

orderly fashion, and written in a clear and very readable style. Later institutional historians of the Borderlands have a fine model to match.

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NATIONAL PERIOD

Gaúcho Politics in Brazil: The Politics of Rio Grande do Sul, 1930–1964. By CARLOS E. CORTÉS. Albuquerque, 1974. University of New Mexico Press. Maps. Illustrations. Index. Pp. xii, 252. Cloth. \$12.00.

To map the shifting interplay of state with federal politics in Brazil over the turbulent period from 1930 to 1964 is a task of no mean proportion or value. Carlos Cortés attempts that and more. By arguing that Rio Grande do Sul deliberately and decisively circumscribed the actions of national political figures, most dramatically those of Getúlio Vargas between 1930 and 1937, but also those of João Goulart in the 1960s, Cortés gives bold interpretive shape to that mapping.

In the protracted and often bitter struggle between Rio Grande Governor Flôres da Cunha and Dictator/President Vargas, the lines were firmly drawn: state autonomy and constitutional authority versus central and personal power. Cortés places Flôres at the fulcrum of Vargas' power. In 1932, for example, Flôres was able to maintain Vargas in national office against the combined opposition of São Paulo and Rio Grande by blocking the military support pledged São Paulo by Gaúchos Borges de Medeiros and Raul Pilla. But Flôres was not always so loyal. Assuring military protection necessary for a constituent assembly to meet, Flôres maneuvered, in 1934, to force on Vargas a national constitution. Later, Vargas, determined to re-establish dictatorship and the Estado Nôvo, