations. The other inhabitants of the 'cortiço' view marriage as the legitimising of sexual relations; to a degree this makes it a means to an end for them too, but it is a means imposed by society and complying with it does not necessarily hint at calculation. It would be overly lengthy to list all the relationships that develop amongst the residents of the 'cortiço', but a useful contrast with those of the 'sobrado' society may be drawn by comparing the breaking of a relationship within each group. First, João Romão; Bertoleza, the slave, is an obstacle to his marriage to Zulmira, so he determines to break with her. He considers every means of subterfuge

available, and even murder, but because he knows that what he is proposing is shameful he dare try none. Ultimately he betrays her to the authorities as a runaway, and rather than be taken back into captivity she commits suicide. Jerônimo, on the other hand, feels no shame at abandoning Piedade, for his motive is not financial greed but physical need; Azevedo's view, like that of Dr Lobão, is that to fail to respond to such a natural desire would be more dangerous in the long run. Jerônimo actually does commit murder, but it is to remove a rival, not an obstacle, which makes it fit quite neatly into the then popular hypothesis of the survival of the fittest, and not at all something of which to be ashamed. As the motives are for breaking relationships so they are, broadly, for developing them in the two groups.

Finally in the theme of marriage, we should consider the presence again of prostitutes. That is less contradictory than at first might appear the case since Azevedo portrays prostitution both in and out of marriage. It is of three types, arising from greed, need, and decided preference. That of greed should by now be obvious; insofar as Miranda and João Romão each marry as part of a financial package they can be said to have prostituted themselves. The needy prostitute is also married; Leocádia has sex with Henrique for two reasons ... firstly, for the immediate capital of a rabbit, for her meal, and secondly, for the potential capital that her milk would represent should he make her pregnant, when she could then get work as a wet-nurse. Like Leocádia, Azevedo treats those who are prostitutes from choice with some sympathy (though he would doubtless claim only with objectivity). Yet while he appears to place no moral condemnation on them (in accordance with Zola's comment that 'le reproche d'immoralité, en matière de science, ne prouve absolument rien') he does nonetheless link their 'un-social'

behaviour with 'un-natural' behaviour; Pombinha, who has anyway always displayed unhealthy physical characteristics, is cured of these and simultaneously enters the profession as a result of a lesbian relationship with the prostitute Leônia (14). In sum, Azevedo seems cynical about marriage, but also sceptical that other kinds of relationships offer valid, or even significantly different values, for the lesbian relationship is as simply a physical one as any of the more 'natural' ones formed in the 'cortiço' while the allied heterosexual relationships Pombinha has are as financially oriented as those in the 'sobrado'.

The second feature that appears common to all these novels concerns material inheritance; however, because of the competing number of other concerns this appears much more muted than in the novels of other authors. In O Homem it is Magdá who is concerned about the financial implications of her (imagined) affair with Luís; quite contrary to her father's supposed character she dreams of his furious rejection of her, and the consequent loss of all her possessions. None of the other characters appears concerned to protect their entitlement to a material inheritance, and it is worth emphasising that Magdá only dreams of disinheritance, whereas her father shows no sign of letting such considerations influence his concern for her well-being. In O Coruja, inheritance, or rather lack of it, affects both Teobaldo and André, but apparently simply as a literary device to ensure the logical progress of the plot. Specifically, Teobaldo inherits from his father a most meagre remnant of the original estate. (We should note in passing that his father was a 'fazendeiro de café' in the Mata de Rio district, one of the earlier plantation areas which proved of only relatively short-term profit). Teobaldo also calculates before marriage to Branco that he will in due course inherit her father's estate (the

realisation of which may also have contributed to the father's death); this demonstrates an aspect of his character which is confirmed when, having decided to elope with Branca, Teobaldo toasts,

'Ao novo horizonte que se rasga defronte de nossos olhos!
Ao amor e à fortuna!' (15)

He then adds,

'Amanhã a estas horas tenho à minha disposição uma mulher encantadora e um dote de cem contos de réis!' (16)

However, it subsequently transpires that the inheritance was less than had been widely expected, and does not extricate Teobaldo from his financial difficulties.

For André the question of material inheritance is even more marginal; from his natural parents he receives nothing, which was precisely what he expected. Yet he cannot but feel a tinge of bitterness when he learns that the parish priest who adopted him also bequeathed him nothing. His bitterness is not so much at being ignored, but derives from the enforced recognition that he is entirely alone in the world yet paradoxically is denied independent existence. His sense of indebtedness to the only person to show him affection, Teobaldo, continues to grow in consequence. The same circumstances of financial difficulty apply to Teobaldo, and he, therefore, must continue to exploit André's devotion for him. The two of them are bound together, invariably for the worse.

In O Cortiço material inheritance is again of only passing interest; it is in the nature of the slum that people do not usually have wealth to pass on to the next generation. However, we should note that it is precisely because of his wife's inherited wealth that Miranda is tied to her, and, like André, but for radically different reasons, denied an independent existence. His wealth had not been created by himself so his position in society is

constantly under threat, unlike the situation explored by the 1870s group, who saw inherited wealth as securing your position in society. For João Romão the prospect of inheriting Miranda's wealth and title persuades him to marry Zulmira, but he already has his fortune and will clearly not be made dependent upon such an inheritance in the way that Miranda is; the inheritance will complement his existing wealth, as will Miranda's house since it adjoins João Romão's property. It will be a useful addition, but cannot in any way be seen as a substitute for earned income.

Finally in consideration of the family theme there is the question of hereditary characteristics; Magdá, in O Homem, is the daughter of 'um belo homem! ... inteligente e aristocrato' in appearance. Of her mother we learn nothing, except that she died soon after Magdá's birth so that Magdá was 'tão cedo privada do amor de mãe'. Fernando, five years Magdá's senior, shared her father, and apparently some of her weakening nervousness, but his mother was married elsewhere. (She too died while Fernando was still a child). Luís, far from 'inteligente e aristocrato', is from a village, labouring background. Of his parents we learn nothing; indeed, if he is of human origin, Azevedo deliberately underplays the fact, concentrating instead upon Magdá's perception of him, and his contrast with her, as an entirely natural almost spontaneous being;

'toda ela aspirava, até pelos poros, a vida forte daquela vigorosa e boa carnadura, criada ao ar livre e quotidianamente enriquecida pelo trabalho braçal e pelo prodígio sol americano'. (17)

How sharp the contrast with Magdá, variously described as 'nervosa' 'pálida', 'melancólica' and with 'olheiras de saudade', as indeed it is with Fernando;

'olhos tão inteligente e tão doces ... estatura bem conformada, forte sem ser grosseira ... o metal da sua voz, em que havia uma certa harmonia corajosa; aquela voz velada, discreta, mas muito inteligível; ... E aquele modo inteligente de sorrir, ... aquele ar condescente, ...

aquele sorriso inteiriço, ...' (18)

Yet the child which in her fantasies Magdá has to Luís inherits his features at least from Fernando. While Azevedo clearly attaches importance in the novel to an individual's background as a determinant of their character, ultimately the novel appears to owe more to Poe than to Zola.

Turning next to O Coruja we would note that André too has early lost the protective love of his parents, about whom we learn only that his father was a 'procurador' and that his mother, at the time of her death lived in 'uma das pequenas cidades de Minas'. He is 'muito triste e muito calado' and lives 'numa taciturnidade quase irracional'. As a result he is held by many to be an imbecile. His name combines with his nature to suggest a Portuguese background. Teobaldo's grandfather was a Portuguese nobleman who arrived in Brazil along with Dom Pedro I, and his grandmother 'uma formosa cabocla paraense'. Teobaldo's father, therefore, is described as a 'caráter híbrido' in whom 'tanto corria o refinada sangue da nobreza, como o sangue bárbaro dos tapuias'. The mixture apparently serves Teobaldo's father well, for in the face of opposition to his marriage he is able to bring to bear 'todos os recursos insinuativos da sua raça para conseguir captar a confiança do pai e o coração da filha'.

It is apparent from these first two novels that the author does indeed seek to attach significance to the family background of the characters but neither connects his conclusions to the development of plot any more than any of the other influences, nor applies the principle to more than a very few of the characters. Only with Teobaldo's father does Azevedo fill the character out adequately, then condemn him to a minor part in the novel! In O Cortiço he tries a slightly different tack; now he gives us even less

information about the blood relationships of individuals, and relies instead on contemporary stereotyping to allow the reader to recognise determined behaviour. We are told that characters come from Portugal, from Bahia, from the Madeira Islands, and so on, and it is assumed that the reader will instantly recognise the types. To give but a few examples we may consider João Romão, a Portuguese inn-keeper with 'delírio de enriquecer'; Bertoleza, a Negro slave who prefers work with João Romão to that with another Negro because 'procurava instintivamente o homem numa raça superior à sua'; also, Miranda, the Portuguese businessman who 'prezava sobre tudo, a sua posição social'; D. Estela, again from Portugal but having lived all her life in Brazil as part of an aristocratic family, who is described as 'senhora pretenciosa e com fumaças de nobreza'; Jerônimo and his wife Piedade, 'gente das ilhas' ... both are exceedingly hard-working but without any trace of the obsessiveness of João Romão; Rita Baiana, Brazilian, and the antithesis of Piedade; while the former has 'a fisionomia com um realce de fascinador', Piedade is 'um todo de bonomia toleirona'. Again there is Firmo, rival to Jerônimo for the affections of Rita; he is described as 'um mulato pachola, delgado de corpo e ágil como um cabrito; ... não tinha músculos, tinha nervos'. Again the contrast is between the Brazilian and the Portuguese, for the description of Jerônimo follows very closely that of Firmo, and includes the information that he has a 'pescoço de touro e cara de Hércules, na qual os olhos, todavia, humildes como os olhos de um boi de canga, exprimiam tranquila bondade'. The similarity in these descriptions is as interesting as the differences; at one level Firmo and Jerônimo are opposites, which the distinction between 'cabrito' and 'touro' would make especially clear in Latin America, while at another level both are reduced to, observed as, and commented upon

as animals.

The result in every case of this new approach by Azevedo is caricature, relying entirely upon shared reader perspective and prejudice. The Romantic stereotype is less evident, of course, though not entirely absent; it is replaced, however, by material and sensual considerations. In the work of the first group of authors there was evidence of conflict between materialism and romanticism; that conflict is almost missing from Azevedo's work, and on those rare occasions when it puts in an appearance those who hold Romantic aspirations are subject to severe disillusion. To the conflict has been added sensualism by way of replacement for sentimentalism, but sensualism does not conflict with materialism so much as complement it, and romanticism is left in inglorious retreat; there isn't any logical room left for it, and those who hold to Romantic love (Branca, Pombinha's mother to some degree, even André) distinctly resemble fish out of water.

Society

In many ways this theme is both a continuation of, and an extension to that of the family. However, now we see that instead of materialism and sensualism as determinants of human behaviour there is only materialism.

Since the central concern of 'O Homem' is an individual's vain struggle against her own nature, social relationships are barely touched upon. Social convention, however, is held partially responsible for Magdá's condition; indeed, it may be argued that her position in society confined Magdá more than most. To that extent it is likely that Azevedo felt that to maintain credibility the character in the novel on whom he based his literary experiment had to be drawn from upper middle class urban society; that would be illuminating in itself for it may suggest the author believed

lower classes, because they were less bound by convention were more likely to respond instinctively to what he perceived to be natural impulses.

Material possessions symbolise the different social stations of Magdá and Rosinha (19) and to some extent may help to explain the insanely arrogant response of Magdá to her 'rejection' in favour of a social inferior; certainly it is hard to imagine Rosinha responding in a similar manner. Yet social relationships rather than social differences are not fully examined in the novel, so it remains too early to reach such a conclusion about Azevedo's perception.

In 'O Coruja' we are presented with a fuller analysis of society, or more specifically urban society, and it is much more clearly one in which greatest emphasis is placed on material concerns. It may, of course, be that the importance of non-material matters was always exaggerated beyond the proportion they deserved in determining social behaviour and relations; equally Azevedo may be swinging the pendulum too far in the opposite direction. Such considerations are of less importance than that a change is clearly manifested.

Sampião, the baron's agent in town exemplifies the attitude; when Teobaldo arrives in the city, wealthy and confident, Sampião is all sycophancy and sound advice. When Teobaldo has no money he is simply dismissive. He is dismissive too of all non-money making ventures, such as literature, and this appears to have been a prejudice he shared with others amongst the city merchant class; it was to prove to Branca's father his worthiness that Teobaldo took up 'serious' employment in an office. Some confirmation is also provided by the nick-names Azevedo gives his characters. Notably the bibliophile André is known as Coruja, while the wheeling-dealing businessman is called Aguiar; as well as their obvious associations

with birds, and presumably their particular attributes, the words also translate from Brazilian slang into 'swat' and 'cheat' respectively. In urban society even Inês and her mother scorn André for his proposed History of Brazil. Since material goals are the only ones society has, it is not surprising that poverty should be equated with failure, and wealth with success; when Teobaldo's father writes to tell him of their financial difficulties he warns against telling anyone else because 'tudo perdoam a gente menos a pobreza' (20). Similarly, the wealthy Aguiar can proudly, even smugly proclaim,

'Ah! nada como o comércio para fazer dinheiro! E hoje, deixem falar quem fala, o dinheiro é tudo! Com êle tudo se obtém: glórias, honras, prazeres, consideração, amor! Tudo! Tudo!' (21)

And it is because social relations are materially determined that people in general, and Teobaldo in particular, are required to spend their lives in dissimulation. That is why he lends money to the rich (money which is not his to lend) and withholds it from the poor; the latter group's opinion matters not one whit to him, while it is desperately important to him that the rich believe him successful, their financial equal. That is why also, when he inherits Branca's father's fortune, he transforms the house into one of ostentatious luxury far beyond the merits of the inheritance. Even the use of half the fortune to speculative investment is solely done for purposes of appearance :

'As aparências são tudo! considerava ele, ainda dominado pelas teorias paternas. Julguem-me rico, e hão de ver se em breve o não serei de fato.' (22)

Nor is it only the result of 'teorias paternas' for these values are clearly shared by the rest of society, as Teobaldo had learned to his cost. How quickly the society star had become a social pariah; how quickly now the phoenix rises from the ashes. Only Branca,

Aguiar, and André knew the truth for publicly Teobaldo indulged himself in expensive speculations, and in line with society's perceptions, 'o caso e que o pouco parecia muito ...' (23)

The over-riding importance of money in social relations is repeated in O Cortiço, but whereas previously Azevedo looked only amongst those who had money to some degree, now he contrasts the rich with the poor. More accurately, he juxtaposes the two groups and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions. In the end neither group emerges with credit; the rich are shallow, greedy, and fearful, while the poor are ruled by animal instincts, are violent, and fearful. Both groups are virtually devoid of sentiment. Not surprisingly in a society where people are viewed as without redemption, the degree by which individuals advance is measured not by the contribution that they make to society but by what ruthless selfishness can take from society; and the worst shall come first, as João Romão clearly illustrates. He above all others has a keen appreciation of the importance of money in such a society, gathering it obsessively and stooping to any depths to acquire it, until he sees that it has created a momentum of its own which can be hastened by quite different tactics; then he uses it to acquire still more. Two other characters illustrate less sophisticated appreciation of the value of money; Libório, the aged miser has been stashing away notes and coins with an obsession as marked at least as João Romão's without ever realising how much more he could have if he simply used it better. Miranda too has an obsession, though it is not with money as such, but with the things money can buy, some material, others to do with status; all these things are of course at risk, for they derive from someone else's money so ultimately Miranda has a good deal in common with Libório. Only João-Romão combines both of their obsessions, and will

consequently come to dominate in their kind of society; he lacks their weaknesses, having a capitalist perspective and independent capital respectively.

Overall, social conventions and public opinion in a society where relations are materially determined will differ sharply, in Azevedo's view, from one where relations are determined without exclusive reference to material considerations. This is apparent in O Homem where outdated social conventions owing more to Romantic tradition conflict with reason, as instanced by the scientifically educated Dr Lobão. He is concerned with the demands of the body, though in fact his recommendations owe more to treatment of the psyche, but finds his recommendations frustrated by the demands of a superstitious, over-religious society. Interestingly Azevedo is well aware of the ability of convention to shape our behaviour far beyonds its power or desire to punish. Thus, Magdá imagines herself being stripped of belongings and position by an enraged father who could never reconcile himself to his daughter's marriage beneath her station; in fact, he puts no such constraints upon her. Similarly, in O Cortiço, João Romão is extremely concerned not to incur the distaste of the slum dwellers by being seen to rid himself of Bertoleza. Yet he has been shown time and time again the power he has over them, and their total lack of circumscription upon his actions. The tragic aspect of these two instances is that, in the first case, complying with convention drives Magdá insane, while in the second, João Romão is driven to still more Macchiavellian steps to avoid detection and these in turn rebound severely upon Bertoleza. But it is in O Coruja that Azevedo reflects most critically upon the kind of public opinion that has come to dominate in the society of the late nineteenth century; shaped by generations of Catholic and Romantic tradition it is gravely at odds

with its materialist present, and is consequently flawed with hypocrisy and self-interest. From the start it is put under the microscope; the priest who takes André into his own home upon the death of André's mother is revealed as a hypocrite of the most un-Christian kind:

'Apesar, porém, de tanta paciência, o Sr. vigário, se se não mostrava arrependido daquela caridade, era simplesmente porque êsse rasgo generoso muito contribuía para a boa reputação que ele gozava, não só aos olhos da paróquia inteira, como também aos dos seus superiores, a cujos ouvidos chegara a notícia do fato.' (24)

(One can only wonder at how the news 'chegara a notícia' of his superiors!). Since it explains why André had to continue living in an environment he loathed, it is not surprising that he should grow to despise public opinion too. Conversely, Teobaldo, who has been brought up in a lovingly attentive and well-regarded family, enjoys the attention of the public and responds vainly to it. Ultimately, of course, public opinion destroys Teobaldo; ironically this is not achieved by pulling him down when impoverished but by raising him so high that he is made painfully aware of his own inadequacies. Previously, he had enjoyed good public opinion while having the wit to recognise its shallowness; indeed this subsequently obliged him to pay lip-service to it, though he never could respect it; thus when his only achievement in life was revealed as the ability to sway public opinion, to persuade those he despised of his worth while simultaneously proving his worthlessness to those he loved, Teobaldo was destroyed. He was made dizzy by the heights to which public opinion had raised him, when there was nothing of substance on which he had climbed. He grew to hate his audience for confirming and perpetuating his own mediocrity and superficiality. André too suffers at the whim of public opinion; inured to its cruelty he had been able to ignore it completely. The affection he has for Teobaldo weakens his position, however, for it makes him

vulnerable to hurt, and when Teobaldo's circumstances make it necessary for him to observe the strictures of society, he denies André his support. That is what André cannot bear.

While public opinion may not always be an influence for the bad, Azevedo clearly feels that when it is associated with a guiding principle of the kind that directed his contemporary society, materialism, it serves only to exaggerate the worst effects of that creed. Hypocrisy and dissimulation are necessarily added to the characteristics of greed and selfishness, precisely because these last, though frequently evident in a money-oriented society, run wholly counter to the traditional concepts in an allegedly Christian community of charity and selflessness. Love thyself above all others, is the Baron's advice to his son, Teobaldo, and this seems an ideal way to express the end of a sentimental era and its replacement by a more sensual or material one. Self-love and vanity are promoted by a public opinion which employs sycophancy in a logical and self-interested fashion. A further feature of such a society is dilettantism, and here again Teobaldo exceeds all others in proficiency; at university he cannot settle upon any course of study; he picks up ideas rapidly, then as quickly abandons them; he impresses with his all round knowledge, then moves on before his shortcomings become apparent. At the theatre one evening he sees a politician attract much public attention, and thereupon decides that he will enter politics ... not because he wishes to help, far less represent people, but simply because it is a position which attracts attention. Even then he resolves not to enter politics directly, but will do so through journalism, where he will be neither a politician nor a journalist. We have already noted how he would pretend to wealth; this now represents another angle to the need for people to dissimulate, to pretend. With a chameleon-like

ability to be almost all things to almost all people, Teobaldo is simply the best amongst a society of camouflagers. But being best does not lead to happiness when you have the wit to recognise the shallowness of that society's values.

In O Cortiço again we are shown this aspect of society, which is cleverly exemplified by the affair between Pombinha and the actor. Her husband finds her in the company of

'um artista dramático que muitas vezes lhe arrancara a ele sinceras lágrimas de comoção, declamando no teatro em honra da moral triunfante e estigmatizando o adultério com a retórica mais veemente e indignada.' (25)

The actor, in common with all other members of society but by profession as well, was play-acting; public rhetoric was no more to be trusted than the actor's lines ... all knew their roles and acted them out in public, but in private their lives were quite different. As assuredly as the actor would lose his job if he should fail to deliver his lines on cue, so members of society would find themselves ostracised if they failed to fulfil their roles. Thus, as long as D. Estela's dowry guaranteed Miranda's business he was obliged to disguise his hatred for her or risk losing all that he prized. Similarly, to obtain that which he prized, João Romão had to be rid of Bertoleza, because there was no part for her in the play in which João Romão wished to act. Everywhere is hypocrisy and moral barrenness, and behind each front is a rotten interior.

Those who live in the sobrado are as venal as any imaginable group, corrupt and faithless despite their show of civilised behaviour in the cafes they plague. The cortiço dwellers lack even the outward appearance of social respectability, while expecting and admiring it in their 'betters'; with nothing to lose, however, they can at least afford to be honest. Thus, in direct comparison with Miranda and D. Estela we have Bruno and Leocádia; since he does not

enjoy social position he has no qualms about driving his wife out of their home, very publicly, when she betrays him (with one of the sobrado residents). Without the hypocrisy and obligation to remain faithful to specific roles in society they are actually able to come together again quite happily later on.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the mutually supportive nature of materialism and hypocrisy as described here by the author; social standing and wealth clothe people in a respectability which their inner selves could not justify. Not surprisingly, therefore, an actual change of clothing symbolises a change in social standing, notably in the case of João Romão (26). Others to benefit from this are Pombinha and Leônia; the wealth they gain from prostitution allows them to dress in a fashion that commands the unquestioning respect of their poorer relations in the cortiço; conversely, those same poor are denied both social standing and, ironically, moral values by their lack of wealth. Their absence of moral worth is emphasised by Azevedo's continuous reduction of them to the animal level, driven by instinct, and by implication devoid of moral judgement. This, of course, is Azevedo's judgement which he makes specific in his 'objective' observation of Pombinha, whom he describes as steadily degenerating 'na miséria moral que emana de tanta miséria material' and on the basis of the selective evidence with which the author presents us the reader cannot easily reach any other conclusion.

Not surprisingly given the inordinate (but not exclusive) emphasis placed on environmental circumstances in shaping human development, it is noticeable that those who do not conform to society's demands are crushed by it; Pombinha's mother, who has devoted her life to securing a measure of decency for her daughter, cannot live in the shameful knowledge of her daughter's

prostitution, so quickly perishes. Piedade, abandoned by Jerónimo, degenerates miserably into alcoholism, using that as a means to keep society at bay. Nor are these effects to be restricted to the contemporary society; Pombinha, in an unholy alliance with Leônia, conspires at the subsequent degeneration of the unprotected daughter of Piedade and Jerónimo, thereby ensuring that current behavioural norms will continue to influence future generations.

Like Piedade and Dona Isabel, André in 'O Coruja' is a non-conformist; he resolves 'ser bom' in a society where such behaviour is inappropriate. In consequence he is derided and scorned, and eventually driven to sidling circumspectly along side-streets, muttering to himself. How could he survive otherwise in his society?

'Incapaz de mentir, incapaz de menor charlatanismo, ele tinha em si mesmo o seu maior inimigo.' (27)

He attempts eventually to stop being good, or at the very least to make his goodness less obvious to others and damaging to himself;

'sofrendo por não conseguir ser mau como qualquer homem e procurando esconder da vista de todos as boas ações que praticava, como se procurasse esconder uma falta vergonhosa e humilhante.' (28)

But he has 'been good' for too long and cannot break the habit; quite different is Teobaldo who lacks anyway André's practice, and the will to confront and reject current values. He realised that

'era preciso arranjar bons amigos e por de parte uns tantos escrúpulos.' (29)

It is then that he turns to politics and with the correct formula and appreciation of his fellows 'succeeds' beyond his own imaginings.

Education

Though still a relatively minor theme, education now begins to assume a greater importance than was evidenced in any of the other

novels considered to date. Perhaps predictably it is most apparent in those two novels which concentrate upon the effect of environment upon individual behaviour, and not at all in the novel which takes Nature as its dominating, indeed only influence, O Homem. Further, and again predictably given the balance which is struck in O Cortiço between Nature and society, education is shown as informal teaching from life, while in 'O Coruja', a significant part of the novel is set in the confines of a school, and even after that stage much opportunity is provided for additional revelations on the education system through the two friends' experiences at University.

In 'O Homem' education might be said to be represented by Dr. Lobão, but insofar as it is, it is remarkable how little attention is paid by others to his opinions. Indeed, his educated advice is blithely ignored and common sense, the learning provided by social convention, faithfully preferred, to his anger and frustration.

Criticism of the actual system of education is pointed and specific in 'O Coruja'; however, I will limit myself to just three examples to illustrate the point. Firstly, and because its significance is intended by so early a placing in the novel, education is clearly separated from all intellectual bases and associated solely with the ability to pay; perhaps this is not to be wondered at in a money-oriented society, for why should education be exempt from such considerations? (30). Consequently André, despite his evident intelligence, is seriously discriminated against because his priest guardian refuses to meet the full cost of his fees. By contrast, his great wealth secures for Teobaldo discriminatory treatment in his favour, albeit to his long-term disadvantage :

'zombava dos professôres sem que êstes aliás se dessem por achados, em razão dos obséquios pecuniários que o colégio devia ao pai de Teobaldo, o Sr. Barão do Palmar.' (31)

And later Azevedo refers to

'aquela escandalosa proteção que lhe votavam os professores, apesar da formidável impertinência do rapaz.'
(32)

This tendency to distinguish between educational and financial ability is more damagingly confirmed by the second example, taken from their respective examination achievements. Despite his experience of it at school André is nonetheless surprised to find it repeated at university:

'Teobaldo concluíra os preparatórios e matriculara-se na Escola de Medicina, esperançoso de largá-se de mão logo que descobrisse melhor carreira; ao passo que o Coruja não conseguira passar em nenhum dos seus exames, se bem que estivesse deveras senhor nas matérias. E, no entanto, fora ele, o Coruja, quem fornecera ao outro os elementos daquele sucesso; fora ele quem o preparara, quem lhe metera alguma coisa na cabeça!' (33)

Even Teobaldo is moved to condemn the system but in the process himself also:

'Nada me convencerá de que este nosso escandaloso sistema de exames é só aproveitável para os charlatões e pomadistas! Os estudantes de tua ordem fazem sempre má figura! Ali só que se quer é presença de espírito.' (34)

Thirdly we may gain some good idea of what the education system was like by considering Coruja's plans for his own school, indicating as they do everything that others were not!

'o Coruja ... deixou escapar um segredo que a ninguém tinha ainda revelado. Era a ideia de montar um colégio seu, perfeitamente seu, feito como ele entendia uma casa de educação; um colégio sem castigos corporais, sem terrores; um colégio enfim talhado por sua alma compassiva e casta; um colégio, onde as crianças bebessem instrução com a mesma voluptuosidade e com o mesmo gosto com que em pequeninas bebiam o leite materno ... o Coruja sentiu ... a necessidade urgente de substituir os velhos processos adotados no ensino primário do Brasil por um sistema baseado em observações psicológicas e que tratasse principalmente da educação moral das crianças ...! (35)

In short, as these three examples illustrate, Azevedo's contemporary system of education was based on money, the arbitrary decisions of those in authority, and inhumane practices; everything education should avoid.

Such a system was bound to be held in low esteem, but it appears additionally to have reduced the regard in which education itself was held, as far as we can learn from reading this author; yet in practice it was through education that non-land owning individuals were enabled to rise through late 19th century Brazilian society. For Azevedo, of course, the rate of such progress may still have been too slow; at any rate, it is worth noting his perception of a prevalent anti-intellectualism as instanced on at least two occasions. Sampaio has already been used to partly illustrate this point; part of his early advice to Teobaldo was against wasting time with matters of the pen (36), yet his position derived from his own education and intellect which allowed him to represent the interests of rural landlords in the city, being employed by them as their agent. Presumably his 'education' was concerned only with money-making, while literature and intellectualism have no role to play in such an exercise. The second instance is provided by the scorn and derision heaped upon Coruja's efforts to produce the first genuine history of Brazil. Eventually he becomes so disillusioned that he abandons the attempt and destroys all of his work, so painstakingly prepared; Brazil is left without its written history.

In O Cortiço the author presents education as merely street-wise and non-formal; since so many of the characters anyway are broad brush-stroke stereotypes, Azevedo may have found it difficult to introduce aspects of the individual development which might reasonably have been expected of a more formal system of education. An exception worth particular attention is, again, Pombinha, for she is the only central character to receive a measure of formal education. However, such benefit as might be expected to accrue from learning is wholly countered by the enervating effects of daily

life in the slum. Her mother ensures that Pombinha is educated far beyond her current circumstances, in order further to ensure that both their futures will be spent far from the cortiço. The result could not have been more different; to begin, because of her 'privileged' position within the community (privileged in the sense that she was literate, a nearly unique circumstance), all inhabitants come to her for their letter-writing, and she is consequently privy to their innermost and most intimate concerns. In trying to make her daughter distinctive from others in the cortiço, Dona Isabel had only made her central to it, and therefore disproportionately affected by it. Pombinha becomes the repository of all their darkest secrets, and while the information means nothing to her initially, it slowly ferments within her until there is no room for any positive sentiments:

'Pombinha pousou os cotovelos na mesa e tupilou as mãos contra o rosto, a cismar nos homens. Que estranho poder era esse, que a mulher exercia sobre eles, a tal ponto que as infelizes, carregados de desonra e de ludíbrio, ainda vinham covardes e suplicantes mendigar-lhe o perdão pela mal que ela lhes fizera? E surgiu-lhe então uma idéia bem clara da sua própria força e de seu próprio valor. Sorriu. E no sorriso já havia garras.' (37)

Next, when the mother's intention seems at last to have been realised, and Pombinha is married to a businessman, her education then becomes a positive disadvantage;

'não lhe falou nunca em coisas que cheirassem a luxo, a arte, a estética, a originalidade; escondeu a sua maleducada e natural intuição pelo que é grande, ou belo, ou arrojado, e fingiu ligar interesse ao que ele fazia, ao que ele dizia, ao que ele ganhava, ao que ele pensava e ao que ele conseguia ...' (38)

The strain proves too great, eventually, and she goes first to the arms of a Bohemian actor, then later to the arms of any who will have her. Ironically, in her new trade as a prostitute, her education at last comes into its own;

'Pombinha, só com tres meses de cama franca, fizera-se tão perfeita no ofício como a outra; a sua infeliz inteligência, nascida e criada no modesto lodo da estalagem, medrou logo admiravelmente na lama forte dos vícios de larga fôlego; fez maravilhas na arte; parecia adivinhar todos os segredos daquela vida; seus lábios não tocavam em ninguém sem tirar sangue; sabia beber, gota a gota, pela boca do homem mais avaranto, todo o dinheiro que a vitima pudesse dar de si.' (39)

Dona Isabel, who had thought to escape with her daughter from the slum, discovers that the same means could be used to sink still further into the mire; she shortly dies of shame.

In sum, Azevedo appears to believe that formal education is held in low regard (as instanced by the experiences of Dr Lobão and of André), is subject to the same kinds of corruption as the rest of social relations (as André found to his cost and Teobaldo his initial benefit), and is overwhelmingly influenced by the effect upon individuals of the circumstances in which they live (Pombinha). Informal education, on the other hand, tends to worsen by confirming prejudices and ensuring individuals conform to the lowest common denominator. Clearly this represents a major criticism of Brazil's education system and of the public's perception of its worth, despite the fact (or because of it!) that the theme remains peripheral to the central story line.

Style

The final theme to which we should address ourselves concerns the very style in which Azevedo writes; this is important in a way that was not the case with any of the previous authors, for while they were writing within an established literary tradition, Azevedo's was deliberately developed to contrast with what had gone before, and because the style conditions and determines so much of the content of his work.

Adopting Zola's definition of Naturalism as the objective and

scientific observation of human-kind, Azevedo is bound to rely heavily on selection of detail, which in turn leads to stereotype and reductionism to common (and not always observable!) features. The result is more akin to caricature than to characterisation through over-simplification. Litrento claims that Azevedo

'observa com sagacidade a pressão do meio e das circunstâncias sobre o homem.' (40)

Though he intended it as a compliment to Azevedo's abilities as a creative writer, Pacheco's assessment of O Cortiço classically illustrates where such exaggeration leads those who follow the Naturalist philosophy;

'o cortiço ... é o atrito do meio, é o conflito de temperamentos, é o tumultuar do instinto que o sol dos trópicos abrasa, é a explosão de apetites incoercíveis em que o animal sobrepuja o humano.' (41)

In O Homem he presents human-kind as wholly natural in its behaviour and warns against the dangers of resisting Nature in the interests of social convention. Yet where the novel fails completely is in its attempt to make these points about people in general by examination of (experimentation on, as Zola would have it) a particular individual who is extraordinary. Magdá is incomplete precisely because her behaviour is determined solely by her 'nerves'. This skewed perspective of course provides a distorted interpretation of human-kind. Interestingly, the only character consciously opposing convention is Dr Lobão, the man of science unswayed by sentiment. He is respected, but ignored. Luís is another stereotype but unlike Magdá his social background does not present the same intensity of social convention to restrict his natural behaviour; this is reflected in the vocabulary used to describe him and his fellow quarriers, which tends to emphasise their likeness with animals. Conversely, the quarry is elevated to a life-endowed entity (42).

In O Coruja, where the author provides better filled out descriptions of individuals, it is the institutions themselves which appear truncated and reduced. Specifically, society is presented in purely combative terms, wherein the weak and the strong struggle; these correspond respectively (and logically enough in a society in which relations are materially determined) to the poor and the rich. The weak are condemned to inferiority in perpetuity;

'O mundo, meu filho, compõe-se apenas de duas classes - a dos fortes e a dos fracos; os fortes governam, e os outros obedecem.' (43)

All institutions conform to this over-simplified view; even at school the strong (wealthy) pass their examinations while the weak (unable to pay) fail. There remains, too, an element of individual stereotyping though it is less deterministic than elsewhere; thus Teobaldo, representing all that is rotten in society (dilettantism, arrogance, greed and selfishness), nonetheless manages to generate a measure of sympathy in the reader for the pitiable end to which he is driven, at least in part, by a stereotyped society which fosters such characteristics. Coruja, the epitome of all that could be good in a society, makes one wonder about the efficacy of such undivided and unswerving loyalty where interests are so complex and conflicting; note for example how much harm he does for others in attempting to do right by Teobaldo. It may even be argued that his loyalty condemned his friend to continue along a path which, though easy, led ultimately to his destruction. In choosing martyrdom for himself, André also forced it upon many others, against both their will and their interest. While these two avoid the serious stereotyping of the characters in O Homem, other more minor characters follow the pattern set by Magdá, Dr Lobão et al. There is, for instance, Sampião, the archetypal businessman; Aguiar, the man-about-town, ever ready to seize the main chance; and

an interesting new type in Leonília ... Romantic literature is full of fallen women who eventually return to grace; it is a measure of how different from the Romantic style is Azevedo's work that we have here the picture of the fallen woman who continues her descent down into the mire, despite her desperate efforts to avoid that fate. Ironic, too, that she should appear almost Romantic by nature, though condemned by an un-romantic society.

Another aspect of style in O Coruja which confirms the tendency to see human-kind in sensual rather than sentimental terms, which perception must influence the basis on which relationships are formed if carried into practice, is provided by the attention paid to eating even as Teobaldo and Leonília discuss love:

- ' - Nós mulheres, quando gostamos deveras de um homem, sentimos dessa espécie de orgulho.
- Caprichos de amor Queres uma fatia de presunto?
- Aceito ...
- Há certas mulheres, cuja ternura não é lícito pagar só com ternura ...
- Não. O amor só com o amor se paga! Passa a mostarda. ... Eu, quando te falo em amor, não me refiro ao amor fingido ... Toma um pouco de Borgonha.' (44)

Their appetites are confused, making ridiculous sentimental considerations. Romance and mustard are not easily reconciled.

Azevedo strikes a better balance between Nature and milieu in O Cortiço; he avoids the exaggerated influence of Magdá's unique nature and the confused individualism of Teobaldo in a rotten and wholly determining society. Yet nonetheless it is in this last of his three novels examined that Azevedo shows most clearly the characteristics of style which mark him most fundamentally different from the 1870s authors. His stereotypes are more rounded, and jar less, not least by appearing to possess fewer contradictions. There is the stolid, unimaginitive businessman and his opposite the shallow, bohemian artist; Pombinha, the good girl turned good-time girl who opts for the artist and deserts the businessman; Rita

Baiana, the tropical seductress and Piedade, the unpleasantly smelling Portuguese immigrant; Jerónimo, hardworking, before the charms of Rita and the enervating effect of sun combine to Brazilianise him; Libório, the obsessed miser, and Botelho, the scheming agregado; and many, many more. Azevedo has managed to make these characters more believable than any previous ones, and unusually has, in addition, combined them to produce a whole which is coherent and credible far beyond its individual parts. It is the very proliferation of stereotypes which gives to the cortiço the complexity denied to individuals; for example, Jerónimo, João Romão and Miranda represent quite separate features of the Portuguese experience in Brazil, but together the whole complex reality. As Brayner suggests of the cortiço, therefore,

'a imagem persistente dessa organização singular é aquela que apresenta uma unidade composta, povoada de múltiplos órgãos, subjugados por um metabolismo comum.' (45)

Azevedo then attempts with some success to take these groups and put them within a combative society; the cortiço becomes, almost, a character itself, in conflict with the sobrado character. This is a class conflict with the rising cortiço posing a threat to the sobrado ('o cortiço aristocratizava-se') until such time as their interests are sufficiently close to arrange a partnership. The cortiço, further, is a section of society in transition and is necessarily combative. Not only with the sobrado, but also with its own inhabitants who fail to change (and must therefore be removed), and with those other cortiços which fail 'aristocratizar-se' (such as the appropriately named Cabeça-de-Gato cortiço), always at odds with the 'carapicus'.

Reductionism is to be found in O Cortiço as it was in O Coruja; again we see the animalisation of humans, simultaneously with the humanisation of animals and inanimate things. Choosing but

a few examples, Rita is frequently described as a snake in emphasising her seductive qualities, though women more typically liken her to a chicken or a turkey; likewise there are vultures (Libório and Botelho), faithful dogs (Piedade), bulls (Jerônimo), and wild cats, goats, and monkeys (Firmo). Similarly, the quarry devours its workers monstrously, while the Italian cafe struggles to digest its customers; the fire that sweeps through the cortiço has greedy tongues of flame which devour the inhabitants. Most striking of all is the cortiço itself;

'E naquela terra encharcada e fumegante, naquela umidade quente e lodosa, começou a minhocar, a esfervilhar, a crescer um mundo, uma coisa viva, uma geração, que parecia brotar espontanea, ali mesmo, daquele lameiro, e multiplicar-se como larves no estorco.' (46)

And

'O rumor crescia, condensando-se; o zunzum de todos os dias acentuava-se; já se não destacavam vozes dispersas, mas um só ruído compacto que enchia todo o cortiço. Começavam a fazer compras na venda; ensarilhavam-se discussões e rezingas; ouviam-se gargalhadas e pragas; já se não falava, gritava-se. Sentia-se naquela fermentação sanguínea, naquela gula vigorosa de plantas rasteiras que mergulham os pés vigorosos na lama preta e nutriente da vida, o prazer animal de existir, a triunfante satisfação de respirar sobre a terra.' (47)

NOTES

1. 'O Homem' by Aluísio Azevedo; Livraria Martins Editôra, São Paulo.
2. 'O Coruja' by Aluísio Azevedo; Livraria Martins Editôra, São Paulo.
3. 'O Cortiço' by Aluísio Azevedo; Edições de Ouro, Rio de Janeiro.
4. An excellent example of this is provided in the prayer which the aunt endeavours to teach Magdá in 'O Homem', op. cit., p. 70.
5. *ibid.*, p. 187.

6. *ibid.*, p. 194.
7. *ibid.*, p. 195.
8. *ibid.*, p. 186.
9. *ibid.*, p. 212.
10. *ibid.*, p. 58-60.
11. O Coruja, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
12. *ibid.*, p. 49.
13. *ibid.*, p. 287.
14. O Cortiço, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
15. O Coruja, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
16. *ibid.*, p. 226.
17. O Homem, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
18. *ibid.*, p. 41-42.
19. Specifically it is worth comparing the modest treasure that Rosinha accumulates prior to her wedding, with the ostentatious display of wealth at Magdá's house:

'estava a ver defronte dos seus olhos todo aquele tesouro: grandes rosetas redondas e abertas, do tamanho de moedas de vintém; analões de chapa em cima; um crucifixo de trazer ao perscoço em dias de festa; uma figa que era uma riqueza; no peso; um alfinete de peito representando um anjo a tocar trombeta; três pulseiras lisas e polidas; outras de coral com fecho de ouro; vários de filigrana de prata fabricados no Porto, um paliteiro e tres casticais também de prata, sem contar com dois diamantezinhos que a vovó ganhara a vinte anos, quando se casou, e que fazia questão de levá-los das orelhas para a sepultura. "Era la mania da velvinha - respeitava-se!"' *ibid.*, p. 113.

And for Magdá ...

'O salão era magnífico. Paredes forradas por austera tapeçaria de linho inglês côr de cobre e guarneçada por legítimos caquemonos, em que se destacavam grupos de chins em lutas fantásticas com dragões bordados a ouro ... Cobria o chão da sala um vaste tapête Pompadour, aveludado, cujo matiz, entre vermelho e roxo, afirmava admiravelmente com os tons quentes das paredes. Do meio do teto, onde se notava grande sobriedade de tintas e guarnições de estuque descia um precioso lustre de porcelana de Saxe ... Por baixo do lustre, uma otomana cor de perola, em forma de círculo, tendo no centro um jardineira de louça esmaltada onde se viam plantas naturais ... Da parede contrária à entrada dominava tudo isto um imenso espelho, sem moldura, por debaixo do qual havia um consolo de ébano, com tampo de mármore e mosaicos de Florença, suportando um pênulo e dois candelabros bizantinos ... uma poltrona ... da Índia e ... um divã com estofos trabalhados na Turquia.' *ibid.*, p. 30-31.

Clearly more than a material contrast is here drawn!

20. 'O Coruja', op. cit., p. 111.
21. *ibid.*, p. 139.
22. *ibid.*, p. 234.
23. *ibid.*, p. 235.
24. *ibid.*, p. 22.

25. 'O Cortiço', op. cit., p. 267.
26. *ibid.*, p. 270-272.

27. 'O Coruja', op. cit., p. 319.
28. *ibid.*, p. 335.
29. *ibid.*, p. 317.

30. Consider, for instance, the passage in 'O Coruja', op. cit., p. 26. when the ten year old orphan André arrives at school.

31. *ibid.*, p. 37.
32. *ibid.*, p. 38.
33. *ibid.*, p. 94-95.
34. *ibid.*, p. 95.
35. *ibid.*, p. 125-26.
36. *ibid.*, p. 82, for the manner in which Sampaio first offers advice to Teobaldo.

37. 'O Cortiço', op. cit., p. 173-74.
38. *ibid.*, p. 267.
39. *ibid.*, p. 269.

40. 'Apresentação da Literatura Brasileira' by Oliveiros Litrento; Biblioteca do Exército-Editôra; Publicação no. 439, p. 157.

41. 'A Literatura Brasileira' by João Pacheco; Editôra Cultrix, São Paulo; Vol. 3, p. 136.

42. See particularly 'O Homem', op. cit., p. 92-95.

43. 'O Coruja', op. cit., p. 55.
44. *ibid.*, p. 131-132.

45. 'A Metáfora do Corpo no Romance Naturalista' by Sonia Brayner; Livraria São José, Rio de Janeiro, 1973. p. 38.

46. 'O Cortiço', op. cit., p. 34.
47. *ibid.*, p. 47.

Raul Pompeia

AS JÓIAS DA COROA (1)

There are two over-lapping threads in the plot of this novel; firstly, an account of the theft by Manuel Paiva of jewelry from the home of the Duque de Bragantina. This is based upon an actual theft from Pedro II's palace, though the details are largely speculative for no case was ever brought to court (2). The second thread attempts to provide an explanation as to why nobody was ever charged with theft, concluding that Paiva knew too much about the Duke's immoral behaviour for the latter to bring him to court and risk disclosure of his embarrassing secrets.

While the Duke is visiting friends, Paiva arranges the theft of some jewelry. He also arranges, on the Duke's behalf, for a 13-year old girl, Conceição, to be fed, clothed, and entertained at his house, on a specific evening, when she will be effectively raped by the Duke on his return. Any risk there might be arising out of the discovery of Paiva's part in the plot to steal the jewels, he believes will be more than counter-balanced by the hold he has over the Duke through knowledge of such events as the impending rape of Conceição.

However, Conceição's mother Emília discovers the plan arranged between Paiva and Sr. Januário, the child's step-grandfather and head of their household. No-one knows that Emília is Conceição's mother and her anger surprises and irritates Sr. Januário. Already weakened by fever Emília's fury makes her condition deteriorate still further. Unable to leave her bed, she nonetheless manages to pass on the story of her life to the Duchess; it transpires that, unbeknown to anyone but Emília, Conceição is the illegitimate daughter of the Duke, progeny of

his rape 14 years previously of Emília. The mother then dies, secure in the knowledge that the Duchess will be able to protect Conceição as she herself never could. The Duchess goes straight to Paiva's house and there awaits the arrival of the Duke. Paiva, meantime, has been gaoled, contrary to all his calculations; the Duke had declared himself too powerful to be under threat from any disclosures Paiva might make. As a result Paiva is not in a position to warn the Duke of the presence in his home of the Duchess, who confronts the Duke with the evidence of his past crime, and his near commitment of a far worse crime.

Within the week, all suspects in the robbery are released, the jewelry recovered, and Paiva restored to his former post. For appearances sake an elderly, and entirely innocent servant is dismissed. Thereafter, any discussion of the robbery is prohibited by the Duke.

O ATENEU (3)

The novel for which Pompéia is best remembered, it is purportedly an autobiographical account of his schooldays. In my own view it is clearly far too polemical in content to be taken seriously as biography.

Sérgio leaves home to attend the boarding-school, O Ateneu, renowned for its modern teaching methods and enlightened headship under Aristarco. Sérgio quickly learns that there are, in broad terms, just two groups of students, the weak and the strong; despite warnings to avoid it, it is in the former group that he first finds himself, and from that perspective that he describes his colleagues and his experiences.

The reader is also introduced to teachers, prefects, and

ancillary staff before the author describes the subjects taught and the methods of teaching and discipline adopted by Aristarco in the supposed absence of corporal punishment. Sérgio's early enthusiasm evaporates and he grows to despise the school; he seeks refuge from its pressures in a variety of ways, including subservience, mysticism, 'good opinion', and ultimately isolationism. None prove wholly adequate, though the last is the one with which he persists.

A number of events are described rather than solely the accounts of Sérgio, his colleagues, and their relationships. These include a murder in the school; activities of some of the clubs set up by the boys to relieve 'o tédio corruptor'; a picnic described in terms part-comic, part-savage; a school rebellion; and an award ceremony which reduces Aristarco to a nervous, speechless cypher. The technique succeeds, however, in informing the reader both of the morally enervating atmosphere within the school and of how that determines relationships. The same end achieved by a different means.

Ultimately the school is destroyed by fire, started by a pupil named Américo. Crowds gather to watch the blaze while firemen seem to exacerbate rather than extinguish the fury of the flames. Aristarco poses tragi-heroically as he surveys the ruins of his domain.

Society

Pompéia views society, on the evidence of these two novels as being distinctly unattractive; it is hierarchical, but with even the disadvantaged collaborating in their own misery. Broadly there are three groups of individuals in As Jóias da Coroa ... the rich and powerful aristocratic group; the poor, who are both servile and, when the opportunity presents itself, as likely to abuse positions of power as are the aristocracy; and a third group, epitomised by Paiva but interestingly including also the chief of police, who stand somewhere between these two groups and facilitate the exploitation of the second by the first. In consequence, immorality is not the sole prerogative of the rich nor the role of victim exclusively that of the poor; thus D. Januário is perfectly prepared to sell his step-granddaughter's honour, while the Duquesa is as much a victim of her husband as anyone else. Overall, however, Pompéia appears to hold that in a deferential society where relationships are governed by the operation of favour, all participants are likely to be corrupted. Thus D. Januário rationalises his venality and recognises exactly how the system can operate to his personal benefit, commenting

'Os favores escravizam um pouco a gente.' (4)

Implicit is the obligation, and the debt upon which he can later draw; that is an amoral view for society to hold, and elsewhere Pompéia confirms his believe that society is amoral, root and branch (5). This seems to have been a constant throughout Pompéia's life, for although it is expressed more strongly in Canções sem Metro and more subtly in O Ateneu both these works express sentiments strongly reminiscent of passages in As Jóias da Coroa, written when he was just 19 (6). Only in O Ateneu does the author attempt to provide an answer to the many questions he poses when he

demands

'a transformação moral da sociedade!' (7)

Pompéia identifies two moralities; a social one against which he reacts angrily, and an individualistic one. (These appear in his view to be contradictory, and he did argue elsewhere against the imposition of any social moral constraints upon his freedom as a creative artist). The former is epitomised by Aristarco who identifies the morality behind his teaching career in the following terms:

'Um trabalho insano! Moderar, animar, corrigir esta massa de caracteres, onde começa a ferver das inclinações; encontrar e encaminhar a natureza na época dos violentos ímpetos; amordaçar excessivos ardores; retemporar o animo dos que se dão por vencidos precocemente; espreitar, adivinhar os temperamentos; prevenir a corrupção; desiludir as aparências sedutoras do mal; aproveitar os alvoroços do sangue para os nobres ensinamentos; prevenir a depravação dos inocentes; espiar os sítios escuros; fiscalizar as amizades; desconfiar das hipocrisias; ser amoroso, ser violento, ser firme; triunfar dos sentimentos de compaixão para ser correto; proceder com segurança, para depois duvidar; punir para pedir perdão depois ... Um labor ingrato, titânico, que extenua a alma, que nos deixa acabrunhados ao anoitecer de hoje, para recomeçar com o dia de amanhã - Ah! meus amigos, concluiu ofegante, não é o espírito que me custa, não é o estudo dos rapazes a minha preocupação ... É o caráter! Não é a preguiça o inimigo, é a imoralidade! Aristarco tinha para esta palavra uma entonação especial, comprimida e terrível, que nunca mais esquece quem a ouviu dos seus lábios. "A imoralidade!" (8)

Fine words, though with rather an over-emphasis on 'corrupção', 'depravação', and 'imoralidade'. On the other hand the sentiments are expressed in such a way as to point up flaws in Aristarco's own behaviour, for indeed the morality he wishes to impose through discipline is constantly undermined by his need to bow to financial self-interest, and so social morality is tempered by hypocrisy. Aristarco's practice fatally flaws his teaching.

In order to avoid infection by hypocrisy, Sérgio adopts his own moral standards, quite distinct from society's as expressed by the

school; this had the advantage of making him consistent, but in a morally inconsistent society he is automatically branded as an anarchist. There is in all of this an element of Romanticism, the individual being placed in conflict with an unsympathetic society, and Pompéia, perhaps from personal experience, confirms this element when he specifically rejects a taught morality in favour of one which the individual adopts from experiences;

'A educação não faz almas: exercita-as. E o exercício moral não vem das belas palavras de virtude, mas do atrito com as circunstâncias.' (9)

However, the school does not make society, much as Aristarco might wish, but recognises and reinforces the needs of a corrupt and hypocritical society, and prepares its pupils accordingly, in the author's view;

'Não é o internato que faz a sociedade; o internato a reflete. A corrupção que ali viceja, vai de fora. Os caracteres que ali triunfam, trazem ao entrar o passaporte do sucesso, como os que se perdem, a marca da condenação.' (10)

Menezes argues that

'O romancista mostra a hipocrisia charlatanesca do diretor, e a soma de hipocrisias menores, que se fractionam ... e refrata-se em mil lucilações no mundo moral.' (11)

There is an element of that in the novel, but overall the school is intended to be seen as the creation of society in its own likeness. Clearly, if the school is seen as a microcosm for Brazilian society, where nothing will remain that is unfamiliar to the students on leaving school, then Aristarco must have his equivalent, and Pompéia wishes Pedro II to be recognised as his equivalent. This seems confirmed by the very high regard with which Pompéia viewed his actual headmaster (12) (a point which also serves to undermine the autobiographical description usually attached to the novel, and to confirm my view that the novel should be read as a polemic).

Aristarco symbolises the success of shallow, fashionable,

merely modern things in a world obsessed with its own appearance. He is a charlatan whose continued presence at the head of his little empire is only made possible by others' reluctance to denounce him as naked. The school and Aristarco are adept at maintaining appearances that sparkle with novelty, yet dazzlingly deceive :

'"Ateneu" era o grande colégio da época. Afamado por um sistema de nutrida reclame, mantido por um diretor que de tempos a tempos reformava o estabelecimento, pintando-o jeitosamente de novidade, como os negociantes que liquidam para recomençar com artigos de última remessa.' (13)

Likewise,

'O Dr. Aristarco Argolo de Ramos ... enchia o império com o seu renome de pedagogo. Eram boletins de propaganda ..., conferências ... , caixões, sobretudo, de livros elementares, fabricados às pressas com o ofegante e esbaforido concurso de professores prudentemente anônimos, caixões e mais caixões de volumes cartonadas em Leipzig, inundando as escolas públicas de toda parte ..., em que o nome de Aristarco, inteiro e sonoro, oferecia-se ao pasmo venerador dos esfaimados de alfabeto dos confins da pátria.' (14)

Yet this hugely decorated and acclaimed pedagogue is shown time and again as lacking even the meanest necessities of an educator. Not least when he begins to teach astronomy, a subject of which he knows nothing :

'Uma vez, muito entusiasmado, o ilustre mestre mostrou-nos o Cruzeiro do Sul. Pouco depois, cochichando com o que sabíamos de pontos cardenais, descobrimos que a janela fazia frente para o norte; não atinamos: não quis desdizer -se. Lá ficou a contragosto o Cruzeiro estampado no hemisfério da estrêla polar.' (15)

Nobody dare correct Aristarco, and he feels no obligation to correct himself. Similarly the Duke of Bragantina feels no need to alter his immoral behaviour when threatened with disclosure; from his position of power he has no need to fear opinion:

'A razão das suas ameaças, eu bem sei, é a esperança que você tinha de amendrontar-me com um escândalo ... Isto prova que você não me conhece ... Você não sabe que um duque de Bragantina não pode ter medo de um lacaio?' (16)

The duke might equally well have asked Paiva if he knew the society

of which he was a part, and where he hoped to raise a scandal; the duke did, and was without fear, and Aristarco appears to have done so too; even Sérgio comes to an appreciation of his contemporaries;

'Não ne enganavam mais os pequeninos patifes. Eram infantis, alegres, francos, bons, imaculados, saudade inefável dos primeiros anos, tempos da escola que não voltam mais! E mentiam todos! Cada rosto amável daquela infância era a máscara de uma falsidade, o prospecto de uma traição. Vestia-se ali de pureza a malícia corruptora, a ambição grosseira, a intriga, a bajulação, a covardia, a inveja, a sensualidade brejeira das caricaturas eróticas, a desconfiança selvagem da incapacidade, a emulação deprimida do despeito, da impotência. (17)

Indeed, as was suggested earlier in connection with D.Januário, innocents are hard to come by in Pompéia's novels. Victims are also villains, and every put-upon school pupil is likely to be corrupt and treacherous in turn, even as they live in terror of Aristarco. Such treachery in an authoritarian society is actively encouraged, it seems, by Aristarco. Rumour and witch-hunting is the order of the day ('Ouvir dizer e não denunciar logo, era um crime, dos grandes na jurisprudência costumeira.' (18)) and since everyone is as bad as each other, by participating in this system they automatically become its victims ('A opinião é um adversário infernal que conta com a complicitade, enfim, da própria vítima.' (19)). If you are to be neither victim nor villain, Pompéia tells us, you must dissociate yourself completely from this society.

It is perhaps worth recalling that this is Pompéia's rather extreme view of late nineteenth century Brazilian society; yet does he intend to implicate all societies over time? At one level the answer appears to be yes; specifically, on the first page he argues that every age deceives itself:

'Eufemismo, os felizes tempos, eufemismo apenas, igual aos outros que nos alimentam, a saudade dos dias que correram como melhores. Bem considerando, a atualidade é a mesma em todas as datas.' (20)

This view of constant struggle is borne out in his poem 'Indústria'

in Canções sem Metro, where he insists

'O homem bate-se contra o mundo. Cada força viva é um inimigo.' (21)

However, his view to some extent seems to bear the stamp of his age, and throughout his work there are strong echoes of Social Darwinism, not least in the poem 'Mundo' from the same collection;

'Meu filho - em tempo, há de ver o mundo. O mundo é uma espécie de circo enorme de feras, onde os homens combatem, em nombre do ventre. Cada qual porfia a ver quem vai mais gordo para o túmulo.' (22)

Nor will the reader have failed to note the similarity between this opening line and the one with which Pompéia begins O Ateneu:

'Vais encontrar o mundo, disse-me meu pai ...' (23)

Whether it be with fat bellies or fat wallets that people go now to their graves is less important than that Pompéia was convinced of the selfishness and greed that characterised every individual participating in society. We have already noted the tendency for Pompéia's characters to act not from moral principal but upon their calculation of financial advantage, and in the poem 'Comércio' the author underlines the inevitable presence of money in his society by attributing to it the life supporting characteristics of blood;

'É preciso que o ouro circule pela superfície do planeta como circula o sangue no corpo. Tudo se faça em ouro. Seja ouro o justiça, ouro as lágrimas dos oprimidos, ouro a honra, ouro a pureza, ouro a dignidade humana!' (24)

In the microcosm that is the 'Ateneu' he confirms his belief that money's influence is all pervading, shaping all behaviour, particularly as evidenced in the lengthy passage describing how excited school pupils set up their own market place, their own stock exchange, where fortunes are made and the inexpert exploited and ruined (25).

There are, however, instances when Pompéia appears to contradict himself; specifically, it should be recognised that D.

Januário felt some guilt, and that explains why all the transactions are conducted after dark. It explains too why he feels compelled to rationalise his actions as being in the girl's interest, and not merely as a matter of financial self-interest. Indeed, it is as an act of revenge against his daughter-in-law that he finally proceeds with the business; despite his undoubted poverty, it is sentiment and not exclusively financial deliberation that brings the plan to a climax (26). Similarly, the speculative activity we saw in the school was strictly forbidden, which fact, however, increased its attraction (27). So, once again Pompéia appears to be suggesting that bad as society is, it is neither more nor less than its individual members deserve, characterised as they are by a combination of greed with either vengeance or perversity. It remains unclear whether he includes himself in this judgement, or not.

Education

Though this theme is most apparent in 'O Ateneu' it also is present in 'As Jóias da Coroa', and interestingly it there bears a striking resemblance to an aspect of its presentation in Azevedo's 'Coruja', which novel of course it precedes by some 7 years. Teobaldo recalls the Duke of Bragantina because as well as both being rich, both lack any restraining or guiding influence from a father ... the Duke because his father was dead (and Pedro I had returned to Portugal), and Teobaldo because his parents were excessively indulgent of him. As a result, both depend heavily upon their teachers, an influence which must be seen as being for the bad in both cases, as noted earlier for Teobaldo, and as follows for the Duke:

'Na idade de catorze anos, tendo perdido o pai aos cinco, depois de uma educação viciada pela flexibilidade bajulatória de alguns dos seus educadores e pela violência

ofensiva de outros, que deram ao menino uma duplicidade de gênio, ora arrogante para uns, ora humilde para outros, começou a imiscuir-se o jovem fidalgo na gerência da sua vida e dos seus haveres.' (28)

(Note again the echoes of Pedro II's life).

On the basis even of what goes before it in the sentence, how loaded with significance is the expression 'começou a imiscuir-se'. The factor which accounts for the 'flexibilidade bajulatória' and the 'escandalosa proteção' (29) enjoyed by the Duke and Teobaldo respectively is colossal wealth, and the consequence for both is a character flawed by capriciousness:

'O duque era um homem caprichoso. Ainda uma consequência do servilismo dos maus educadores.' (30)

'... esses mesmos dotes e mais sua estroinice de menino caprichoso, sua altivez natural e adquirida por educação abriam em torno dêle o ódio ou a inveja da maior parte dos condísipulos.' (31)

But it is in 'O Ateneu' that education comes under closest scrutiny, and in which Pompéia indicates his view of what is wrong with the present system, and, unusually, comes up with some specific alternatives. Here too his polemicism is most apparent, with ridicule used to attack received opinion, and uncritical admiration of the proposals he propounds.

The 'Ateneu' is depicted as the determinedly modernistic school in which pupils are sharpened in body and mind to fight the good and the scientific fight; but rote learning and gymnastic precision Pompéia clearly sees as restricting, not expanding, individual potential. Sérgio describes his first impressions of the school in terms which indicate his naivety and, simultaneously, Pompéia's dislike of the school and, by association, of contemporary society:

'O diretor ... sentava-se, elevado no seu orgulho como em um trono. A bela farda negra dos alunos, de botões dourados, infundia-me a consideração tímida de um militarismo brilhante, aparelhado para as campanhas da ciência e do bem. A letra dos cantos, em coro dos falsetes indisciplinados da puberdade; os discursos, visados pelo diretor, pançudos de sisudez, na boca

realejo e gestos rodantes de manivela, ou exagerados, de voz cava e caretas de tragédia fora de tempo, eu recebia tudo convictamente, como o texto da bíblia do dever; e as banalidades profundamente lançadas como as sábias máximas do ensino redentor. Parecia-me estar vendo a legião dos amigos do estudo, mestres à frente, na investida heróica do obscurantismo, agarrando pelos cabelos, derribando, calcando aos pés a Ignorância e o Vício, misérrimos trambolhos, consternados e esperneantes.' (32)

(And as Aristarco showed in the incident with the Southern Cross, the tendency toward 'banalidades profundamente lançadas' is not restricted to the pupils!)

And following the drill-like precision of the gymnastics display:

'Acabadas as evoluções, apresentaram-se os exercícios. Músculos do braço, músculos do tronco, tendões dos jarrêtes, a teoria todo do 'corpore sano' foi praticada valentemente ali, precisamente, com a simultaneidade exata das extensas máquinas.' (33)

Such precision and simultaneity may be appropriate to the machine age and Positivist context of late 19th Century Brazil, but it is implicitly not to Pompéia's liking. Healthy bodies have clearly been achieved only at the cost of a distinctly unhealthy regimentation, that has had a deleterious effect upon the pupil's minds.

But it isn't only a machine age, of course, for that relied upon capitalism, and the entrepreneurial educationalist Aristarco shows himself ready to abandon intellectual honesty in favour of financial benefit on several occasions. Such behaviour is not, however, presented as being particularly unusual; and of course it has a persisting effect upon subsequent generations, for wealth determines entry to this most prominent school, then attendance at the 'Ateneu' qualifies one as a member of Brazil's elite:

'Aristarco interinamente satisfazia-se com a afluência dos estudantes ricos para o seu instituto. De fato, os educandos do 'Ateneu' significavam a fina flor da mocidade brasileira.' (34)

Having settled upon finance as his academic criterion, Aristarco is

Sérgio, for instance, refuses to study yet is under no risk of expulsion:

'Eu não estudava; a minha conta era, entretanto, regular ...' (35)

Later he rashly pulls the director's moustache, then waits in dread and astonishment for the disciplinarian's punishment:

'Esperei um dia, dous, três: o castigo não veio. Soube que Bento Alves despedira-se do 'Ateneu' na mesma tarde do extraordinário desvário. Acreditei algum tempo que a minha impunidade era um caso especial do afamado sistema das punições morais e que Aristarco delegara ao abutre da minha consciência o encargo da sua justiça e desafronta. Hoje penso diversamente : não valia a pena perder de uma vez dous pagadores prontos, só pela futilidade de uma ocorrência, desagradavel, não se duvida, mas sem testemunhas.' (36)

On the other hand, if fees are overdue no amount of academic attainment will offer protection. At the term examinations two pupils in particular merit attention: Álvares is a good payer and is rewarded with a distinction while Barbalho, no worse a student, is behind with his fees and fails completely.

'Contra a distinção dêste último, o Professor Mánlio protestou surdamente; o bronco do Alvares com distinção!

Barbalho, bomba. Barbalho pai andava atrasado semestre e meio ...' (37)

Aristarco even has a merit table into which he can fit every pupil when other, more arbitrary considerations don't apply:

'Contas justas: aprovação com louvor cambiando às vezes para distinção simples; atraso de trimestre, aprovação plena com risco de simplificação; atraso de semestre, reprovado.' (38)

One group is exempt from such mercenary considerations ... or so one is led to believe; pupils who are present as an example to everyone of Aristarco's generosity. They pay no fees, but shine academically:

porque caridade que não brilha é caridade em pura perda.'
(39)

One teacher alone provides a contrary perception of education to this shabby scene, and we can be pretty certain that it is the view held by Pompéia. As Merquior points out,

'Pois 'O Ateneu' tem muito de discussão ideológica; chega a ser um pequeno romance ensaio, a que não falta sequer um porta-voz do pensamento do autor: o Dr. Cláudio, adepto da arte moderna e inimigo da discursão conformista e vazia.' (40)

'Conformista e vazia' are adjectives which describe very well the educational principles adopted by Aristarco, principles that are admired by a significant proportion of his contemporaries. Dr Cláudio holds such people in contempt: he compares Brazil to a stagnant pool where are to be seen 'olhos de sapo, meditando a vantagem daquela paz sombria' (41). The result is 'o desmanco nauseabundo, esplanado, da tirania mole de um tirano de sebo' (41), and the confusion between the Empire of Pedro II and that of Aristarco is deliberate. Once again we are reminded of Pompéia's comments in another context, when he criticised the monarchy in a letter dated 1893;

'Cinquenta anos teve esse monarca para construir e fortalecer a vitalidade do civismo brasileiro. Foram cinquenta anos de inércia e abandono ... E este será o grande libelo perante a História honesta e exata, da inépcia benigna do Segundo Reinado.' (42)

Later Dr. Cláudio is even more specific in identifying Aristarco's education principles as contributing to and perpetuating 'inércia' and 'paz sombria';

'Discutiu a questão do internato. Divergia do parecer vulgar, que o condena. É uma organização imperfeita, aprendizagem de corrupção, ocasião de contacto com indivíduos de toda origem? O mestre é a tirania, a injustiça, o terror? O merecimento não tem cotação, cobrem as linhas sinuosas da indignidade, aprova-se a espionagem, a adulação, a humilhação, campeia a intriga, a maledicência, a calúnia, oprimem os prediletos do favoritismo, os mais fortes, abundam as seduções

exacerba as tendências ingênuas: tanto menor é a
escola da sociedade.
Ilustrar o espírito é pouco; temperar o caráter é tudo.
É preciso que chegue um dia a desilusão do carinho
doméstico. Toda a vantagem em que se realize o mais
cedo.' (43)

Intentional or otherwise, it is most interesting that Sérgio enters school with the words 'vais encontrar o mundo' ringing in his ears, then returns the following year to find that 'o "Ateneu" revelou-se-me noutra aspecto'. It is not the school that has changed, of course, but Sérgio; previously the school had interested him with its very novelty, however 'conhecia-o agora intolerável como um cárcere, murado de desejos e privações' (44). The 'dia de desillusão' has come fortunately swiftly for him, but that too explains why he is unsuited both to school and to society.

Authority

Whereas Azevedo had a great deal to say on the subject of the family, its part in society, and the support and authority it exercised over its members (and on occasions, over those denied membership), in Pompéia's work the family is more noticeable for its absence. The fact that Conceição was an adopted child (as D. Januário and his wife mistakenly believe) may have influenced the way he felt able to bargain with her body; the near incestuous relationship between Conceição and the Duke arose specifically because neither was aware of their family relationship; otherwise in As Jóias da Coroa the family is seen as a source of disunity rather than of mutual support and moral standard setting. In O Ateneu the family virtually disappears altogether; this is less surprising in a novel set in a boarding school, though it is clear that some of the pupils believe themselves rejected by their families, and thereby denied similarly the compassionate support and direct discipline that was a feature, for good or bad, of blood

One aspect of family life, authority, is retained in the school, embodied in the person of Aristarco (surely too close to being an anagram of 'aristocrata' to be coincidence!), so it is interesting that although his authority derives from the institution he heads, he describes himself in terms intended to convey a paternal responsibility for his charges;

'O diretor recebeu-nos em sua residência, com manifestações ultra de afeto. Fêz-se cativante, paternal; abriu-nos amostras dos melhores padrões do seu espírito, evidenciou as faturas do seu coração.' (44)

While such a display may have been, given the presence of Sérgio's father, another example of good financial sense, a later incident confirms that more lay behind it than that; when Sergio pulls Aristarco's moustache in excited anger, it is as a disappointed parent that he reacts:

'Ah, meu filho, ferir a um mestre é como ferir ao próprio pai, e os parricidos serão malditos.' (45)

It is, therefore, to this substitution of authority, despite a pretence of its continuation in another guise, that we now turn; how it maintains discipline, and how it undermines it; how it corrupts and is itself corrupted when removed from the domain primarily of the family to one of competing interests.

In As Jóias da Coroa the authority of the Duke of Bragantina surpasses that of all others and his will is absolutely dominant; his educational background fostered the despotic and duplicitous characteristics of his nature instead of minimising their influence, and in combination with the power he inherited from social position, ensured that his will was indeed realised. Nonetheless, authority is vested in his position rather than (indeed, in spite of the absence of!) any meritorious elements he has as an individual. It

corrupting in the individual. Indeed, the author saw corruption, as exhibited by the Duke, almost as an item of policy, and one furthermore to which all levels of society adjusted (46). This applies equally to Manuel Paiva (whose incentive to theft stems largely from his supposed hold over the Duke) and to D. Januário (who mistakenly believes that being corrupt in a corrupt society will ultimately yield the greatest harvest). In the end, corrupt authority relies upon the willing participation in the system of its victims, so that none are left to protest! All are reduced to 'vivos-cadáveres'.

There are three other associated aspects of corrupt authoritarianism that Pompéia presents us with in As Jóias da Coroa; firstly, it breeds fear, as evidenced by Joaquim, the Duke's loyal sixty year old servant; despite his knowledge of his own innocence, and his many years of proven honesty (perhaps even because of his known honesty!) he nearly collapses in terror when summoned by the Duke after discovery of the theft. Nor were his fears ill-founded. Secondly comes sycophancy, most pernicious of all for it corrupts the person it is intended to flatter and the flatterer in equal measure. There are two examples worth noting though Pompéia often refers to this characteristic of contemporary relationships. In the first example the Duke is walking surrounded by friends:

'Não gosta dos assuntos transcendentais, nem de objeções impertinentes; discute para conversar, só para isso. E os amigos o compreendem e não o contrariam.

... pelo ar de imposição com que fala, conhece-se que ele não admite obstáculos diante de si.' (47)

The objective assessment is confirmed later, as the Duke muses silently when walking alone:

das mulheres. Era como um rei : rei pelo dinheiro e rei pelo sangue. Não havia conta para aqueles que o rodeavam como miríades de satélites, cada qual mais empenhado em causar-lhe alegria.' (48)

The third point the author is making is that when society is as rotten as he describes it then goodness actually becomes a threat. Thus is Joaquim so cruelly treated; thus is Conceição a necessary target of the Duke's debauchery; and thus can the supposed enforcers of law and order represent a threat to the Duke. When he returns from a trip to find his mansion swarming with police, he does not ask what crime has been committed (he already knew that the house had been the site of many crimes, committed by himself), asking instead 'que quer dizer esta revolução?' (49). Though he has already been alerted to the theft of the jewellery, he regards that as of little importance; he does not see the police as there to solve a single crime but to topple a criminal regime, and it is in that that the significance lies in the use of the word 'revolução', however mockingly said. He can afford to mock, for he knows that the chief of police is as much a creature of his time, and therefore subservient to himself, as are all other members of society.

By the time he came to write O Ateneu Pompéia had learned to handle the subject of authority with considerably more subtlety, and nowhere is that more apparent than in the figure of Aristarco. He and his 'subjects' are viewed with greater understanding and more recognition of the complexity of power relationships evinced. Even Sérgio, so often the victim of Aristarco and his bullying classmates is seen also to indulge in authoritarian fantasies of his own (50) and to be quite capable of thoroughly vengeful action when the opportunity presents itself (51). Sérgio and Aristarco share an interest in things military, but while the youngster has only toy soldiers to drill, Aristarco can command legions of uniformed

calmos, soberanos eram de um rei' (59)), Aristarco sees something closer to the divine in himself; in an amusing incident when he is pontificating on the wonders of Nature (and shortly after he has moved the Southern Cross into the Northern hemisphere!) Aristarco invites his pupils to examine his hand:

'Vêem, dizia, explicando a natureza, vêem a minha mão aqui? Mostrava a mão direita, ao realejo, bela manopla felpuda de fazer inveja a Esaú: - É a mão da Providência!' (53)

But if divine in appearance, he lacks forgiveness in his character: just like the Duke of Bragantina (who kept a list of his enemies 'a desmoralizar') Aristarco keeps lists, to which all his teachers can contribute, of those of his 'subjects' who transgress his laws:

'A mais terrível das instituições do 'Ateneu' não era a famosa justiça do arbítrio, não era ainda a 'cafua', asilo das trevas e do soluço, canção das culpas enormes. Era o 'Livro das notas'. Um livro de lembranças comprido e grosso, capa de couro, rótulo vermelho na capa, ângulos do mesmo sangue.' (54)

Again like the Duke, Aristarco is despotic, and again his authority stems from his institutional position rather than from any particular strength of character. In consequence, just as rotteness spread downward from the Duke throughout society so in the school Aristarco's behaviour is the model adopted by the pupils.

Against Aristarco's kind of authority there is no ground for appeal; unrestrained, his decision is unquestioned and the results are entirely arbitrary ... and self-interested. There are too the same associated characteristics identified in the pupils as there was in the Duke's subjects. Complicity is there, for once Aristarco has bestowed his favour on anyone that individual shares in the headmaster's authority; accordingly they too collaborate in a system that operates against their own interests. Fear is there in abundance; fear of Aristarco, of his appointees, of particular

opinion amongst fellow pupils.

Again sycophancy is present, though on this occasion it can backfire upon those at whom it is directed (as when Aristarco is presented with a bust by admiring students, only to find himself now vying with the image of himself for attention). The point about sycophancy generally, however, is that it confirms one's highest opinion of oneself. The sycophant knows instinctively what his subject wants to hear, then confirms it; thus, in an early passage, a teacher tells Aristarco much of what Pompéia told us Aristarco believes of himself:

'O mestre, perorou Venâncio, é o prolongamento do amor paterno, é o complemento da ternura das mães, o guia zeloso dos primeiros passos, na senda escabrosa que vai às conquistas do saber e da moralidade. Experimentando no labutar quotidiano da sagrada profissão, o seu auxílio ampara-nos como a Providência na terra; escolta-nos assíduo como um anjo-de-guarda; ... A família é o amor no lar, o estado é a segurança civil; o mestre, com o amor forte que ensina e corrige, prepara-nos para a segurança íntima inapreciável da vontade. Acima de Aristarco - Deus! Deus tão-somente; abaixo de Deus - Aristarco.' (55)

Who would wish to be taught or corrected by either Aristarco or Venâncio? And what kind of education system or society is it that Pompéia is presenting, where authority is exercised unfettered by any kind of moral responsibility or answerability, but is bolstered by complicity, fear, and sycophancy?

There is even a possible parallel in this novel with the incident in As Jóias da Coroa when the police were mockingly referred to as agents of revolution. When the school is burning to the ground, the firemen who are called to the blaze only worsen the situation:

'O trabalho das bombas, nesse tempo das circunscrições lendárias, era uma vergonha. Os incêndios acabavam de cansaço. A simples presença do Coronel irritava as chamas, como uma impertinência de petróleo. Notava-se que

Once again the potential source of corrective action is revealed as impotent; however, in this novel, Pompéia does appear to consider two possible solutions when the individual is threatened by the authority of a corrupt and corrupting society. The first, Republicanism, he seems to dismiss as ineffective, which accords with the suggestion that for Pompéia at least the problem lay not in the person of Pedro II alone, but in the whole orientation of society, which is the creation of institutions not individuals, the latter merely drawing their authority from the former. Replacing the Emperor while his instruments of power remain intact will not permit a redirecting of society.

With Republicanism apparently ineffective because it seeks to remove the head and leave the underlying institutions intact (in Pompéia's view), the author turns to two alternatives. Firstly, there is the one proposed by Sérgio's example; it comes to him like a blinding flash on his road to Damascus ... he should make himself wholly independent of the society to which he cannot adapt, and which he finds hostile and brutal. He becomes, at some cost to his childish ambitions, an anarchist, unrespecting of any form of authority:

'Daí por diante era fatal o conflito entre a independência e a autoridade. Aristarco tinha de roer. Em compensação, adeus esperanças de ser um dia vigilante! Principalmente: adeus indolência dos tempos beatos!' (57)

Secondly, there is the approach adopted by the interestingly named pupil, Américo. He appears to recognise that Aristarco's authority stems from the institution which he heads; accordingly he does not argue with Aristarco, as the latter's ineffective Republican son does; nor does he choose mute confrontation, implying as it does a martyr-like acceptance of the status quo

Instead, he destroys the institution on which Aristarco depends; he burns his empire to the ground:

'Américo ... vinha da roça. Mostrou-se contrariado desde o primeiro dia. Aristarco tentou abrandá-lo; impossível; cada vez mais enfezado. Não falava a ninguém. Era já crescido e parecia de robustez não comum. Olhavam todos para êle como para uma fera respeitavel.' (58)

The original spirit of Brazil (as indicated by his name at least) is more powerful than the temporary authority within the country; and it is clearly not given to compromise.

Style

Critics have already drawn attention to the similarities between Pompéia and Azevedo, at least in terms of their common objectives. Notable in this context are Barroso (59) and Menezes (60), who respectively have said "'O Ateneu" era el naturalismo en marcha, con métodos diferentes a los de Azevedo, difiriendo con el en la investigación pero coinciendo en la misma corriente'; and 'seus (i.e. Pompéia's) processos de observação e de análise psicológica não coincidiriam com os de Aluísio Azevedo. Os objetivos artísticos seriam os mesmos; a diferença ... era a diferença dos artistas, não das normas de Arte.' Neither need have been at such pains to secure for Pompéia the distinction of similarity to Azevedo; they are quite different, and while it is interesting to remark upon points of comparison, that way are the differences overlooked, and Pompéia will suffer in consequence. There is more to him than can be learned by studying him in harness with Azevedo.

Nevertheless, it is useful to consider those points where he shares the style common to 1880s authors. He is anti-religion without ever seeming to dwell on the point; two examples will serve. In 'Canções sem Metro, in the process of condemning all

teus exorcismos?' (61) and in As Jóias da Coroa he promotes an especially unhealthy image by linking as one the atmosphere to be found in a priest's refuge with the subdued tones of a harem (62). This leads on to a second coincidence of style, whereby women are represented as falling into just two categories. (Although there is a tendency to reductionism in the characterisation of all people. Pompéia had tried to increase the complexity of his male characters; yet for women he makes no such effort, and his stereotyping of them seems all the more blatant for his inconsistency). Thus, in 'As Jóias da Coroa' are to be found 'algumas fidalgas da intimidade do duque' (p.80) who are privy to the secrets of his private apartments, juxtaposed with the Duchess (described at one stage as 'esta santa senhora', which adjective is the nickname applied to Teobaldo's mother in O Coruja), Emília, and Conceição. Likewise in O Ateneu where there are far fewer opportunities, Pompéia nevertheless has followed the same pattern of presenting radically opposed, but not opposing, images of women; there is the natural, and naturally seductive image of Ângela, who revels in the effect she has on the boarding school boys :

'filha selvagem da luz, fauna indomável das regiões quentes, afrontando a temperatura como as leas, insensível e sobranceira.' (63)

The contrast is provided by D. Ema, wife to Aristarco and surrogate mother to Sérgio. She appears symbolic of those characteristics which cannot be accommodated within the microcosm (and are by extension unsuited to society) and it is no surprise when she abandons Aristarco and the school at the end of the novel. Like the Duchess and Teobaldo's mother, she is in Brazilian society, but not part of it.

sensational rather than the sentimental, though here he is beginning to illustrate differences from his contemporary authors. For example, while the Naturalists strove to remove all traces of sentiment from their characters' relationships, Pompéia tried to retain it, seeing them as not mere automatons but possessed of deeper feelings whose influence could not be fully accounted for, but could not be ignored either. He notes that,

'Duas são as representações elementares do agradável realizado: nutrição e amor.' (64)

Nourishment and love are akin to, but crucially different from a full belly and a mate. In a sense while the Naturalists substituted sensation for sentiment, Pompéia tried to bridge the gap by substituting passion. Yet Pompéia can still assume more typically conservative attitudes, and no more so perhaps than in the scene when the school goes on picnic. All restraint goes when Aristarco, the ruler, loosens the reins; the intention of Pompéia may well have been to ridicule Aristarco, yet the impact is to confirm the conservative belief that man unchecked descends into uncivilised, even animal behaviour;

'Quando os rapazes sentaram-se, em bancos vindo do 'Ateneu' de propósito, e um gesto do diretor ordenou o assalto, as tabuas das mesas gemeram. Nada pôde a severidade dos vigilantes contra a selvageria da boa vontade. A licença da alegria exorbitou em canibalismo. Aves inteiras saltavam das travessas; os leitões à unha, hesitavam entre dous reclamos igualmente energicos, dos dous lados da mesa. Os criados fugiram. Aristarco, passando, sorria do espectáculo como um domador poderoso que relaxa.' (65)

Next, note with Merquior, that the style of O Ateneu is

'prosa cheia de qualidades literárias, ao contrário da dos romancistas naturalistas', (66)

which brings us to consideration of those areas where Pompéia took his work beyond that of his contemporaries. Not for him the quasi-

of one form of religiosity for another. He was less interested in substitution than in removal, and displays a healthy incredulity in equal proportions for priests and scientists. In the poem 'Mundo', he asks,

'Médico, por que assassinas sob proteção da lei, armado de ignorância e audácia?' (67)

while in O Ateneu⁷ his treatment of science in general and social-Darwinism in particular is reasonably consistent. There are exceptions, as exemplified by the incident related above from the picnic scene, but he remains deeply suspicious of any attempt to deny to humankind characteristics that distinguish them from the animal kingdom. Thus Dr Cláudio provocatively criticises the contemporary fascination for all that is new and scientific not in an attempt to restore Romanticism, but to ensure that the latter is not replaced by the equally unsatisfactory Naturalism:

'Decaídas as fantasias sentimentais, reformou-se o aspecto do mundo. Os deuses foram banidos como efeitos importunos do sonho. Depois da ordem em nome do Alto, proclamou-se a ordem positivamente em nome do Ventre. A fatalidade nutrição foi erigida em princípio: chamou-se indústria, chamou-se economia política, chamou-se militarismo. Morte aos fracos! Alcando a bandeira negra do darwinismo espartano, a civilização marcha para o futuro, impávida, temerária, calcando aos pés o preconceito artístico da religião e da moralidade.' (68)

Evidently a suspicion here that the baby has been thrown out with the Romantic (sic.) bathwater. Pompéia seems reluctant to deny the importance of sensation, of instinct, in contributing to the explanation of human behaviour, yet demands an appreciation of sentiment within that context. He calls for a Darwinian aesthetic almost as a corrective to the oversimplified 'darwinismo espartano' of the 'Ventre';

'Arte, estetica, estesia é a educação do instinto sexual'.
(69)

adaptação.' (70)

'Sonho, sentimento artístico ou contemplação é o prazer atento da harmonia, da simetria, do ritmo, do acôrdo das impressões, com a vibração da sensibilidade nervosa. É a sensação transformada.' (71)

Sense, therefore, adapts in a truly Darwinian manner, towards something higher, to something that marks man out from other animals, to sentiment.

Finally, two aspects of his style that further distance Pompéia from his Naturalist contemporaries; he makes use of two distinctive literary methods, both containing a polemical edge ... satire, and prolonged debate. Satire is to be found in the caricaturisation of certain individuals which puts them on an entirely different plane to that at which Azevedo's characters operated. Consider the apoplectic Conde d'Etú ... known as the 'príncipe dos cortiços' he is described as 'um produto abortivo do tronco dos Bragantina', and the first seven times he opens his mouth it is to proclaim that he has been robbed. Each time he is urged to calm down, and each time he returns more agitated than before until he is reduced almost to tears. Consider also the pompous speechifying of Aristarco and some of his less pleasant acolytes; especially the incident at the picnic when one of the latter, rain streaming down his face, continues to recite poetry:

'Venâncio não se perturbou. Abriu um guarda-chuva para não ser inteiramente desmentido pelos goteiros e continuou, na guarita, a falar entusiásticamente ao sol, a limpidez do azul.' (72)

Since fair weather was a prerequisite of one of Aristarco's outings, any poetry Venâncio read had to reflect that. Even more comic is Aristarco's response to the sun-worshipper sheltering from the rain:

'Não querendo desprestigiar o estimável subalterno, Aristarco fingia acreditar no improviso e, indiferente, deixava cair o aguaceiro. As abas do chapéu de palha murchavam-lhe ao redor da cabeça, o rodaque branco

The reader will look long and hard for such humour amongst Pompeia's Naturalist contemporaries!

Turning to the aspect of debate, it is apparent that Pompeia uses the technique to present his dislikes and his aspirations. It is a technique which he manages successfully, because it is presented as autobiographical recall, and since it is done from memory it automatically is given an authenticity which straightforward argument would lack ... despite the suspicion that such recall must be profoundly suspect. Merquior comments that,

"O Ateneu" tem muito de discussão ideológica; chega a ser um pequeno romance-ensaio.' (74)

It is a combative and risky technique which few attempted, but which Pompéia has carried off highly successfully in 'O Ateneu', within his own terms.

NOTES

1. 'As Jóias de Coroa', by Raul Pompeia; Clube do Livro; S.P. 1962.
2. See for instance the brief account given by Pedro Calmon in his 'História de D. Pedro II'; Livraria José Olympio Editora; Rio de Janeiro, 1975; Third Volume, p. 1261-1265.
3. 'O Ateneu' by Raul Pompéia; Instituto Nacional do Livro; Rio de Janeiro, 1971.
4. 'As Jóias de Coroa', op. cit., p. 24.
5. A clear example is provided in the piece entitled 'Mundo' from 'Canções sem Metro (c/f O Universo Poético de Raul Pompéia' by Lêdo Ivo; Livraria São José; Rio de Janeiro 1963). There he asks:

'E a parva humanidade se dilacera, como uma multidão de loucos apunhalando-se nas trevas. Mercador, por que roubas ao que te compra? Advogado, por que jogas com a mentira? Magistrado, por que vendes a justiça? Médico, por que assassinas sob proteção da lei, armado de

tiranizas? Conquistador, por que saqueias? Pai, por que vendes a tua filha? Mulher, por que vendes a tua carne?'

6. In 'As Jóias de Coroa' after overhearing D. Januário's plans for her daughter, Emilia demands of him,

'Quantas vezes vendeu seus filhas? Quanto lhe rendeu o negócio, velho desavergonhado?' op. cit., p. 33.

7. 'O Ateneu'; op. cit., p. 41.

8. *ibid.*, p. 44.

9. *ibid.*, p. 211.

10. *ibid.*, p. 212.

11. In 'Evolução do Pensamento Literário no Brasil', op. cit., p. 230.

12. See particularly, valedictory note in 'Jornal do Comércio' written by Pompéia and quoted by Ledo Ivo in 'O Universo Poético de Raul Pompéia'; Livraria São Jose, Rio de Janeiro, 1963; p. 61-62.

13. 'O Ateneu', op. cit., p. 25.

14. *ibid.*, p. 26.

15. *ibid.*, p. 75-76.

16. 'As Jóias da Coroa', op. cit., p. 85.

17. 'O Ateneu', op. cit., p. 161.

18. *ibid.*, p. 176.

19. *ibid.*, p. 78.

20. *ibid.*, p. 23.

21. In 'Canções sem Metro', op. cit., p. 132.

22. *ibid.*, p. 192.

23. 'O Ateneu', op. cit., p. 23.

24. 'Canções sem Metro', op. cit., p. 133.

25. Too long to quote in its entirety, I include here two extracts which convey the flavour of the section:

'Depois havia os jogos de parada, em que circulavam como preço as penas, os selos postais, os cigarros, o próprio dinheiro. As especulações moviam-se como o bem conhecido ofídio das corretagens. Havia capitalistas e usurários, finórios e papalvos; idiotas ... que os hábeis limpavam com a gentileza de figuras da bolsa...'

'No comércio do selo é que fervia a agitação de empório, contratos de cobiça, de agiotagem, de esperteza, de fraude. Acumulavam-se valores, circulavam, frutificavam; conspiravam os sindicatos, arfava o fluxo, o refluxo das altas e das depreciações. Os inexpertos arruinavam-se, e

26. As Jóias da Coroa , op. cit., p. 76.
27. O Ateneu , op. cit., p. 145.
28. As Jóias da Coroa , op. cit., p. 52.
29. O Coruja , op. cit., p. 38.
30. As Jóias da Coroa , op. cit., p. 54.
31. O Coruja , op. cit., p. 37.
32. O Ateneu , op. cit., p. 30.
33. *ibid.*, p. 33.
34. *ibid.*, p. 29.
35. *ibid.*, p. 65.
36. *ibid.*, p. 179.
37. *ibid.*, p. 160.
38. *ibid.*, p. 160.
39. *ibid.*, p. 160.
40. In De Anchieta e Ecludes : Breve História da Literatura Brasileira , op. cit., p. 193.
41. O Ateneu , op. cit., p. 129-30.
42. In O Universo Poético de Raul Pompéia , op. cit., p. 246.
43. O Ateneu , op. cit., p. 210-211.
44. *ibid.*, p. 38.
45. *ibid.*, p. 179.

46. An example of this is provided by the comparison Pompéia draws with Napoleon, and illustrates once again how the Duke relies upon the mute complicity of his victims:

'Contava mais vitórias do que Napoleão. E somente havia uma diferença entre o conquistador e ele. É que Napoleão triunfara sobre a força e o duque triunfara sobre a fraqueza. Os principais feitos do general se haviam passado no campo das batalhas e os do duque no segredo das salas.' As Jóias da Coroa , op. cit., p. 98.

Not for the first time do we see here a reference to Ferreira Vianna's short essay "A Conferência dos Divinos" (see also p. 79) in which this idea of the Emperor using weakness rather than strength as a weapon is manifest; in that essay, D. Pedro

'A política da força faz mártires, e os mártires, como sabeis, ressuscitam; a política da corrupção faz miseráveis, e os miseráveis apodrecem antes de morrer. Vós encontrastes em vossos reinados a invencível resistência dos cadáveres-vivos, e eu governei pacificamente vivos-cadáveres.'

The message Vianna has is that the corruption of the authoritarian Pedro II, by deliberately infecting his subjects, assures him of continued authority within that society ...

"comecei por embriagar os grandes e cheguei até o povo. A corrupção caiu de cima para baixo como um orvalho.'

Both in Ferreira Vianna's A Conferência dos Divinos, op. cit., pages 275 and 272 respectively.

47. As Jóias da Coroa, op. cit., p. 51.

48. *ibid.*, p. 98.

49. *ibid.*, p. 56.

50. Before setting off for school, Sergio sadly takes leave of his toys:

'olhei triste ... os meus queridos pelotões de chumbo! espécie de museu militar de todas as fardas, de todas as bandeiras, escolhida amostra da força dos estados, em proporções de microscópio, que eu fazia formar a combate como uma ameaça tenebrosa au equilíbrio do mundo; que eu fazia guerrear em desordenado apêrto - massa tempestuosa das antipatias geográficas encontro definitivo e ebulição dos seculares ódios de fronteira e de raça, que eu pacificava por fim, com uma facilidade de Providencia Divina, intervindo sábiamente, resolvendo as pendencias pela concordia promiscuo das caixas da pau.'

O Ateneu, op. cit., p. 24-5.

51. Later, when an old rival secretly leaves the dormitory for a rendezvous relies on inside help to climb back in before discovery, Sérgio offers to take over watch on the rope:

'Com o sangue-frio das boas vinganças, sem a menor pressa, evoquei a memória da afronta que medevia Rômulo. Era justo. Recolhi pouco a pouco a corda de lençóis, firmei forte as barras da grade e fui dormir. Chovia a potes tanto melhor: a injúria, que o sangue não lava, bem pode lavar uma ducha de enxurro. Estava vingado!'

O Ateneu, op. cit., p. 208.

53. *ibid.*, p. 76.
54. *ibid.*, p. 77-78.
55. *ibid.*, p. 31.
56. *ibid.*, p. 244.
57. *ibid.*, p. 104.
58. *ibid.*, p. 239.
59. Barroso, in 'Esquema Histórico de la Literatura Brasileira'; p. 104.
60. Menezes, in 'Evolução do Pensamento Literário no Brasil'; p. 229-30.
61. In Canções sem Metro, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
62. The description is interesting for its associations which at once condemn the two professions mentioned and the Duke, though he remains unmentioned:
- 'Esse aposento recatado, que era, ao mesmo tempo, gruta sombria e casta de monge, pelo crânio, e alcova perfumosa e brilhante de harem, pelos coxins.'
- As jóias da Coroa, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
63. 'O Ateneu', *op. cit.*, p. 205.
64. *ibid.*, p. 133.
65. *ibid.*, p. 171.
66. In De Anchieta e Euclides; *op. cit.*, p. 193.
67. Canções sem Metro, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
68. 'O Ateneu', *op. cit.*, p. 135.
69. *ibid.*, p. 132.
70. *ibid.*, p. 132.
71. *ibid.*, p. 136.
72. *ibid.*, p. 173.
73. *ibid.*, p. 173.
74. In De Anchieta e Ecludes, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

Quincas Borba (1)

Rubião, companion and servant to Quincas Borba, inherits all of that philosopher's wealth, from his dog, through his 'apólices', to his philosophy of 'Humanitas' itself. Indeed, Rubião becomes the lived expression of the philosophy, which bears striking resemblance to Positivism; insofar as Rubião exemplifies the theory in practice, however, Humanitas is revealed as a total failure, and Positivism is tainted by association.

Rubião moves from Barbacena to Rio de Janeiro, where he falls, indeed is specifically encouraged to fall in love with Sofia, the wife of an ambitious entrepreneur determined to make use of Rubião's wealth. Palha, the husband, is just one of a great many city dwellers who try to take advantage of the naive Rubião, but he is most certainly the one who achieves this to greatest degree; even, one suspects, beyond his wildest expectations. Others include Camacho, who uses him to further his political aspirations, and Sofia, who, in addition to acting in her husband's interests, exploits Rubião to satisfy her own vanity. Their deceit, in the context of a society which seems to encapsulate all human venality, eventually so confuses Rubião as to drive him into a world of his own imagination, one which he can the more easily understand. In this alternative world. Rubião imagines himself to be the Emperor Napoleon III, able to determine relationships and of course to secure the love and fidelity of Sofia.

Madness is not of itself sufficient reason for the hangers-on to abandon Rubião; on the contrary, they exploit his confusion even further to their own benefit. However, the more Rubião exists in his make-believe world, the more quickly do his resources contract.

erstwhile friend and partner who has Rubião committed to a mental hospital. A cure does seem possible though Machado leaves the reader unclear as to whether Rubião's apparent improvement is real or merely a pretence to secure his release. At any rate, he is confined beyond the time of his expected release (again at Palha's instigation) and when he finally escapes to Barbacena he appears still to be mad. Again Machado confuses, for in fact, Rubião's repeated assertion that the potatoes go to the victor and his delirious shouting may be indications that he has finally understood Borba's philosophy and knows that it is unworkable from bitter experience; they don't necessarily indicate madness.

A few days after he returns, Rubião, 'Humanitas' in practice, wearily and symbolically abdicates/dies. The name of Quincas Borba, which was given deliberately to his dog by the philosopher, outlives Humanitas, contrary to the philosopher's expectations, but within 3 days the dog too is dead.

Machado, and more recently such work has begun to lay emphasis on the political and social context in which he worked, and, more importantly, upon his observations of this context. After considerable reflection, and despite an early decision to exclude Machado from this study on the grounds that justice could not be done to his work in so short a thesis, I finally opted to include a piece on just one of his novels, "Quincas Borba". This choice was made straightforward as well as logical, for having been written during the second period under discussion, though having a plot which was set in the first period, broadly.

Immediately, however, I faced a problem of identifying themes tackled in "Quincas Borba". Whereas all the authors previously reviewed could be shown to have addressed themselves to a handful of themes, I found that at first glance "Quincas Borba" displayed a page-long list of themes, ranging from sycophancy and the operation of the favour system, through all of the themes tackled by the other authors, to the perils of gossip and, finally, insanity. In reading the novel, one cannot help but be struck by the apparently aimless way in which the author addresses himself to one idea, only to be diverted into consideration of another, seemingly unrelated one, eventually returning to the first. Clearly, this had to be either an exceedingly idiosyncratic way of writing, or, if deliberate, yet another theme. Finally I decided that this was not "yet another theme", but the beginnings of a realisation that it was but one of a very small number of important themes which themselves sought to encompass all of the minor "themes" I had already identified. In short, whereas before, the authors I had examined had made themes of certain social characteristics, Machado had fitted these (and other) characteristics within a much wider context, and paradoxically,

contemporaneous nature of the themes, but do not lose sight of the universal (as Machado saw it) nature of the characteristics, and their relevance, indeed bearing, on the outcome of the themes.

The Machadian themes on which I now propose to dwell at greater length are but three : the collapse of the monarchy; a critique of Positivism; and illusion. As might already be guessed, both from these descriptions of the themes and from the above implied complexity of Machado's work, even these few cannot be seen as concretely separate themes. Time and again the characteristics overlap, sometimes confirming, occasionally contradicting; yet nowhere have I been able to identify in this any confusion in Machado's mind about what he was trying to say. Rather this apparent confusion is intended as a counter to the contemporary liking for simple, if not simplistic, perceptions of society. The often detailed, "realist" portraits of Azevedo, and the brightly drawn canvases of Guimarães are revealed as black and white caricatures alongside the astonishingly revealing thumbnail sketches of Machado. Detail and brightness, Machado knew, were as likely to dazzle as to illuminate, and the thing which separates him from all of these authors here studied is his rejection of both the Romantic and the Realist houses. Their over-concentration on individual and type respectively, had the regrettable side-effect of distorting, and thereby obscuring both the importance of society in determining human experience, and the possibility of individual, unpredictable responses by individuals to circumstances with which they found themselves faced.

Properly to appreciate this novel, it is imperative to recognise the coincidence of its writing and the collapse of monarchism in Brazil. Completed in 1891, it had been started 5 years earlier, and during its serialisation in a newspaper, Machado had continually reviewed the course of the plot in the light of changing political circumstances. Yet, if there was a need to change the plot, then clearly, though set in the period 1868 to 1871, Machado intended his readers to see these separate periods as linked historically. At the time when Machado began writing the novel, he must have regarded the end of monarchism in Brazil as inevitable, with only the timing in doubt.

Extending from this coincidence of plot, there is a clear identification of plot characters with historical characters. Best example of this, of course, is Rubião, though it will be important to note that he is not simply intended to represent D. Pedro II (though he does that as well) but probably the Brazilian aristocracy, and perhaps even the rural economy in general. At the first level, note that his name is, in full, Pedro Rubião de Alvarenga (the Emperor was, of course, Dom Pedro de Alcântara); in addition to the close similarity of their names, there is too an interesting reverse "coincidence" in that Rubião was, originally, a "profesor" who now aspired to monarchy, whereas the Emperor was well-known to have a liking for the role of teacher. At the second level, Machado may well have intended Rubião to represent the whole of the aristocratic section in its dominant social position, both as the model to which others aspired (and Palha surely falls into this category with his expressed desire to be ennobled with the title of Baron) and as an example of the fantastical detachment of that group from the real world. Lastly, it seems possible that Machado also

wanted to record the economic deterioration of the aristocratic group; Rubião, like D. Pedro II, came into his inheritance (and we have seen with previous authors how important is this as a subject for comment), as something of a surprise. Enriched, this innocent-at-large (D. Pedro II was, of course, a child of 14) came from obscurity to live at court, where advantage is taken of him, in a systematic way by the city capitalists. Rubião was so completely unaware of what was happening to him that he even believed himself to be one of them, as he indicates in the very first chapter:

"Cotejava o passado com o presente. Que era, há um ano? Professor. Que é agora? Capitalista." (2)

Of course, he is encouraged in this belief by Palha and the others, even being invited to become a partner in Palha's company. Rubião admits to bemusement at the way the partnership operates, and it is clear from the relevant passage that Palha was relying upon that very confusion to "redistribute" Rubião's wealth:

"Apesar de fácil, Rubião recuou algum tempo. Pediam-lhe uns bons pares de contos de réis; não entendia de comércio, não lhe tinha inclinação. Demais, os gostos particulares eram já grandes; o capital precisava do regímen do bom juro e alguma poupança, a ver se recobrava as côres e as carnes primitivas. O regímen que lhe indicavam não era claro; Rubião não podia compreender os algarismos de Palha, cálculos de lucros, tabelas de preço, direitos de alfandega, nada; mas, a linguagem falada supria e escrita. Palha dizia cousas extraordinárias, aconselhava ao amigo que aproveitasse a ocasião para pôr o dinheiro a caminho, multiplicá-lo. Se tinha medo era diferente; êle, Palha, faria o negócio com John Roberts, sócio que foi da casa Wilkinson, fundada em 1844, cujo chefe voltou para a Inglaterra, e era agora membro do Parlamento." (3)

A number of alarm bells should have been set off by this passage; to begin, Rubião is clearly unsure that the proposition should be seized, given his deteriorating position; further, he doesn't understand what he is getting into, and is obliged, therefore, to rely upon the expertise (already hinted to have been of a morally reprehensible stamp) of the capitalist Palha. Finally, Palha has

Brazil's interests at heart ... However, Palha goes on to add that Roberts is indirectly connected to the English (?) Parliament, and while foreign influence was a matter for concern to a great many businessmen of the time, Pedro II was known to have a distinct admiration for democratic monarchism, and the British system above all. Hence, the reasons Rubião puts forward for eventually agreeing to become a partner are all the more interesting :

"Atrás dos motivos de recusa, vieram outros contrários. E se o negócio rendesse? Se realmente lhe multiplicasse o que tinha? Acrescia que a posição era respeitável, e podia trazer-lhe vantagens na eleição, quando houvesse de propor-se ao Parlamento, como o velho chefe da casa Wilkinson. Outro razão mais forte ainda era o receio de magoar o Palha, de parecer que lhe não confiava dinheiros, quando era certo que, dias antes, recebera parte da dívida antiga, e a outra parte restante devia ser-lhe restituída dentro de dous meses. (4)

Put in another way, perhaps from the monarch's viewpoint, there was clearly the possibility of making money from the scheme, and the side benefit of democratising the regime. Further, it would be impolite, or impolitic, to alienate his capitalist friends. But there is a fourth reason for joining the partnership, and one which Rubião certainly, and Pedro probably, could not admit. Machado, however, writing in the third party, can:

"Nenhum desses motivos era pretexto de outro; vinham de si mesmos. Sofia só apareceu no fim, sem deixar de estar nêle, desde o princípio, idéia latente, inconsciente, uma das causas últimas do ato, e a única dissimulada." (5)

In short, this rather naive man intends to put himself in the hands of his rival, without understanding the rules of the game, but with a view to winning the major prize, Sofia. And this expectation is held apparently oblivious to the fact that it is the rival Palha who has himself set up the prize to seduce and enchant Rubião.

It should be apparent from the foregoing that Machado does not intend to repeat the tale of the country bumpkin coming to town and

of the conflict between town and country, so beloved by Romantic (and other) writers. However, it is undeniable that the author at least is aware of the association of the traditional elite with an agricultural background, and its concomitant, inheritance, now faced with a new, rising group whose wealth has been garnered by its own efforts, through an alliance in the cities with foreign interests, and in an only indirectly agricultural context. Specifically, note that Palha's wealth derives from speculation in the stock exchange, (" ... era jeitoso, ativo, e tinha o faro dos negocios e das situaçoes. Em 1864, apesar de recente no oficio, adivinhou - não se pode empregar outro termo - adivinhou as falências bancarias". (6) From an involvement in the provision of finance to coffee planters (he first meets Rubião on returning from a trip to Vassouras, heart of the then coffee growing country), and from participation in the import-export business (always likely to be a field of activity in which vigilance for conflicts of interest is advisable; nothing that we learn of Palha would suggest that he would be conscious of such conflicts, other than perhaps as presenting opportunities to be siezed!). Note too, that he interprets the confirmation of his having achieved elite status not as the winning of a title and the accumulation of land, but as the winning of a title and the ownership of a bank.

If the identification of these two principal characters with specific economic interest groups is relatively straightforward, the third protagonist in the triangle, Sofia, presents rather more complex a problem; typically Machado has used such a character to indicate something more abstract, something more akin to the essence of Brazil. (Gledson has already noted in his commentaries on 'Casa Velha' and 'A Parasita Azul' that a woman is frequently vested with

in Machado's works)(7). This more abstract quality is even signalled in their respective names; Rubião (the inheritor) whose name is associated with unexpected good fortune; Palha (whose wealth is derived from paper manoeuvres) meaning, obviously, the man of straw; and Sofia, a word meaning wisdom. In this case her wisdom is not to be mistaken as the object of Palha's and Rubião's affection, not to be seen as some kind of grail that each pursues; it is possession of her they seek, and in their identification with specific interest groups, her's as Brazil is confirmed. But she has the wisdom too to determine her own future. She is, at once, an individual for plot purposes; and a collective identity for interpretative purposes; in both capacities she is ambitious, keenly aware of the future, and conscious of her own interests in the way society progresses or develops. Her wisdom is in choosing, and in the way in which she chooses and behaves, Machado indicates that her wisdom, and thus Brazil's, is directed by self-interest. Yet the reader will miss much of Machado's subtlety if he overlooks the nudge Rubião gives her in coming to a decision; for it is only when Rubião expresses his intentions for her that she definitively rejects him ... and that is in 1868, when he arrives in the capital; the same year, of course, in which D. Pedro II reveals his intentions (according to many critics) towards Brazil by invoking his monarchical rights and dismissing the Liberal government under Zacarias. Later, Rubião offers to make Sofia his Empress; at this stage his delusion is complete, and he believes himself to have extensive powers over vast areas. In fact, he is deluding only himself, and Sofia recognises such a belief for what it is, madness. She knows nothing is left to him, and her choice is made correspondingly easier for her; she draws back in embarrassment and

Rubião's delusion is most forcibly brought home to Sofia in 1871, when the Rio Branco government is installed in office and the Law of the Free Womb promulgated, signalling for Machado the first step on the road to the end of the monarchy.

Sofia, therefore, is both arbiter and prize; in the former, more individual role, she plumps for Palha, representative of the new rising group (she is after all ambitious, and can recognise the deteriorating influence of Rubião). In the latter role, however, she is clearly "won" by Palha.

Before leaving the subject of Sofia, it is worth noting one final point of which Machado wished us to be aware in relation to the fall of the monarchy; that is, that while showing why Pedro/Rubião lost, the author also wanted to show us something about the victors **AND** about the prize over which they contested. Sofia, as one of the victors, is shown as conceited, deceitful, shallow, self-seeking, and as an unpleasant indication of what might be expected from the post-monarchic regime. To this extent she confirms everything we know of Palha. But more interestingly, in her role as prize, she is fatally flawed in the winning, for in using her to entrance Rubião (and anybody else if he believes it to be to his advantage) Palha is seriously devaluing her, particularly in a Latin context, where so much emphasis is attached to female fidelity, and humiliation to being cuckolded. Palha thereby shows that the stakes are so high that he is prepared to put the prize itself at risk in his efforts to be outright victor; the prospect of winning is more important to him even than the prize itself. (One is reminded of the character Leandro Soares, in A Parasita Azul, who, while professing his love for Isabel, avers that if he cannot have her, then he will ensure that she will not be worth the winning:

inutil, a taça que ele não podia levar aos lábios." (8)

Machado illustrates how high are the risks, and the level of game that Palha is playing, by comparing him to Candaules, the 8th C. (B.C.) king who gave his wife to his friend only to find that the latter became so attached to the wife that he slayed her husband! Further, though Palha never knows it, he has so accustomed his wife to behaving flirtatiously that she begins to do so on her own account. At first, she had been appaled at what Palha suggested;

"A princípio, cedeu sem vontade aos desejos do marido; mas tais foram as admirações colhidas, e a tal ponto o uso acomoda a gente às circunstâncias, que ela acabou gostando de ser vista, muito vista, para recreio e estímulo dos outros." (9)

Even after the logical reaction to such teasing, with Rubião's attempted seduction, Sofia was willing, eager to tell Palha what had happened, and to urge him to let her behave more chastely. She wants Palha to sever all relations with Rubião:

"Christiano, como queres que lhe fale a primeira vez que ele ca vier? Não tenho cara para tanto; olha, o melhor de tudo é acabar com as relações." (10)

It is only the information that her husband is deeply in debt to Rubião that persuades Sofia to continue in friendship with Rubião. She even advises Palha against revealing to Rubião that he knows of what passed between them. She has effectively been made hostage, as the only charitable description, to her husband's indebtedness to Rubião. Not surprisingly, she goes from this stage to a more positive attempt at an affair, with the obnoxious Carlos Maria; of his approach, Sofia says nothing to Palha.

Just as we saw above how Rubião approaches Sofia in 1868, and is finally rejected in such a way as to convince him of the futility of his efforts, we should note here that Sofia was born in 1840 ... in other words at the start of Pedro's reign. Further, we are told

1870 (the year, of course, in which the Paraguayan War will end, and everything in the Brazilian garden should be rosy);

"Sofia rastejava os vinte e oito anos; estava mais bela que aos vinte e sete; era de supor que só aos trinta desse o escultor os últimos retoques, se não quisesse prolongar ainda o trabalho, por dous ou tres anos." (11)

Which leaves only the character of Quincas Borba himself to consider in this context; Helen Caldwell insists that "the titles of Assis's novels are in every instance an important element of the whole" (12) and certainly in the Advertência to Esau e Jacó, Machado specifically mentions,

"Quanto ao título, foram lembrados vários, em que o assunto se pudesse resumir ...". (13)

In this off-hand way he nonetheless confirms the importance he attaches to the title, and we would be foolish to disregard it in this novel, not least because the character is apparently 'dead' at the time the novel commences. We know from Memórias Postumas de Bras Cubas that he was fatherless (as was, in a sense, Pedro I whose father had left Brazil to return to Portugal); we know also that Quincas Borba loved to pretend to be the Emperor;

"E de imperador! Era um gosto ver o Quincas Borba fazer de imperador nas festas do Espírito Santo." (14)

Quincas Borba dies in 1868, leaving everything to Rubião, a fact whose importance is emphasised by repetition in successive chapters, numbers XIV and XV:

Rubião "era nomeado herdeiro universal do testador" (15)

"Herdeiro já era muito; mas universal ... Esta palavra inchava as bochechas à herança. Herdeiro de tudo, nem uma colherinha menos." (16)

He even inherits the dog. Rubião, in a sense, becomes Quincas Borba, even in the dog's eyes, and right down to the liking for assuming the status of an Emperor! Now Quincas Borba cannot exist after 1868, for he is dead; a copy lives on, temporarily, after him

dismissal of the Zacarias ministry; its likeness persists, complete with "casas, apólices, ações, escravos, roupa, louça" etc., but the appearance merely disguises the reality, and the reality is that harmony is now at an end. The appearance persists only until 1871, when inheritor and dog die, and nothing is left of Quincas Borba ... not even his "apólices". In that same year, the Rio Branco ministry is appointed, and his Bill abolishing slavery for the new-born is promulgated; nothing then is left of "conciliação", not even the empty shell which had survived from 1868. That the system continues until 1889 should not be taken to indicate that Machado, or anyone else was persuaded that it still represented a basis for the future Brazilian political system; all knew that with effect from 1871, its days were numbered, but 'A democracia coroada' was merely an unconscionable time dying. Machado recognised, despite that, that it was the events in the period 1868 to 1871 that signalled the passing of the monarchical system, not abolition in 1888.

In this context we can see how the author intended that Quincas Borba be identified with the pre-1868 monarchy, just as Rubião is with the monarchy after that crucial year, and neither Rubião nor, by implication D. Pedro II are fitted for survival in post-1868 Rio de Janeiro society. Worse, as Palha indicates when breaking off his partnership with Rubião, the latter may have become a liability to the former ...

"ia ver-se livre de um sócio, cujo prodigalidade crescente podia trazer-lhe algum perigo. A casa estava sólida; era fácil entregar ao Rubião a parte que lhe pertencesse, menos as dívidas pessoais e anteriores. Restavam ainda algumas daquelas ..." (17)

"A carreira daquele homem era cada vez mais próspera e vistosa. O negócio corria-lhe largo; um dos motivos da separação era justamente não ter que dividir com outro os lucros futuros." (18)

record contemporary political developments but also to see these at least in part as determined by individual characteristics; and we should now turn to a consideration of Machado's perception of his fellow citizens; it is not a particularly edifying sight. Merquior for one notes that Machado was profoundly dissatisfied with the quality of life;

"... parece estar profundamente ligado ao senso da perda de qualidade da existência." (19)

and "Machado não apresenta os personagens - denuncia-os ..." (20)

Caldwell agrees, and gives her argument greater force by quoting the author himself, in a letter to his wife-to-be, Carolina;

"He alone is master of the world who is above its empty pomp and sterile ambitions. We are both of this sort ..." (21)

Putting aside the rather superior attitude indicated by this 1869 letter, and even assuming rather more signs of humility in the author's character 20 years on, while writing Quincas Borba, consideration of the characters in the novel show little or no evidence that Machado substantially altered his view of Rio de Janeiro as being typified by "empty pomp and sterile ambition". Even Rubião, for whom we are intended to have some sympathy (as will be apparent from study of the next theme) is a fundamentally unattractive character. Indeed, it is important to recognise that, prior to coming to Rio, Rubião was calculative in his relations with others; consider for example his behaviour towards his own sister; having identified Quincas Borba as something of a soft touch, Rubião tries to marry his sister to him, and when that fails, gives up his own job to nurse Borba personally;

"Logo que chegou (Quincas Borba), enamorou-se de uma viúva, senhora de condição mediana e poucos meios de vida; mas, tão acanhada, que os suspiros do namorado ficavam sem eco ... Rubião fêz todo o possível para casá-los. Piedade

romance que ligou os dois nomes ... Rubião ficou sendo o único amigo do filó sofo. Regia então uma escola de meninos, que fechou para tratar do enfêrmo. Antes de professor, metera ombros a algumas emprêsas que foram a pique." (22)

Clearly Rubião is a man always aware of the main chance, and we can have little reason to suppose that either teaching or nursing are seen by him as anything other than "algumas emprêsas". Hence his questioning the doctor on the true state of Borba's health, his decision not to reveal Borba's letter to the doctor despite his conviction that in it Borba shows all the signs of severe mental deterioration, and his later decision to keep this information secret at the time when the will was being contested on exactly these grounds;

"Um dia, o nosso Rubião, acompanhando o médico até à porta da rua, perguntou-lhe qual era o verdadeiro estado do amigo." (23)

"Não havia dúvida; estava doudo ... Rubião enxugou os olhos, úmidos de comoção. Depois, veio a lembrança do possível legado, e ainda mais o afligiu, por lhe mostrar que bom amigo ia perder.

... Dar-se-ia que, provada a alienação mental do testador, nulo ficaria o testamento, e perdidas as deixas? Rubião teve uma vertigem." (24)

"Enquanto durou o inventário, e principalmente a denúncia dada por alguém contra o testamento, alegando que o Quincas Borba, por manifesta demência, não podia testar, o nosso Rubião distraiu-se; mas a denúncia foi destruída, e o inventário caminhou rapidamente para a conclusão. (25)

So while he is out of his depth amongst such characters as Palha, he should not therefore be taken to be a simpleton; what appears to have happened, and it is this that helps to make him a more sympathetic character, is that once bestowed with an authority and status peculiar to the elite group he loses his contact with the real world and his perception of what happens in it. Rubião, the failed speculator, would surely not have been taken in by Palha in the way that Rubião, the disoriented and distracted lover, was. Now he sees only what he wants to see, and chooses to disregard the

contrive at this newly-acquired blindness, his own vanity and society's sycophancy, and both contribute to his own exploitation. His vanity allows him to believe that Sofia is attracted to him, whereas no such belief could possibly have distracted him as a Barbacena "professor"; it allows him to believe he can be a minister in the government when Camacho tells him so; it even allows him to credit Freitas's assertions about his good taste based almost solely on Freitas's attempts to pocket as many of Rubião's cigars as he can carry away! In a sense, too, his individual character expresses itself in different ways depending upon his own position within society; as a "professor" there was little chance of his vanity being bolstered by the flattery of those around him, but as an exploitable object such flattery was constantly directed towards him, allowing the ember of his vanity to be fanned into flame. Rubião is a collaborator in his own exploitation, through his self-deluding ignorance of reality.

The other side of this coin is the sycophancy which prompts his vanity and self-delusion in a thoroughly self-interested fashion; the sycophant, recognising vanity, responds accordingly, simultaneously confirming the object's self-perception and ensuring some benefit to himself ... in other words, tempting the object into collaborating in his own exploitation. This, of course, represents only one level, and a relatively simple one at that, of a much larger social system which requires the willing participation of all though it works ultimately to the disadvantage of all; I refer to the favour system, which Schwarz so lucidly describes in 'Ao Vencedor as Batatas', as perceived by Machado de Assis. Two minor characters illustrate in 'Quincas Borba' how widespread is the system, and how it depends upon, and serves to perpetuate vanity and

self-interested sycophancy. Firstly there is the banker, who in the space of one hour has been both the victim and the beneficiary of favour;

"Convém dizer ... que êle tivera, no espaço de uma hora, comoções apostas. Fôra primeiro à casa de um ministro de Estado, tratar do requerimento de um irmão. O ministro, que acabava de jantar, fumava calado e pacífico. O diretor expôs atrapalhadamente o negócio, tornando atrás, saltando adiante, ligando e desligando as frases. Mal sentado, para não perder a linha do respeito, trazia na boca um sorriso constante e venerador; e curvava-se, pedia desculpas. O ministro fêz algumas perguntas; êle, animado, deu respostas longas, extremamente longas, e acabou entregando um memorial. Depois, ergueu-se, agradeceu, apertou a mão ao ministro, êste acompanhou-o até à varanda. Aí fêz o diretor duas cortesias, -- uma em cheio, antes de descer a escada, -- outra em vão, já em baixo, no jardim; em vez do ministro, viu só a porta de vidro fôsko, e na varanda, pendente do teto, o lampião de gas. Enterrou o chapéu, e saiu. Saiu humilhado, vexado de si mesmo. Não era o negócio que o afligia, mas os cumprimentos que fêz, as desculpas que pediu, as atitudes subalternas, um rosário de atos sem proveito. Foi assim que chegou à casa de Palha.

Em dez minutos, tinha a alma espanada e restituída a si mesma, tais foram as medidas do dono da casa, os 'apoiadas' de cabeça, e um raio de sorriso perene, não contando oferecimentos de chá e charutos. O diretor fêz-se então severo, superior, frio, poucas palavras; chegou a arregaçar com desdém a venta esquerda, a propósito de uma idéia de Palha, que a recolheu logo, concordando que era absurda. Copiou do ministro o gesto lento. Saindo, não dêle as cortesias, mas do dono da casa." (26)

The second example is provided by Teófilo, a man obsessed by the prospect of political office; though a basically good man as far as we can tell (and there is no indication that he seeks political office for the potential financial benefits to be enjoyed, for instance) he is also single-minded enough to accept the operation of a manifestly unfair system so long as it does not operate against his own interests. (When it does, he complains bitterly; when it selects him, the reader is left with no sense that he will use his position to reform the system, and indeed one is struck by the highly improbable case of anyone who has benefitted from favour in opposing it). He is first apparently denied a ministry and,

"Eu diria ao Imperador: - Senhor, Vossa Majestade não sabe o que é essa política de corredores, êsses arranjos de camarilha. Vossa Majestade quer que os melhores trabalhem nos seus conselhos, mas o medíocres é que se arranjam ...O merecimento fica para o lado. - É o que lhe hei de dizer um dia; pode ser até que amanhã ..." (27)

Next day he learns that after all he has been appointed to an important presidency and, even at the risk of being considered another of "o medíocres" presumably, he feels he cannot reject the request of his friend the Marquis, as he explains to his wife;

"O marquês pediu-me instantemente que aceitasse uma presidência de primeira ordem. Não podendo meter-me no gabinete, onde tinha lugar marcado, desejava, queria, e pedia que eu partilhasse a responsabilidade política e administrativa do govêrno, assumindo uma presidência. Não podia, em nenhum caso, dispensar o meu prestígio (são palavras dêle), e espera que na Câmara assumo o lugar de chefe da maioria. ...

... não se pode negar serviços dêstes a um govêrno amigo; ou então deixa-se a política. Tratou-me muito bem o marquês; eu já sabia que era homem superior; mas que risonho e afavel! não imaginas. Quer também que compareça a uma reunião ...". (28)

In neither case is the reader persuaded to expect that either of these individuals will change the system; yet any society which swings arbitrarily between humiliation or frustration, and superiority or delighted achievement cannot possibly be healthy. Though it is difficult to put such a point across in the abstract terminology of society, Machado can still convey his view through showing how it operates at the individual level.

He makes another less obvious point by doing it in this individual way, and again it is associated with the theme of the fall of the monarch; that is that although the Empror and the aristocracy in general appear to symbolise the operation of the favour system (for a hierarchical structure of that kind might appear to lend itself to arbitrary decision-making) there is no evidence to be found from amongst the new, urban groups that the days when "o merecimento fica para o lado" are numbered. Machado

Pedro II will bring automatically a cure-all to the problems identified in society. Yet that was a view apparently held by Brazilian Positivists.

But in concentrating on the characters there is a risk of losing sight of Machado's greater interest in changing relationships between individuals, and more importantly still, between groups. As Sodré notes, this was one of the author's greatest talents, and one which marks him out from amongst others :

"A observação cuidadosa e aguda do romancista sente e recolhe as alterações do quadro social. E não teria sido êle o grande romancista que foi se não possuísse tal qualidade." (29)

Which characters, then, were progressing and which trailing in the society depicted in Quincas Borba? The fall of the monarch proves only that there was political change; the brilliance of Machado lies in his ability to link this event, through Rubião, into the context of rapidly changing social conditions. And perhaps predictably in the light of previous comments, he uses Sofia, the essence of Brazil, to illustrate the point. Specifically her social mobility is testified to by the changing guest list for her parties;

"Poucos eram os convivos; houve propósito em escolher e limitar. Não estava ali o Major Siqueira, nem a filha, nem as senhoras e os homens que Rubião conheceu naquele outro jantar de Santa Teresa. Da comissão das Alagoas viam-se algumas damas; via-se mais o diretor do banco - o da visita ao ministro - com a senhora e as filhas, - outro personagem bancário, um comerciante inglês, um deputado, um desembargador, um conselheiro, alguns capitalistas, e pouco mais." (30)

Clearly, such changes are not easily achieved, especially since past acquaintances can linger to threaten respectability in the new social context; as well as forming new relationships, Sofia shows herself adept at ending older ones :

"Cortou as relações antigas, familiares, algumas tão íntimas que dificilmente se poderiam dissolver; mas a

uma, se foram indo as pobres criaturas modestas, sem maneiras, nem vestidos, amizades de pequena monta, de pagodes caseiros, de hábitos singelos e sem elevação. Com os homens fazia exatamente o que o major contara, quando êles a viam passar de carruagem - que era sua, -entre parênteses. A diferença é que já os espreitava para saber se a viam. Acabara a lua-de-mel da grandeza; agora torcia os olhos duramente para outro lado, conjurando, de um gesto definitivo, o perigo de alguma hesitação. Punha assim os velhos amigos na obrigação de lhe não tirarem o chapéu." (31)

In time, Rubião too will cease to be recognised by Sofia; all material and social benefit that can be obtained from association with him having been milched, he is then locked in an asylum and a veil drawn over their period of friendship; Sofia even fears being seen coming out of his house;

"Sofia, antes de pôr o pé na rua, olhou para um e outro lado, espreitando se vinha alguém; felizmente, a rua estava deserta." (32)

The parallel that can be drawn with the rising new group's abrupt disassociation from Pedro II is obvious. However, it would be a mistake to assume from all of this that Machado sided with monarchism ... he clearly did not; indeed he is consciously avoiding taking sides. Though such a comment can be interpreted as a criticism, and shortly after Machado's death he was heavily criticised for not apparently involving himself in the great issues of his day (see below), it is open to quite another interpretation. I have already quoted Emilio Moura on Machado's "indifference" (c/f Appendix); consider also Pedro de Couto;

"Quanto aos fenómenos morais e sociais que em todas as cerebrações atuam, e especialmente nos mais desenvolvidos, Machado de Assis não mostra em nenhum livro dêles ter sequer conhecido a existência." (33)

And Alberto Torres;

"Um grande escritor português perguntava um dia qual a influência de Machado de Assis no govêrno e na política do Brasil. Todos sabem que era completamente nula." (34)

and Couto's criticisms; Those of Torres are of rather a different tenor, and would require quite a different thesis to indicate why Machado felt it advisable to couch his observations and criticisms in such indirect, even stealthy a fashion. However, it is a very long way from indicating that he had no influence on government to stating that he was totally unaware of the moral and social issues of the day. Moura and Couto have failed to recognise that Machado is condemning both sides in 'Quincas Borba'; he well sees that the time for monarchism, particularly one that owed its very existence to the rural aristocracy yet is undermining that old elite's power base of slavery, is passed. He could not even regret its passing. However, he was distinctly less than enthusiastic about the group who were every day extending their dominance in, and exerting their control over, his country and society. That group is ambitious, ruthless, uncaring about human feelings, substituting instead material values, associating with like people from other countries (to the possible conflict of national interests), and winning; yet by talking in such terms, between victors and the vanquished, Machado is showing both that there will be losers and that there is a prize ... Brazil itself. He clearly does not want that prize to fall into the hands of such as Palha (not least because Palha has shown himself so keen to win that he is even prepared to compromise the prize itself) and in the manner in which he writes the story he determines that the reader will feel sympathy for the loser, Rubião (and the garrulous Major Siqueiros; even for the bitter, tragic D. Tônica) without ever concluding that these people should retain their dominance in society. Rubião (and, by implication, D. Pedro II) lived in a make-believe world of his own imagining, totally out of touch with, even at odds with, reality. Clearly his dominant

... he finished writing the novel this year was shown to have been well-founded, was that without some residue of Rubião's generosity of spirit to act almost as a counter to the harshness of the philosophy of the new group (he was after all the only one to think of Freitas' mother, to continue visiting Major Siqueiros when he was slipping background through society, and to spontaneously offer financial assistance to an astonished message boy, for instance), life was going to be a great deal more unpleasant in the future world of winners and losers than it had ever been in his lifetime. Faoro puts it admirably;

"A oligarquia, sem a presença moderadora do imperador, se desmandaria na violência, liberta de todos os obstáculos e temperos." (35)

Critique of Positivism

There can be little doubt that Machado saw Positivism, the prevailing and fashionable intellectual support for the overthrow of hereditary monarchism, as a harsh, inhuman philosophy which served only to benefit a small minority of people ... the victors, the new elite. The startling similarities between Humanitas as expounded by Quincas Borba and Positivism have been clearly indicated by Caldwell (36); she rightly concludes, however, that Humanitas parodies rather than parallels Positivism. Machado does not feel bound to stick by the letter of Positivism in forming his criticism; since the professed aims of Positivism varied so markedly from their apparent Brazilian practice he felt entirely at liberty to vary it in such a way that his Humanitas accorded much more accurately with what he saw as the practice of Positivism.

Comte divided sociology into social statics and social dynamism, order and progress respectively. He further posited that science was the only valid knowledge, and scientific facts the basis

familiar with "the facts", human progress would not only be assured, but it would be for the benefit of all. Comte it was who first coined the word "altruism", and intended that Positivism be a philosophy which assumed regard for others as a principle of action. However, while Machado could certainly identify developments in society, he could not equate these with progress ... far less could he see a regard for others as the guide by which these developments took place. In Brazil, lip-service to Positivism was merely an excuse for seeing as "natural" one's own progress, very often at the expense of others; in short, egotism rather than altruism. For Positivism to have validity it was necessary first to assume that human behaviour (and it is worth remembering that in Brazil human behaviour when Machado commenced the novel included the corrupting relationships of slavery) can be determined for the good by the presentation of scientific facts. A psychologist might argue differently, but Comte had excluded psychology from his theory on the grounds that "it is not a science". Machado had no doubt that human behaviour was much less predictable than the theory allowed, for it seemed to deny the existence of any internal motives or constraints to action; consider his comments in an article he wrote criticising Eca de Queiros' O Primo Basilio for its unreal Naturalism, the literary and contemporary equivalent of Positivism;

In Eca's novel "Luísa é um caráter negativo, e no meio da ação ideada pelo autor, é antes um títere do que uma pessoa moral. Repito é um títere; não quero dizer que não tenha nervos e músculos; não tem mesmo outra coisa; não lhe pecam paixões nem remorsos; menos ainda consciência." (37)

Passions, remorse, conscience ... aren't they missing also from Quincas Borba's description of Humanitas?

To Rubião, explaining his lack of grief at his grandmother's death under the wheels of a speeding coach:

porque era tarde, e almoçara cedo e pouco. Dali pode fazer sinal ao cocheiro; êste fustigou as mulas para ir buscar o patrão. A sege no meio do caminho achou um obstáculo e derribou-o; êsse obstáculo era minha avó. O primeiro ato dessa série de atos foi um movimento de conservação: Humanitas tinha fome." (38)

And to Bras Cubas, with a Panglossian explanation of why everything is for the good of mankind in a world perceived from the standpoint of Humanitas :

"Para entender bem o meu sistema, concluiu êle, importa não esquecer nunca o princípio universal, repartido e resumido em cada homem. Olha: a guerra, que parece uma calamidade, é uma operação conveniente, como se disséssemos o estalar dos dedos de Humanitas; a fome (e êle chupava filosoficamente a asa do frango), a fome é uma prova a que Humanitas submete a própria víscera. Mas eu não quero outro documento da sublimidade do meu sistema, senão êste mesmo frango. Nutriu-se de milho, que foi plantado por um africano, suponhamos, importado de Angola. Nasceu êsse africano, cresceu, foi vendido; um návio o trouxe, um návio construído de madeira cortada no mato por dez ou doze homens, levado por velas, que oito ou dez homens teceram, sem contar a cordoalha e outras partes do aparelho nautico. Assim, êste frango que eu almocei agora mesmo, é o resultado de uma multidão de esforços e lutas, executados com o unico fim de dar mate ao meu apetite." (39)

No indication here of sentiment, of "uma pessoa moral", least of all of regard for others. Everything and everyone involved in getting a chicken wing to Borba's plate can be interpreted by him as having done so for his good, and even slavery is thereby seen to be for Borba's good. "Pangloss não era tão tolo como o inculcou Voltaire" (40) may well be true for the very small number of people able to philosophically gnaw at chickens, but Machado at least was aware of the fundamental selfishness of the theory as practiced in Brazil. By implication, for the vast majority of the population it was very far from the best of all possible worlds.

Rubião, in the context of Machado's criticism of Positivism, is an extremely complex character; even as he appears through his inheritance, and believes himself to be a victor, Rubião excites the

victim, then subsequently, of vanquished. But sympathy is exactly what Humanitas goes to such pains to discount. The form of the novel is itself a contribution to the refutation of the theory. The victor in the struggle is the one blessed with the greatest amount of those characteristics which are deemed to be necessary to advance in any given society; thus, Palha is the victor because the qualities of ruthlessness, deceit, and venality he has in abundance. But there is here too a clear implication that the kind of society in which such "qualities" can be perceived as paramount must itself be rotten. The most scathing criticism that Machado could bring to bear against Positivism/Humanitas is not that it allows the advancement of some at the expense of others, but that in certain societies the direct result of such a philosophy had to be that the worst advanced.

Consider how even Borba's heartlessness can be corrupted to produce something much worse when human weaknesses are brought to bear upon events; in a passage which must draw the reader back in mind to the incident involving the coach and Borba's grandmother, Rubião instinctively, and at peril of his own life, pulls a young child virtually from beneath the hooves of the horses of a speeding coach. Some onlookers betray a certain amount of passion towards the coach-driver, but the occupant of the coach, clearly more in tune with Borba's philosophy, "ordenou-lhe que fosse andando. O cocheiro obedeceu" (41). In the process, Rubião had lost his hat;

"Um rapazinho esfarrapado, que o apanhara, estava à porta da colchoaria, aguardando a ocasião de restituí-lo. Rubião deu-lhe uns cobres em recompensa, cousa em que o rapazinho não cuidara, ao ir apanhar o chapéu. Não o apanhou senão para ter parte na glória e nos serviços. Entretanto, aceitou os cobres com prazer; foi talvez a primeira idéia que lhe deram da venalidade das ações." (42)

Later, Camacho prints the story in his newspaper; when first he

prospect of becoming an object of common gossip over such an insignificant incident. Then he accepts that Camacho had only acted in a spirit of misguided friendship; besides, it was a very well written piece. Others congratulate him, and Rubião is persuaded to recount the incident to them, with a growing sense of pride. Then,

"Rubião foi agradecer a notícia ao Camacho, não sem alguma censurar mole, ao canto da bôca. Dali foi comprar uns tantos exemplares de fôlha para os amigos de Barbacena. Nenhuma outra transcreveu a notícia; êle, a conselho do Freitas, fê-la reimprimir nos 'a pedidos do Jornal do Comércio', interlinhada." (43)

Rubião has prompted in one individual the realisation that actions can be valuable not just for themselves, but because they can on occasion provide material benefit to oneself. This is bound to have an effect on the child's future perception of his actions (at least in Machado's view). He further has, in response to Camacho's self-interested flattery, collaborated in this demeaning of an instinctive and genuinely altruistic action, in a much more conscious fashion. Ironically, the child whose life Rubião saved, survives to laugh at him, and run jeering at his heels as he strolls madly through town, gesticulating and talking aloud; there is even a suggestion that the greatest irony remains for the future, in the mother's fear of what her child's mocking may mean ... that night, she cannot sleep for worrying that

"anos depois, o filho endoidecia, era castigado pela mesma troça, e que ela cuspiam para o céu, indignada, blasfemando." (44)

In such a society, adherence to a philosophy which is incapable of, indeed makes a virtue of its incompetence in distinguishing between good and bad, must ultimately lead to a worse society. A philosophy without morals is bound to substitute calculation for public-spiritedness. Thus, the victors Palha and Sofia are not moved by conscience to help pay for Rubião's treatment, far less by charity;

matter of calculation;

"Sofia insistiu ainda. A compaixão de D. Fernanda tinha-a impressionado muito; achou-lhe um quê distinto e nobre, e advertiu que se a outra, sem relações estreitas nem antigas com Rubião, assim se mostrava interessada, era de bom-tom não ser menos generosa." (45)

Again, it should be emphasised that none of the above identified criticisms of the political and social programme of Positivism should be interpreted as comment by Machado in favour of the status quo: rather, he could see that the day of the existing order was past, and his attention was therefore focussed on what system seemed likely to replace it. What is to be made, Machado appears to ask, of a society which substitutes Positivism, a philosophy without a moral foundation, for even the debased form of romantic philosophy (itself, in its purer form, a rejection of eighteenth century rationalism) which could at least claim to have love as the founding principle of its social organisation. Pereira, in paraphrase (46) indicates that in the first half of the nineteenth century at least, society was based on the family (hence the importance of inheritance) which itself emerged from a marriage dependent in theory upon love; Positivism in contrast eschewed emotion in favour of facts, was deeply suspicious of inheritance (certainly of position), and proposed a social order dependent entirely upon mutual advantage. Clearly the marriage which is central to the novel Quincas Borba is based less on love than on ambition; further it reflects appallingly upon contemporary society ... it is childless (thus once again undermining the principle of inheritance), potentially unfaithful, and voluntarily compromised. Respectability for Positivism as practiced in Brazil, from Machado's perspective, is grievously misplaced in this analysis.

Even intellectual respectability for the theory is misplaced,

brief chapter; in 'Memorias Postumas de Bras Cubas' the philosopher

Quincas Borba looks admiringly on as two dogs fight over a bone:

"Quincas Borba fez-me parar e observar os cães. Eram dous. Notou que ao pé deles estava um osso, motivo da guerra, e não deixou de chamar a minha atenção para a circunstância de que o osso não tinha carne. Um simples osso nu. Os cães mordiam-se, rosnavam, com o furor nos olhos ... Quincas Borba meteu a bengala debaixo do braço, e parecia em êxtasis.

- Que belo que isto é! dizia êle de quando em quando.

(47)

The philosopher is transfixed by this illustration of his thesis of Humanitas, whereby life ceases to be cooperation for mutual advantage, and is revealed instead as a struggle amongst unequals, in which only the strongest survive. It is appropriate, then, that the final refutation of this distorted view of Positivism should be provided by a dog. After Rubião's death, Quincas Borba does not continue to struggle for life, but instead dejectedly searches for its beloved master:

"Queria dizer aqui o fim do Quincas Borba, que adoeceu tambem, ganiu infinitamente, fugiu desvairado em busca do dono, e amanheceu morto na rua, três dias depois."(48)

Not by accident does Machado use a dog to make this point, critical simultaneously of Humanitas and Positivism, for Comte had raised the humble dog to an elevated place second only to man in his hierarchy of species ... yet even the dog cannot survive on its own, independent of Rubião, for whom it betrays a most emotional and unscientifically definable affection. Philosophy and dog die together. There, of course, is Machado's crucial criticism; that there is a huge discrepancy between the theory of the philosophy (be it Comte's Positivism or Borba's Humanitas) and real life. Scientific facts and knowledge are not themselves adequate criteria on which to determine human behaviour since they are constantly confused and distorted in interpretation by prejudice, self-

or emotional factors which make philosophies containing unitary explanations for, and firm predictions of human behaviour, redundant. Sofia, for instance, seems genuinely surprised at Rubião's attempts to woo her; for his part, Rubião, whose surprise at her rejection of him is considerably greater, is actually unhinged by the resulting confusion in his mind. In this context, his mental confusion can be interpreted as social criticism ... he comes as an outsider into a society which claims to adhere to the idea of order and progress; provided with a specific impetus, he responds in the linear and logical manner which such an ideology would imply. What he actually finds himself faced with, however, is not order but arbitrariness, not progress but manoeuvre.

In criticising Positivism in this manner, Machado has actually produced a work exhibiting a greater degree of realism than do any of his Naturalist contemporaries, the supposed inheritors of the Realist mantle. If Realist novels are intended to include an explanation of the rationale behind events, outwardly consecutive but otherwise unrelated, and the motivation and calculation behind apparently instinctive behaviour, then Machado succeeds at a level to which none of his contemporaries aspired. As a result, as Haberly suggests the reader, who alone is possessed of morality and understanding,

"is forced to the conclusion that society ... is viciously and inherently immoral, and that such immorality can be neither justified nor rationalised." (49)

Illusion

In much of the above discussion of the first two themes, it should be clear that what appeared and was presented as fact actually was disguise and self-deception ... charitable concern for others (a principle to which Sofia, the Brazilian essence, felt

Machado reveals as self-interested pandering to public propriety. An ostensibly moral society is thereby disclosed as riven with selfishness, and the fashionable adherence to Positivism together with support for Rubião (the self-deluding "monarch") denounced as cant and hypocrisy.

This last theme, therefore, serves to confirm these theses and to reinforce them by approaching them from a slightly different angle.

Machado recognised the major philosophical problems associated with putting one's trust in perception as a source of knowledge. For him, Positivism (and Naturalism) were fatally flawed by their failure to recognise the dangers inherent in "observing" reality; notably because perception depends upon established expectations, and these latter frequently depend in turn upon quite irrational prejudices. Observation then is likely to be selective and confirmatory rather than universal and revealing. In this context, Machado wished to question, I believe, the coincidence of Positivism and the fall of the monarchy; or to put it another way, since even this objective is slightly illusory, to question the emergence of Republicanism and the adoption of a philosophy which could be corrupted to provide intellectual support for altering the social order by any means while retaining the means of authoritative control of society. How to steal the reins from the horseman with neither the horse being aware of any change of rider nor the horseman being alerted to the danger of his control being usurped. The answer? Deceit, lies, flattery, sycophancy, subterfuge, and hypocrisy, while maintaining the illusion of decency, honesty, friendship, admiration, support, and morality. Self-interest, in the guise of altruism, personal ambition masked by intellectually

Thus, Rubião the outsider attempts to live as those around him persuade him is appropriate. Yet precisely because he is an outsider, he is unfamiliar with the two-faced culture in which he finds himself; he has no option but to take what he sees at its face value, be that Sofia's sexual dissembling or Palha's generosity with financial advice (each of course contributing to the need for Rubião to collaborate in his own deception). In consequence, his lack of experience in this environment persuades him to behave as though appearance and reality were not an illusion and he fails totally to appreciate that those around him are dissimulating furiously.

From the opening passage of the novel, Machado had warned that things were not as they seemed;

"Rubião fitava a enseada, - eram oito horas da manhã. Quem o visse ... cuidaria que êle admirava aquêle pedaço de água quieta; mas em verdade, vos digo que pensava em outra cousa. Cotejava o passado com o presente. Que era, há um ano? Professor. Que é agora? Capitalista. (50)

So the observer, Machado tells us, is mistaken. But so too is Rubião, for he continues to behave like a backwoods teacher, not at all like an urban "capitalista"; on two occasions the author reminds us how little Rubião has changed, and indeed of how he feels a certain nostalgia for Barbacena (to which Palha and Camacho only narrowly prevent him returning prior to his complete mental confusion developing) even if it is a feeling which proves short-lived; firstly, when he meets a baroness as she enters Camacho's offices and he is leaving;

"Mas o caso particular é que êle, Rubião, sem saber por que, e apesar do seu próprio luxo, sentia-se o mesmo antigo professor de Barbacena ..." (51)

And later again, when he sees some street urchins playing;

"E tudo isso lhe dava uma sensação de nostalgia ...

Persuading himself that he was no longer a "professor", or rather being persuaded of that by others, was simply the first delusion Rubião suffered; after that, anything was possible. And if he was able to find others who were willing to accept that he was an Emperor today, as compared with a "capitalista, há um ano", then why should he not be so. Their sycophancy bolstered his vanity, (a characteristic which Machado would hold all people exhibited) and vanity was the primary agent in self-delusion. Rubião then creates a persona for the hangers-on who attend his lavish meals, which they willingly accept. As the title of "capitalista" was for Rubião the basis for his subsequent fantasy of himself as the emperor Napoleon III, might not their acceptance of the titles he invents for them simply illustrate their precarious position at the top of the same slippery slope?

Certainly Rubião has the effect on almost everyone around him of prompting similar delusions of grandeur:

Palha "já trazia apalvrado um arquiteto para lhe construir um palacete. Vagamente pensava em baronia." (53)

the pregnant Maria-Benedita "considerava-se a si mesma um templo divino e recatado, em que vivia um deus, filho de outro deus. ... repetia sem palavras a resposta de Maria de Nazaré: - Eu sou a serva do Senhor; faça-se em mim a sua vontade - . (54)

Carlos-Maria, on learning of Teófilo's selection to the ministry, asks his wife, "você queria ver-me também ministro?" (55) before musing quietly on Bernadotte (Napoleon's general who went on to become King of Sweden) and Narcissus. These are simply three of the more bizarre examples from the novel; more typical, however, may be the reaction of those people who cease their daily toil to watch, with some envy, as Rubião makes his fantasising walks through the city, an escapee from reality to a world of his imaginings;

das janelas, muitas suspendiam por instantes os seus pensamentos tristes ou enfastiados, as preocupações do dia, os tédios, os ressentimentos, êste uma dívida, outro uma doença, desprezos de amor, vilanias de amigo. Cada miséria esquecia-se, o que era melhor que consolar-se; mas o esquecimento durava um relâmpago. Passado o enfermo, a realidade empolgava-os outra vez, as ruas eram ruas, porque os paços suntuosos iam com Rubião". (56)

Machado's contemporary society is riven with illusion, be it of one's own imaginings as an escape from reality, or of others fabrication to disguise reality; indeed, this very double-sided aspect makes the illusion complete! It is a trap which individuals can seldom escape, and one of which the monarchy seems blissfully unaware, even perversely blind. Specifically, it is a trap built in part by Positivism; as Humanitas parodies that philosophy, so Positivism itself creates the illusion of order and progress in a society where Comte's scientific state is an impossible dream. Instead of knowledge, prediction, and action leading to universal progress, there is only favour, opportunity, and advantage leading to personal advancement. All dream of their own survival in the social jungle and as part of that process create the illusion of political harmony (rotativismo, conciliação), national stability (monarchism), and progress; the reality, as 'Quincas Borba' shows, was competition, disunity, and individual intrigue.

NOTES

1. Quincas Borba; Editora Caltrix, São Paulo, 3rd Edition.
 2. *ibid.*, p. 15.
 3. *ibid.*, p. 92.
 4. *ibid.*, p. 92/3.
 5. *ibid.*, p. 93.
 6. *ibid.*, p. 48.
- 7.a) Casa Velha; a contribution to a better understanding of "Machado de Assis"; John Gledson, Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, vol. 60 (1983), p. 31-48.
- b) "Machado de Assis" between Romance and Satire : 'A Parasita

8. Machado de Assis; Obra Completa; Editora Jose Aquilar, Rio de Janeiro 1959; Vol. II, p. 173.
9. Quincas Borba; op. cit., p. 48.
10. *ibid.*, p. 68.
11. *ibid.*, p. 47.
12. Machado de Assis; the Brazilian Master and his Novels by Helen Caldwell; University of California Press, 1970, p. 144.
13. Machado de Assis; Obra Completa, op. cit., vol. I., p. 873.
14. *ibid.*, p. 433.
15. Quincas Borba; op. cit., p. 28.
16. *ibid.*, p. 29.
17. *ibid.*, p. 161.
18. *ibid.*, p. 162.
19. Merquior; op. cit., p. 152.
20. *ibid.*, p. 181.
21. Caldwell; op. cit., p. 21.
22. Quincas Borba; op. cit., p. 17.
23. *ibid.*, p. 23.
24. *ibid.*, p. 26.
25. *ibid.*, p. 37.
26. *ibid.*, p. 119/120.
27. *ibid.*, p. 206.
28. *ibid.*, p. 209/210.
29. Machado de Assis by Astrojildo Pereira; Livraria São Jose, Rio de Janeiro, 1958; p. 233.
30. Quincas Borba; op. cit., p. 142.
31. *ibid.*, p. 169.
32. *ibid.*, p. 223.
33. Quotation taken from Machado de Assis e a Politica by Brito Broca; Organização Simões Editora, Rio de Janeiro, 1957; p. 10.
34. *ibid.*, p. 14.

35. Quincas Borba; op. cit., p. 60.
36. Caldwell; op. cit. Especially Chapter 13.
37. Obra Completa; op. cit., Vol. III, p. 915.
38. Quincas Borba; op. cit., p. 20.
39. Obra Completa; op. cit., Vol. I, p. 522.
40. Quincas Borba; op. cit., p.27.
41. *ibid.*, p. 80.
42. *ibid.*, p. 80/1.
43. *ibid.*, p. 88.
44. *ibid.*, p. 219/9.
45. *ibid.*, p. 194.
46. For his original argument, see Pereira op. cit., Chapter 3.
47. Obra Completa; op. cit., Vol. I, p. 537.
48. Quincas Borba; op. cit., p. 229.
49. Three Sad Races by David J Haberly; Cambridge, 1983; p. 84.
50. Quincas Borba; op. cit., p. 15.
51. *ibid.*, p. 83.
52. *ibid.*, p. 111.
53. *ibid.*, p. 162.
54. *ibid.*, p. 200.
55. *ibid.*, p. 203.
56. *ibid.*, p. 219.

The evidence provided by this study of 15 novels suggests the following immediate broad conclusions. Firstly, that while the early-1870s group of authors concentrate on a relatively restricted list of similar themes, and thereby display a certain unanimity of concern, the late-1880s group are characterised both by a preparedness to look at a more diverse range of themes and by a failure to agree on many themes common either to those studied by the 1870s writers or indeed to each other. This can be taken to indicate that while the earlier group had developed (as might be expected of authors of similar backgrounds writing within an established literary tradition) a consensus amongst themselves, with their readers, and within a socio-political context, the latter group had struck no such consensus because, younger, they had no shared experiential background, their readership was more numerous and enjoyed a wider range of experience, and the social context was relatively less dominated by rural self-sufficiency and more characterised by urban inter-dependence. The balance had shifted from the landed aristocracy in favour of urban capitalism, without the latter being able to replace the former in overall authority.

Secondly, it is apparent that both groups of authors are dissatisfied, to a greater or lesser extent, with their contemporary societies. The earlier group appear marginally less critical, tending to see problems as aberrations, which could be corrected if only individual members of society reverted to acting in accord with earlier values and behaviour patterns. The later group, however, do not see problems as aberrations but (A) as a result of weaknesses inherent in all individuals but given freer rein under certain circumstances (Machado), (B) as symptomatic of a particular,

experience of humankind, as a species, viewed within a highly deterministic process (Azevedo).

Arising from the above two conclusions we may posit that the thematic similarity combined with individualised criticism of the earlier group indicates that their shared assumptions, that constituted in their unanimity a dominant ideology, were increasingly discounted by the new generation in whose midst they found themselves. The thematic dissimilarity of the later group, and considerable variation in types of criticism suggest no new ideology has emerged fully to dominate in society, and that the only shared assumption then was that new and oppositionist was preferable to old and acquiescent. To put it in other terms, the society of the early 1870s in Brazil was being subjected to pressure the like of which it may never before have experienced; the ideology which had characterised society until then was increasingly inappropriate to an ever more rapidly changing society, so that by the late 1880s writers were well-nigh unanimous only in their view that an alternative ideology was required to direct change and, arguably, to set limits to change which differed significantly from the limits consistent with maintaining a rural aristocracy.

The third and last broad conclusion to be drawn is that, while thematic differences are apparent between the two groups and (in the case of the 1880s group), between authors in the same group, all agree on a range of topics which are to be disregarded as themes; certain subjects, and it has to be admitted some of those amongst the most hotly debated and contentious issues of the day, are simply ignored by all the authors. Thus the role of the army in politics particularly and of the Church in society generally are not subjected to any examination; more surprisingly, and despite the

ignore the recently resolved war with Paraguay. Slaves are virtually invisible; where they do appear they are drawn in a demeaning fashion, while the only anti-slavery novel (Guimarães' A Escrava Isaura) could as easily be described as an anti-slave novel whatever its good intentions. Curiously, the nearer we get to emancipation, supposedly the hottest issue in 19th Century Brazilian politics, the less we see of slaves or Negroes. Republicanism doesn't merit attention except in a passing and derogatory mention in reference to Aristarco's son in O Ateneu ... and that by the arch-anti-monarchist Pompéia! Further, though almost all 15 novels touch upon the part played by money in promoting changes to the social order, no appreciation of the underlying economic developments behind the emergence of money as the determinant in this process is apparent. The single possible exception to this is provided by Machado's Quincas Borba, and even here the author seems far more concerned with examining the effects on human behaviour of the unequal division of wealth (in promoting envy and vanity) and, at least as importantly, the associated unequal division of restraints on behaviour imposed by financial disparities, than with examining how such inequalities were generated and perpetuated.

Failure to address such important themes may suggest that to these authors the motive behind change was less important than that there should be change, structured in accordance with their own values. Since it is simply not conceivable that the authors were unfamiliar with contemporary issues, then it will be important to consider (A) why such issues have been completely discounted as valid novelistic themes, or (B) whether this indicates that the issues now held to be fundamental in any explanation for the

impetus for change illustrates a desire by authors for measures that will simultaneously secure and control change, I believe both of these questions can be answered. If authors had dealt only with the army, the Church, etc., they may have provided us with useful explanations of some of the contributory factors present when Pedro II was overthrown; they would not, however, have addressed themselves to that matter which was of greatest concern to them. What happens if change, which the older order has shown itself manifestly incapable of directing, continues at its current pace and in its present direction? Present day historians, however, concentrate on the pressures for change, which can of course be identified and sometimes measured, rather than upon the apprehensions felt by contemporaries experiencing rapid change. These cannot be measured, but only by taking account of them can we today begin to make sense of Pedro's overthrow not simply as the result of his support for emancipation, but more fundamentally as an attempt to impose a pattern upon change; order and progress exactly describes this initiative.

How do these broad conclusions, then, compare with contemporary political developments? It will be remembered that the surprise removal from office of the Liberals in 1868 had led to the emergence of the Republican Party, and of the Republican Manifesto in 1870. The relative political harmony enjoyed since 1840 was therefore beginning to crumble and the accordance within elite society to overlook differences in order to sustain the shared benefits of elite status, "concordância", was steadily replaced by a recognition that economic change commencing notably around 1850 but beginning to make its influence felt strongly only from around 1870, represented

superficial disagreement between individual interests within the elite group. The question must also have arisen of the established order's capability to respond to such a threat! In the early 1870s, changes to the social order were relatively modest, and though harbingers of more considerable change they could nonetheless then be identified as individual movement, especially by authors conditioned through their literarily Romantic backgrounds to reflect upon individual conflict within an otherwise stable society. These authors, furthermore, were conscious of some changes but their own elite status may have prejudiced them as a group, towards a desire that change be limited, or if necessary, then associated with the kind of conditions so clearly demonstrated by the novels of the 1870s period. These conditions insisted that changing status be merited rather than bought (not least because so many of the existing elite owed their status to slave and/or landownership and were consequently not always particularly well-off financially), that upward social movement must represent an addition to the elite group not a usurping of existing group members, and it must not involve the introduction of any values held to be typical of those sectors of society from which the rising individual has emerged. Within this context, the early authors identified money as the agent of social change, and social change as the agent of disharmony so clearly evidenced in post-1868 Brazilian society. Simultaneously money provided greater opportunity for dissimulation than ever could land or slave-ownership, and as a result led to increasing difficulty in distinguishing between genuine and aspiring members of the elite group, seldom a satisfactory circumstance in a previously rigidly structured society. Money therefore not only represents a threat to the existing order, but is perceived as an encouragement

association with its presumed initiator. What can make such social movement acceptable at an individual level is exhibited by fictional characters of all three of the earlier group of novelists, and through them we may suppose is reflected the view of their contemporary elite group as to the limits of acceptable change. It is noticeable in addition that social movement always ends with harmony restored, a state which is rendered possible by the underlying justice of the case for movement, by the deservingness of the individual concerned (be it education, goodness or whatever) or by the intervention of Fate (ever a useful contributor to Romantic literature whose arbitrariness well accorded with more general experience in a pre-democratic society).

Consider some of those characters in the novels in question and note how, despite the important part played by money in shaping the plot, the solutions are always conditioned by justice, merit, or Fate. An unequal appreciation of the importance of money and how it might be manipulated led to confusion over inheritance and near fatal disharmony in Alencar's O Tronco do Ipê, though the guilty party ultimately uses inheritance as the means of restoring wealth to its rightful owner; consider too how Seixas uses all his available resources simply pretending at wealth in the same author's 'Senhora', yet his humiliation provokes regeneration and eventually a deserved position in society; Guimarães too uses money as the disharmonious element in O Garimpeiro, but Fate as the intervention which restores romantic harmony. In A Escrava Isaura though the author's intention may have been to criticise slavery rather than social movement, he inadvertently draws attention to the fact of economic efficiency as an explanation for changing relative fortunes, and while it must be admitted that the hero uses his money

that he does so; further the author has previously indicated at length the great deservingness of Isaura, not to be free, but to be included in the elite group, many members of whom she surpasses not in wealth but in looks, culture, fairness of skin, and moral attributes. The villain of this particular piece is both economically inefficient, a fact which later provides the opportunity for the Romantic outcome, and coincidentally so lacking in any merit that he forfeits his entitlement to elite status anyway! In O Rio do Quarto Macedo describes how an obsession with money provokes tragedy, and how a happy marriage (equivalent to a harmonious stability) is only made possible between individuals whose interests in each other are romantic, in the sense of being emotional and non-calculative.

It is worth re-emphasising here that, with but a single exception, all the novels examined of the earlier group of authors end with a form of harmony and justice restored. Consider the solutions provided to plot conflicts:

a) conflict resolved and harmony restored, through

i) intervention of Fate, and/or revelation;

O Tronco do Ipê

Encarnação

O Garimpeiro

O Rio do Quarto

ii) action;

Senhora

A Escrava Isaura

As Mulheres de Mantilha

A Luneta Mágica

O Cortiço (for elite group only!)

i) no solution found;

O Índio Afonso

O Coruja (André)

O Cortiço (for non-elite group members!)

ii) solution implied, but action not initiated;

As Jóias da Coroa

O Ateneu

c) tragedy;

O Homem

O Coruja (Teobaldo)

Quincas Borba

Issue may be taken with the over-simplification of the categories of solutions, and even with some of the allocations to specific categories, but neither criticism would appear to contradict the underlying strength of evidence supporting the view that the earlier group of novels are characterised by a confidence in the eventual renewal of social harmony, a confidence which in turn betrays a desire for social stasis.

However, such were the pressures for change that it was increasingly difficult to sustain the idea that harmony could be restored merely by reverting to traditional values and structures, particularly when "conciliação" was ever more conspicuous by its absence from post-Paraguayan War society in Brazil. Furthermore, "traditional values" owed more to the patriarchal fazenda than to the rapidly expanding urban capitalism, while the lack of harmony seemed to provide very clear evidence that the existing "structures" could respond only inadequately to the strains imposed by social change. Consequently, a different pattern emerges in the 1880s novels, as the above categorisation also confirms. The optimism

pessimism, epitomised by O Ateneu and O Cortiço respectively. Frustration one can understand, as a response to the seeming persistence in power of the traditional elite and the implied exercise of its authority to retard social movement. Pessimism, however, may hint at something rather more illuminating. Without necessarily contradicting the basis for frustration, pessimism could be explained by the new group's concern that that very rigidity in the face of economic and inevitable social change, put at risk their opportunity to determine the division of the new riches. Specifically, the elite showed itself ill-equipped or unwilling to control change rather than simply to halt it; in consequence, change proceeded in an uncontrolled and unpredictable fashion, with the worst as likely to advance as the best ... indeed more so! The Republicans and the rising new professional group, could rally to the Positivist motto, "Order and Progress" precisely because such a concept posed no threat to the principle of an hierarchical structure. Progress was fine, so long as it was ordered, yet such a concept ran wholly counter to any truly radical change.

The pressures for change were enormous; the introduction of the printing press dated back just 50 years, but this short period saw other significant developments combining to produce a ferment; the accelerating development of communications which opened Brazil up, and opened it up to European thought; urbanisation, the relative decline of the largely independent farming sector and the growth of the dependent one (sugar and coffee respectively); these contributed to a growing awareness of the existence of an interfering central government, which development appeared to coincide with deteriorating standards and the abandonment of the old values. To these should be added the serious difficulties

an urban credit-providing sector, and the promulgation of more capital-efficient, less patriarchal systems of labour organisation combining to disorient those already having a vested interest in maintaining the 'status quo'. Thus the landowners who might have been expected to support Pedro II were becoming disillusioned by monarchy's inability to resist change, and as a potential opposition to republicanism they were unconvinced that monarchism would continue to serve their interests any better than would the more carefully controlled and ordered progress of republicanism. Certainly, when the Republicans took power, and after a very short period when more radical elements seemed to enjoy some authority, all efforts then turned to the implementation of financial controls and incentives which simultaneously encouraged efficient economic development and implied limits to social change by restricting the number and breadth of opportunities.

It may be argued that such efficiency would represent a threat to the traditional rural elite, and would be hotly contested by them; indeed, the early group of authors serve to illustrate this point through their insistence upon traditional values and non-monetary social advancement. Even they eventually accept that the battle appears lost, in such as Alencar's Encarnação and, arguably, Guimarães' O Índio Afonso, with its anachronistic setting combining nostalgia with reality. Resistance was being constantly undermined by agriculture's growing dependence upon urban services, and by the rural elite's experience of contacts with urban professionals. These latter were not particularly attempting to replace the rural aristocracy, but to join them! In a nation with the cultural background of Brazil in the 1880s it is perhaps not to be wondered at that the rising urban groups did not particularly

aristocrats. Even João Romão, having completed his move from the working class to the middle class through the steady accumulation of money, was prepared to spend lavishly in an effort to become a baron, while the 'cortiço aristocratizava-se'.

With even the later works of such Romantics as Alencar recognising the inevitability of change, the Naturalists who followed them could turn their attentions far more to questions of the kind of society that would emerge from the contemporary changes, leaving alone the question of the desirability or otherwise of change. The kind of society they feared would emerge is identified by Azevedo and Machado as acting impulsively and self-interestedly, and the blame for that outcome is laid fairly and squarely at the Emperor's door by Pompéia. The controllable trickle of change that the early authors saw, promoting individuals who could be absorbed fully into the existing system, had become a flood (in their perception), by the late-1880s, and it was this feature that threatened radical change and inspired the pessimism of authors. In the field of literature, Romantic nostalgia may suffice when society can be outlined as comprising closeknit rural communities against which an independent spirit (and independence from direct central authority was the experience of such communities) rails, before eventually succumbing heroically or tragically, or succeeding in righting an injustice as a prelude both to being accepted and to conforming. But nostalgia tends to be the fiefdom of those with a past worth preserving, and Romanticism the literary expression of a way of life that was of the past, if of any time. Arguably, for more and more readers during the late 1880s, a different kind of novel was required, concentrating more upon the implications of change, and, since the fact of change was undisputed, on the dangers

development not only in that they differ from the 1870s group but also insofar as they differ from each other. Unanimity of theme is easy when inspiration is drawn from the past, real or mythical, but much more difficult when writers are attempting to anticipate where change will lead.

Within the context of changing economic, social, literary and even political thought, the surprise expressed at the toppling of a political institution rooted in the utterly different circumstances of the 1820s is misplaced. The real surprise is that it should have survived unscathed in that significantly different climate. Clearly the considerable change that all were experiencing may itself provide some measure of explanation for the persistence of, even continued sympathy for, the institution of monarchy which seemed to represent the sole oasis of stability in an otherwise changed, often puzzlingly so, society. However, when at last the monarchy could be identified not as a bulwark against change but as actively or by default, encouraging it, then many of the new group whose advance had been secured proposed a system of government that gave themselves greater control, and effectively put them in the position of determining the direction and beneficiaries of progress. Evidence for this deleterious affect on society arising from the slowness with which political institutions changed, at least from the perspective of the authors of the period, is provided by another distinguishing feature between the two periods here considered. For the earlier group of writers, those characters who appear most deserving do indeed advance through society; one has only to think of Isidoro ('As Mulheres de Mantilha'), Millo ('O Rio do Quarto'), Isaura ('A Escrava Isaura'), Afonso ('O Índio Afonso') and Elias ('O Garimpeiro') to see the truth of meritorious advancement; even

(O Tronco do Ipé) eventually slough off their antipathetic beginnings to reveal themselves through personal redemption and forgiveness respectively as fully deserving members of the elite group. By contrast, the villains of the pieces generally come to quite different ends; Cardoso (As Mulheres de Mantilha) is exiled, Manoel (O Rio do Quarto) is gaoled, Leóncio (A Escrava Isaura) commits suicide, Toruna (O Índio Afonso) is murdered, and Leonel (O Garimpeiro) is gaoled. Again Alencar is more complex; in Senhora the archetypal "villain" Lemos seems simply to obtain a stable niche in society, neither advancing nor retreating, but rather poised, awaiting the main chance, while the usurping Baron in O Tronco do Ipé keeps his position and his "honour" through a combination of his own remorse and his future son-in-law's forgiveness, itself a pre-requisite for Mário's inclusion amongst the deserving elite. However, when we turn to the second group of writers quite a different pattern emerges, and one furthermore that informs us of an authorial perception that seems to demand limits and controls to advancement in view of the critically implied unordered advance they depict. Instead of the meritocracy based (literarily at any rate) on the morally deserving, we see one in which position is seized by strength and advance reserved for the fittest. Paradoxically it is the morally least-deserving who now progress through society, and society itself stands condemned by association as being of a kind which promotes its worst elements, for if the worst are the fittest then the reader is bound to reflect upon the context in which they fit! Teobaldo (O Coruja), João Romão (O Cortiço) and Palha (Quincas Borba) serve to illustrate the point well, though they do not begin to represent an exhaustive list even from their own novels. Pompéia's works do not address

main characters, the Duque de Bragantina ('As Jóias da Coroa') and Aristarco ('O Ateneu') are at the peaks of their society yet are unremittingly wicked, and outstandingly foolish and hypocritical respectively. Furthermore, being at the peak, they appear to set the example for everyone else's behaviour. Where morally better, though admittedly never entirely blameless characters appear, they are shown as unfitted to their society; consequently, they wind up withered in bitterness (André, in 'O Coruja'), dead (Bertoleza, in 'O Cortiço', Rubião, in 'Quincas Borba', and Emília, in 'As Jóias da Coroa'), or cynically disillusioned (Sérgio, in 'O Ateneu'). Surprisingly, only three out of the fifteen novels here studied ('A Luneta Mágica', 'Encarnação', and 'O Homem') appear not to lend themselves to this broad pattern.

It is next worth considering how different authors at different times reflected in their plots upon conflict, the frequent characteristic of a changing society, because, insofar as the plots are required to be credible, then the conflicts which provide the bases for plot tensions must themselves accord with reader experience. There appear to be just 5 broad categories of plot conflict into which all the novels fall:

a) conflict within a single individual;

'O Tronco do Ipé'	Mário; bitterness (arising from sense of injustice), v. love (for daughter of Baron)
'Encarnação'	Hermano; idealist attempting to deny reality
'O Garimpeiro'	Elias; Romantic love v. practical responsibility
'O Rio do Quarto'	Padre Martin's love (for his daughter) v. greed (for money)
'A Luneta Mágica'	extremes of Simplicio's perception
'O Coruja'	i) Teobaldo's ambition v. appreciation

ii) André's loyalty v. growing awareness of his own exploitation

'O Ateneu' Sérgio's bewitchment by superficial appearance v. disillusion with facts behind facade

'Quincas Borba' Rubião's struggle to reconcile what he feels with what he is told

b) Conflict between individuals;

'O Tronco do Ipé' Mário v. Baron

'O Garimpeiro' Elias v. other suitors

'O Rio do Quarto' Millo v. Manoel

'A Escrava Isaura' Alvaro v. Lencio

'O Coruja' Teobaldo v. André

'Quincas Borba' Rubião v. Palha

c) Conflict between individual and group;

'Senhora' Seixas' self-respect v. socially inspired greed

'O Homem' Magdá's natural passion v. social convention

'O Garimpeiro' Elias' love v. practical constraints of social existence

'O Índio Afonso' Afonso's natural honour v. modern, civilised, legal convention

'As Mulheres de Mantilha' Aberrant Cardoso v. just society

'O Coruja' Teobaldo's self-love v. greedy sycophancy of society (contrast rather than conflict)

'O Ateneu' Sérgio's innocence v. cynicism of school

'Quincas Borba' Rubião's individual weaknesses (vanity, gullibility, and conscience) v. society bent on exploiting such weaknesses.

d) Conflict between groups;

'O Cortiço' the sobrado v. the cortiço

'As Jóias da Coroa' anti-monarchist readers v. aristocracy

'O Coruja' declining land-owners v. rising capitalists

'Quincas Borba' rural inheritors v. self-making urbanites.

e) Conflict within the group;

'O Tronco do Ipé' intra-elite squabbling over inheritance

'A Escrava Isaura' efficient v. traditional agriculturalists

'O Coruja' constant jostling for advantage

'O Cortiço' Carapicus v. Cabeças-de-Gato

'O Ateneu' microcosm of competitive urban professionals

'Quincas Borba' all urbanites compete to exploit Rubião

Once again it is, of course, possible to take issue with the allocation of specific novels to specific groups, without such criticism invalidating the overall principle. However, what makes the above scheme remarkable anyway is that while we were also faced in consideration of plot solutions with just 5 categories, the novels usually falling neatly into a single category (largely coincident with their times of publication), here, no parallel pattern emerges. All but 6 novels ('Senhora', 'O Índio Afonso', 'As Mulheres de Mantilha', 'A Luneta Mágica', 'O Homem', and 'As Jóias da Coroa') have plots of sufficient complexity such that they can be fitted into more than one category, while one novel ('Quincas Borba') displays such conflict as to enable it to qualify for all five categories. Nor is there any apparent correlation this time between date of publication and the types of plot conflict described, with the possible single exception of Category d) (Conflict between groups), where all the qualifying novels are drawn from the late-1880s group. Indeed, of the later group only 0

in three other cases (O Coruja, As Jóias da Coroa, and O Ateneu) inter-group conflict has been achieved through a more evidently polemical style which attempts to embroil the readers in opposition to the corrupt and corrupting political system. Inter-group rivalry in this perhaps slightly artificial sense pits the author, allied to his readers, against the old elite which has taken Brazil to the depths which the author depicts.

Three points are worth making here; firstly, the wider diversity of conflict than of solution indicates that conflict, broadly defined, was fairly constant over the period, but that the authors were unable to provide solutions beyond the narrowest of definitions; secondly, and arising out of this, authors were unwilling to confront the possibility of more fundamental solutions that would be capable of resolving conflict in the broader sense; and thirdly, the absence of a chronological pattern implies that the conflicts were much the same over the entire period though the emphasis on particular areas may have swung somewhat. The exception is in the appearance of growing inter-group conflict (section d above), and the difference, at the risk of repetition, lay in the changing expectations of the authors. The optimism of the 1870s group that a harmonious solution would be found (supported by the predominantly individual character of conflict, which lent itself more easily to solution) had worn sufficiently thin by the late-1880s for a new source of conflict, between masses, to emerge as a theme of major concern. Hence the pessimism over the prospect of harmony being restored without disruption of a fundamental kind under the current, undirected circumstances. (Whether such pessimism was justified, and whether the redirecting of circumstances proved adequate in restoring "harmony", in the view of

decade of the 20th Century, and perhaps especially Machado de Assis' Esaú e Jacó).

It is possible, through consideration of the changing status of individual characters in the novels, to establish authors' views on the direction in which society was moving. In this context I have thought it more fruitful to consider such movement less through specific characters, than through their representative roles. Here there appear to be 3 alternatives;

a) Change as an individual experience;

'O Tronco do Ipé'

'Senhora'

'O Garimpeiro'

'A Escrava Isaura'

'O Rio do Quarto'

b) Change as a general condition;

'O Coruja'

'O Cortiço'

'Quincas Borba'

c) Effects of un-changingness;

i) individually

'Encarnação'

'O Índio Afonso'

'A Luneta Mágica'

'O Homem'

ii) socially

'As Mulheres de Mantilha'

'As Jóias da Coroa'

'O Ateneu'

Two points to note here are, first, that reflection upon the

indication of the desirability or lack of it for change. Specifically, Encarnação depicts the near fatal failure of an individual to reconcile his ideal with reality; because he fails to adapt, and so nearly is driven insane, the real necessity to change is highlighted. In O Índio Afonso, despite the obvious sympathy for the unchanging values of Afonso that Guimarães displays, that these had to be allied to an isolated individual living outside "civilised" society reveals the author's recognition that change has occurred, that it is irreversible, and probably inevitable. In As Mulheres de Mantilha by way of contrast, we see a stable society threatened by the aberrant and by definition anti-social behaviour of Cardoso, with society eventually asserting its righteousness by expelling that influence, compensating his victims, and returning to its earlier stable and harmonious order. In O Homem the constraints placed by society on Magdá are of a slightly different kind; she is bound to behave in accordance with what she believes to be the precepts of society rather than according to the demands of her own passions. Anyway she was mistaken in her concern for social observance since society no longer, if it ever did, corresponds to the codes of behaviour which she attributes to it. Her failure to change with society makes her unfamiliar with the new 'codes'. As Jóias da Coroa and O Ateneu both point to the corruption of the existing society; it is in this sense that the novels are categorised as examining the effects of unchangingness, through their condemnation of what is perceived to be and to continue being. But Pompéia clearly manifests his belief in the need for some measure of control, other than that provided either by the Duque de Bragançina or Aristarco, in order more appropriately to provide a model or a direction respectively to society.

rigid, unchanging society needn't be taken to assume a desire that it remain unchanged, is the inclusion by all the authors of background characters who are quite clearly moving through society. Dr Teixeira in Encarnação is seriously considered as a prospective husband for Amália, not because he is wealthy, but because he will become wealthy. Emiliana inherits a fortune in As Mulheres de Mantilha and moves upward as a result, though it is recognised that this may be intended in part as compensation for her rape and illustrative of her society's ability to right injustices. Interestingly, a doctor is also used in O Homem as an example of an individual confident enough of his own improving status to resist and criticise what he perceives as the archaic conventions of society.

There is evidence, therefore, that even those authors whose Romantic background conditioned them to describe change at the centre of their plots as an individual experience, were unable to ignore a reality in setting their plots that indicated a more general social turmoil owing nothing at all to plot development. Notably, in O Tronco do Ipé Joaquim de Freitas ("na idade de treze anos ... orfão e em extrema pobreza", (1)) was an "agregado" who first set up a small business, prospered, then used his acquired financial expertise to secure (albeit fraudulently) ownership of the fazenda which once had given him protection. In Senhora, Seixas is shown to come from a group on the margin of prosperity, liable to rise or fall with equal abruptness and unpredictability. He is typical of those young men of modest financial means whose desperate efforts to maintain an appearance of wealth entail the profligate use of rapidly shrinking resources. A public employee and inheritor of 12,000 milreis and 4 slaves, Seixas is on the verge of dropping from

is Eduardo Abreu who slips over that edge, while Dr Torquato Ribeiro (another doctor) steadily hauls himself upward. In O Garimpeiro there are at least three good examples of representatives of a rising group, all rival suitors to Élias for Lúcia's hand. None have the rural background of Élias, the ultimate winner (though not through rurally acquired wealth). They are described as "um negociante fluminense" (2), "do Síncora, onde se enriquecera com a compra de diamantes" (3) and "um negociante bem principiado" (4). By way of contrast, the Major himself represents a good example of the well-off fazendeiro who is naively seduced by the prospect of easy money and is distracted into economic activities of which he knows nothing. He is representative of those fazendeiros who find themselves faced with increasing numbers of consumer goods but not the financial wherewithal to purchase them. This they hope to get dabbling in new enterprises (be it mining or share-dealing) but end up losing everything to those more fitted to the financial struggle. Similarly, in A Escrava Isaura we see an old-style fazendeiro whose economic inefficiency has been disguised for years because personal service has obviated his need for cash (Leóncio, and his father before him) gradually get deeper into debt until he is ruined. We see here too the opposite example, of a fazendeiro who can still advance through the social order and accumulate wealth even in the rural sector; Álvaro has, through education, thoroughly familiarised himself with financial and commercial theory to the extent of switching from slave to wage labour, and through this type of efficient management ensured his continued and expanding prosperity.

In the last of these categories to be considered, where change is viewed as a general condition and society depicted as being in

being examined is largely white, urban society, still then the minority in Brazil. In O Coruja we meet another, though more aristocratic representative of the rural elite seduced by urban society but without the financial means to respond as his nobility and patriarchalism require. In consequence, he is both corrupted by need, and destroyed by his own recognition of what he has become. In O Cortiço almost everyone is moving relative to everyone else; those who make their money by their own efforts (and the efforts of those they have learned to exploit!!) in an urban setting are advancing relative to those whose wealth derives from a rural and inherited source. Immigrants can progress while their national neighbours stagnate; and as a variation of this development, those immigrants who can resist the debilitating effects of Brazilianisation will advance further and faster than others. The sobrados extend their geographic and financial distance from the cortiços, while different cortiços improve or decline in status, the best even coming to enjoy legal recognition and protection (5)

Similarly, in Quincas Borba, almost everyone is moving, and Machado shows himself particularly conscious of those characters moving down the social scale. Rubião comes to the city with his recently acquired rural wealth, and is quickly fleeced; Major Siqueiros, the army veteran, falls rapidly through society, almost certainly a reflection of the declining status enjoyed by the army generally in the immediate post-Paraguayan War period, while Palha and Sofia rise in line with the growing importance in Brazil's economy of the financial and commercial sectors. Again, note in this context, that Palha first meets Rubião when returning from a business trip to Vassouras, the first significant coffee-growing

which became so typical of the coffee economy and required the assistance of capitalist and, largely, urban resources. The sort of difficulties, in short, which were grist to the mill of such opportunists as Palha. Once again in 'Quincas Borba' we see an example of the Seixas-type of character; Freitas desperately dissimulates in an attempt to maintain his position in urban society, long after his declining fortunes would have been unmistakable in a rural, landowning social order. There is too an example of the early stages of his progress, and an implication that it would forever be repeated, in the younger Carlos Maria, "um rapaz de vinte e quatro anos, que roía as primeiras aparas dos bens da mãe" (6). Freitas, by comparison, shows where the process of relying upon inherited wealth, garnered in the country but squandered in the city, will ultimately lead; "era um homem de quarenta e quatro ou quarenta e seis, que já não tinha que roer" (7). Both are too concerned in maintaining appearances to devote any time to earning a living.

Lastly, note that once again where social change is a specific consideration of the novel, the earlier authors regard it as an individual experience, while a more general change is the perception of the later group of authors.

Arising from the preceding section it will be useful next to consider who are the beneficiaries and who are the losers of changing social conditions. Where change is viewed as an individual experience, the beneficiaries and the losers are consistently good and bad respectively. All the beneficiaries advance financially and socially, but the over-riding experience common to them all is love. Mário, Seixas, Elias, Isaura and Millo are all in love and all improve their positions. This seems logical enough insofar as love

basis of society; those who have love are the very foundation of society. By contrast, the losers in a changing society are criminals or 'degenerates', unloved or loveless, and abusers of family ties. They are essentially anti-social and are, again logically, depicted as having no respect for the tradition of family.

Change viewed as a more general condition identifies as beneficiaries the ruthless and the dissimulating, defined usually as those who know both how to use money and how to use others less familiar with money and its functions than themselves. The losers constitute almost everyone else; only in Quincas Borba is a more measured consideration of losers made, and Machado points to the army major, those who have left the land with a modest capital and still more modest skill in its use, and the naive at large in the city (Rubião) as most at risk in the rapidly developing economy.

In sum, how then do the novels represent change in terms of its effect upon the characters portrayed?

a) Regretted, and seen as unnecessary, even dangerous;

'O Garimpeiro'

'O Rio do Quarto'

'As Mulheres de Mantilha'

'O Tronco do Ipé'

b) Regretted, but seen as necessary, or accepted with conditions;

'Senhora'

'A Escrava Isaura'

'O Índio Afonso'

c) Seen as inevitable, natural, and irresistible;

'Encarnação'

'A Luneta Mágica'

U Cortiço
d) Welcomed, and pursued;

'As Jóias da Coroa'

'O Ateneu'

e) Seen as out of hand;

'O Coruja'

'Quincas Borba'

This categorisation confirms the view already expressed that the early group of authors either wish no change, or seek to ensure that it is limited. The later group, however, recognise that there has been change and that there is impetus towards further change and see nothing wrong with that in principle; yet there is an impression that the desire persists for some measure of control, of order to that change, and nowhere is there evidence of complete satisfaction with change to date. Far less is change associated with progress.

Is there, arising from the immediately preceding categorisation, any identifiable correlation in those things which provide the impetus for change, and which might explain either the resistance to change or the desire for more? In every appropriate case (i.e. excluding those novels previously categorised as concerning themselves more with unchangingness) money is the common factor influencing and changing society. What is most significant about the earlier group of novels, almost unanimously expressing regret about change, is that they were written, despite their concern with the influence of money, at a time when money was of considerably less importance. Sugar plantations required little capital; likewise the earliest coffee plantations; slave labour needed no cash wages; consumer goods were fewer, and such as were considered essential could often be constructed on the fazenda. The

for by the late 1880s immigration was booming and the European workers wanted wages, while slave numbers were declining dramatically; the new coffee plantations as well as the exhausted early ones required capital investment on an unprecedented scale; communications competed strongly for available capital resources; they simultaneously improved the facility and frequency of travel between the rural and urban districts, while introducing new consumer goods and provoking the desire for them. Clearly, therefore, it must have been change itself, rather than the debilitating effect of money upon traditional values that led the early authors to view their contemporary society with concern and apprehension. The isolated and independent patriarchal or feudal systems pertaining in the first half of the 19th Century which could produce and be admirably portrayed in a Romantic novel like O Tronco do Ipé had given way with such abruptness that, in the course of two decades, interdependence of town and city made such a novel appear anachronistic. It had been substituted by an economy in which mass population centres held sway physically, economically, and in terms of sheer energy; the niceties or justice of any inheritance, together with the problems of reconciling love-matches with land interests were of marginal interest at best to the new authors and their urbanised readers. Instead they railed at political institutions which owed their original and continuing existence to a pre-capitalist rural oligarchy. These institutions now appeared to baulk their aspirations and natural rise to dominance. Worse, by frustrating their emergence, those relics of an outdated system permitted others, less worthy, to seize the initiative, to the detriment of all society. All around they could see a ferment of change; they depicted it in their novels, but

certainly it is seen as ill-directed, and the blame for this characteristic fell upon the monarchy as the archetypal image of the old, political system. That anachronistic system was incapable of guaranteeing progress far less order, with change. The systems were inadequate and had to be substituted by more appropriate ones, controlled by those who knew where Brazil should be heading. Needless to say, the rural aristocracy, represented by the earlier authors concerned in this study, seldom felt that Pedro II continued adequately to represent their interests. Thus, when most under attack, he was also least able to call upon his traditional bastions of support. A classic case if ever there was one, of an Emperor doing too much and too little, depending upon the critics perspective!

Lastly, consider how the setting of the novels reflects the changing emphasis from a rural to an urban economy, from concern with seasons to shipping timetables. Beginning with the 1870s group, note the mixed though predominantly rural setting for the novels :

Fazenda setting

- 'O Tronco do Ipé'
- 'O Garimpeiro'
- 'O Índio Afonso'
- 'A Escrava Isaura'
- 'O Rio do Quarto'

Urban setting

- 'Senhora'
- 'As Mulheres de Mantilha'
- 'Encarnação'
- 'A Luneta Mágica'

Then note how the balance shifts, so that of all the 1880s group none are predominantly rural in setting. Allied to the shift in setting there is too an interesting development in the way that money, the only theme common throughout the period and to each of our authors, is represented. In the 1870s group money is an object,

in O Garimpeiro), and the priest in O Rio do Quarto most notably) or an obstacle to moral behaviour and a consequently disruptive element within an otherwise harmonious and moral society (Seixas in Senhora, and Cardoso in As Mulheres de Mantilha). Only in A Escrava Isaura does the changing relative fortunes of two competing fazendeiros appear as one contribution towards the plot solution, with money rather than remorse, justice, or some other more abstract attribute emerging as the restorer of harmony. However, among the later group of novels, although money is represented as far more central, more important, more functional than before, its influence is nonetheless quite different. In short, it doesn't create new and worse characteristics in mankind, but rather provides the opportunity for those negative elements, present within all individuals, to triumph. That opportunity was absent in pre-capitalist times, or was at least restricted by the cultural traditions built up over generations. Such constraints were largely absent from capitalist and urban society, and with money providing a different social determinant, and available in theory to everyone, the idea of an harmonious society with disruptive individuals gave way by 1890 to one in which everyone competes and furthermore, one in which the most ruthless can advance.

This then is the critical point, and one which is confirmed by the manner in which people advance through society. For the 1870s group social advancement is always merited, and if advance is unmerited then it is usually of a temporary nature and followed by reversal or punishment. Examples provided by each author are Mário in O Tronco do Ipé, Élias in O Garimpeiro, and Millo in O Rio do Quarto whose merit derives from inheritance and justice, hard work (albeit arbitrarily rewarded), and Romantic spirit,

the 1880s writers, where motivations are greed, rivalry and corruption and the successful means adopted are ruthless exploitation, deceit and favour. Those characters who display the very attributes which had secured social advance in the 1870s novels are now condemned to inferior status at best, death at worst by the late 1880s. Examples include André in 'O Coruja' whose Romantic spirit of loyalty is portrayed as naivety and anachronistic eccentricity; Bertoleza in 'O Cortiço' whose life of unrelenting toil is rewarded only with a return to slavery when her usefulness is over (though she opts for death in preference); and Rubião in 'Quincas Borba' whose inheritance merely provides the opportunity and temptation to others to rob. These three exactly mirror the first three examples provided, and in their mirror-imaging display how society has been distorted over the period. The 1880s authors and, by implication, their publishers and readers, did not seek a return to the old values. Rather they wanted a recognition of how, in the new capitalist circumstances, earlier informal methods of control were not only inadequate but actually contributed to the distortions they identified in society. The Republican sentiments pervading the atmosphere in which they worked are revealed as symptomatic of a desire for more formal and extended controls, and are therefore fundamentally conservative in nature. There was a desire for stability, even as most of those affected by change benefitted from it. The monarchical system seemed incapable of providing stability yet its existence prevented the establishment of any alternative. Hence, the toppling of the monarchy was not remotely radical; hence too, conservative politicians quickly felt entirely at home under Republican government, while genuine republicans were numbered amongst its fiercest critics.

1. O Tronco do Ipé; op. cit., p. 79.
2. O Garimpeiro; op. cit., p. 252.
3. *ibid.*, p. 282.
4. *ibid.*, p. 338.
5. For a contrast between two cortiços, see O Cortiço, op. cit., p. 265-270.
6. Quincas Borba; op. cit., p. 40.
7. *ibid.*, p. 40.

Born in 1829; father a priest and senator, mother his first cousin; both parents politically active. Studied, then practised law, but also writing "folhetins" for newspapers. First novel published ... "O Guarani", in 1857 (though previously available in folhetin-form). 1861 entered Parliament as a Deputy, taking over where his father had left off the previous year (died). 1868 chosen as Minister of Justice in the Conservative government that replaced, surprisingly, the Liberal war government. Same year, signed the Bill prohibiting the sale of slaves. 1870, name proposed as Senator, but his now pronounced opposition to the monarch prevented his selection. He did continue in Parliament, though no longer as a Minister. Died in 1877.

"O Tronco do Ipê", published 1871.

"Senhora", published 1875.

"Encarnação", published in 1877.

Criticism:

"Nenhum escritor teve em mais alto grau a alma brasileira. E não só porque houvesse tratado assuntos nossos. Há um modo de ver e de sentir que dá a nota íntima da nacionalidade, independente da face externa das coisas." Machado de Assis (1)

"Na prosa, um nome principalmente domina a fase literária que das últimas manifestações do primeiro romantismo vai às primeiras do que, à falta de melhor nome, chamarei de naturalismo: José de Alencar ... É uma das principais figuras da nossa literatura e, com Magalhães e Gonçalves Dias, um de seus fundadores ... foi José de Alencar o primeiro de nossos romancistas a mostrar real talento literário e a escrever com elegância." Jose Verissimo (2)

"José de Alencar é o patriarca da literatura brasileira."
Afrânio Coutinho (3)

attended the Law Faculty in São Paulo, where he moved in literary and political circles, in both of which his father had shown interest before him. He was appointed as a judge in Catalão, but his politics and his notoriously "bohemian" behaviour (even as a judge) prevented his advance through the ranks of the political elite. Eventually resigned, to take up a post as "profesor de retórica e poética do Liceu Mineiro".

Popular as a novelist in his day, he is now best remembered for his poetry. He was, however, a prolific writer, producing work of journalism, criticism, and drama as well as these two areas, and he was in fact working on his História de Minas Gerais when he died, in 1884.

"O Garimpeiro", published 1872.

"O Índio Afonso", published 1873.

"A Escrava Isaura", published 1875.

Criticism :

"Desigual e modesta, a obra vária de Bernardo Guimarães é ainda assim o segundo grande universo ficcional do romantismo, o único outro cosmos romanesco de amplitude comparável ao maciço alencariano." José Guilherme Merquior. (4)

"Estavam em voga os romances de Alencar, Macedo e Bernardo Guimarães. Bernardo Guimarães, com qualidades artísticas inferiores, como Macedo, era como Alencar, mas sem o seu talento, um romantico idealista peorada pela romanesca sentimental." José Verissimo. (5)

"Ao lado de Alencar, Macedo e Manuel Antônio de Almeida, pode ser incluído como um dos fundadores do romance brasileiro." Oliveiros Litrento. (6)

Born in 1820, at São João do Itaboraí in the state of Rio de Janeiro, he spent most of his life in the capital city. There he began by studying medicine, but abandoned practice in favour of literature. His first novel was published in 1844, and between then and 1853 he published a total of 5 novels. Between 1854 and 1868 he was actively involved both in politics and in history circles, but out of political office for some 10 years he returned to novel writing. Died in 1882.

"A Luneta Mágica", published 1869.

"O Rio do Quarto", also published in 1869.

"As Mulheres de Mantilha", published 1870.

Criticism:

"Simultaneamente com Alencar, dous romancistas principalmente disputavam a atenção do nosso público, Joaquim Manoel de Macedo e Bernardo Joaquim da Silva Guimarães. (Macedo) era um genuíno produto daquele momento e meio literário, e foi na sua plena vigência que estreou nas letras ..." José Verissimo. (7)

"É com Macedo que encontramos o romance urbano. E é com ele que a ficção conquista os leitores do tempo. Em Macedo o que parece é a rua, a casa, o namôro, o casamento, o escravo doméstico, a moça casadoira, o estudante, o homem de comércio, a matrona, a tia, o médico, o político, a pequena humanidade que vive na Côrte, que se agita em seus salões, que frequenta o teatro, que se agrupa nas 'repúblicas', que povoa as lojas, que lê os jornais e que discute os acontecimentos do dia ... reflete o que era a classe média que, na segunda metade do século XIX, começa a ter uma presença crescente." Nelson Werneck Sodré. (8)

"Macedo, escritor que, se atualmente ainda é lido e citado, é porque indica uma época, serve de marco para a história literária." Haroldo Bruno. (9)

Américo, were also writers) Aluísio was born in Maranhão province in 1857. His father, a Portuguese vice-consul, recognised his sons in 1864, upon the death of their mother's lawful husband, from whom she had been separated for many years.

Aluísio started work, briefly, as a cashier, then left to study painting. This led, at the age of 19, to Rio de Janeiro, where he worked as a caricaturist and cartoonist. In 1878, when his father died, he returned to Maranhão and became involved in newspaper work, then management. His first novel, Uma Lágrima de Mulher, was published in 1879, but it was the scandalously received 'O Mulato' which provided the money for his eventual return to the Capital. He wrote only until 1895, when he was appointed to various overseas posts.

'O Homem', published 1887.

'O Coruja', published 1890.

'O Cortiço', published 1890.

"Aluísio Azevedo, entretanto, sendo um iniciador, foi também o maior dos naturalistas brasileiros, e o 'O Cortiço' é o grande livro que a escola nos deixou." Sodré. (10)

"... o autor procurava descobrir a face dos homens e das coisas, não mais bafejados pela aura do espírito, mas arrastados pelas paixões vis e dominados pela força da sensualidade." Pacheco. (11)

"... queria legar à geração que nos sucede uma cópia fiel dos fatos políticos e sociais, representados nos personagens ... fatos da nossa vida pública que jamais serão apresentados pela história." Brayner. (12)

state, he was 10 years of age when his family moved to the capital. His schooling complete, he transferred in 1881 to São Paulo, there to study law; he became influenced by Luís Gama, and adopted the cause of abolitionism. This in turn led him into journalistic activity. In 1885, along with some 90 fellow students he staged a revolt against teaching methods in São Paulo, and they all transferred to the city of Recife to complete their studies. He then returned to Rio de Janeiro, where he once again was involved in publishing newspapers. In 1891 he was appointed Professor of Mythology in the Escola de Belas Artes, and in 1894, briefly, he was Director of the National Library, losing his post after a dispute with the State President. Passionate and argumentative, he seems to have been incapable of sustaining friendships, while his enemies were longer lasting. When one accused him of cowardice for having failed to fight a duel, Pompéia became apparently obsessed with the idea that everyone so considered him, wrote a letter to 'A Notícia' quietly insisting that he was an honourable man, put a pistol to his heart and killed himself. He was aged just 33 at the time.

"As Jóias da Coroa", published 1882.

"O Ateneu", published 1888.

Criticism:

"Raul Pompéia ... é ... uma das personalidades mais características da nossa literatura. 'O Ateneu' não mostra somente um escritor elegante, um colorista, mas também um pensador original e inquieto ..." Ronald de Carvalho. (13)

"No Brasil, a primeira grande repercussão do Impresionismo é em Raul Pompéia. Discípulo dos Goncourt, adepto da 'écriture artiste' e da prosa poética, depois de formar o espírito na doutrina do Naturalismo, recebia a influência da estética simbolista e só encontrou plena e satisfatória expressão dentro dos cânones do Impresionismo." Afrânio Coutinho. (14)

" ... dos escritores do Segundo Império, Pompéia é um dos que mais lúcidamente documentam a estrutura económico-social e política então vigente." Lêdo Ivo. (16)

was born in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1839, the son of a local mulatto and a Portuguese woman from the Azores. Frail, epileptic, and somewhat reserved, he was orphaned at the age of ten, when his mother died; his father remarried when Machado was 15, and although he apparently did not get on well with his stepmother, he was by this time a virtually free agent, earning his own living. A man of massive artistic education and very considerable intellect, he rose from these inauspicious beginnings to international acclaim and domestic reverence (decorated by the Emperor with the Order of the Rose in 1867; President of the Academia Brasileira de Letras from its inception in 1897 until his death) he remained an essentially modest man; by specific instruction his grave was marked only by his name and dates of his birth and death. Against the entry for occupation on his death certificate is marked "civil servant". Yet he was given a State funeral, attended by the President of the Republic, in 1908.

"Quincas Borba", published 1891.

Criticism:

"Sua obra, universal pelo pensamento, é brasileira pela sensibilidade. Seus romances, seus contos, suas comédias, encerram vários tipos brasileiros, genuinamente brasileiros, e ele não ficou, ao jeito de muitos dos nossos, na decoração exterior do quadro; mais penetrante do que qualquer desses, foi além, e chegou até a criação de verdadeiros tipos sociais e psicológicos, que são nossos, em carne e osso, e essas são as criações fundamentais de uma literatura." Lúcia Miguel-Pereira. (17)

"Vivendo numa época que foi talvez a dos maiores surtos da nacionalidade, êle (Machado de Assis) ficou indiferente a todas idéias vitais e tumultuosas da época. Ninguém praticou entre nós, em grau tão elevado, a arte pela arte. Nos seus livros êle nunca nos revelou o homem nas suas relações com o meio físico e social." Emílio Moura. (18)

NOTES

1. Para Conhecer Melhor José de Alencar by Josué Montello; Block Editores s.A., Rio de Janeiro, 1973; p. 39.
2. *ibid.*, p. 42-43.
3. *ibid.*, p. 52.
4. de Anchieta a Euclides by José Guilherme Merquior, Livraria José Olympio Editora, Rio de Janeiro, 1977; p. 86.
5. História da Literatura Brasileira by José Veríssimo; Livraria José Olympio Editora, Rio de Janeiro, 1954; p. 266.
6. Apresentação da Literatura Brasileira by Oliveiros Litrento; Biblioteca do Exército Editora, Rio de Janeiro, 1974; p. 125.
7. História da Literatura Brasileira by Veríssimo, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
8. História da Literatura Brasileira by Nelson Werneck Sodré; Editora Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 1964; p. 223-4.
9. Estudos de Literatura Brasileira by Haroldo Bruno; Edições O Cruzeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 1957; p. 123.
10. História da Literatura Brasileira by Sodré, *op. cit.*, p. 392.
11. A Literatura Brasileira by João Pacheco; Editora Cultrix, São Paulo, 1969; Vol. III, p. 134.
12. A Metáfora do Corpo no Romance Naturalista by Sonia Brayner; Livraria São José, Rio de Janeiro, 1973; p. 78.
13. Pequena História da Literatura Brasileira by Ronald de Carvalho; F. Briquet & Cia, Rio de Janeiro, 1968; p. 318.
14. Introdução a Literatura No Brasil by Afrânio Coutinho; Livraria São José, Rio de Janeiro, 1966; p. 228.
15. de Anchieta a Euclides ; *op. cit.*, p. 193.

17. Lucia Miguel-Pereira in Dicionário Literário Brasileiro, ed. Raimundo de Menezes; Edição Saraiva, São Paulo, 1969; p. 127-8.
18. Emílio Moura quoted in Machado de Assis e a Política by Brito Broca; Organização Simões Editora, Rio de Janeiro, 1957; p. 11.
19. Machado de Assis by Astrojildo Pereira; Livraria São José, Rio de Janeiro, 1958; p. 99.

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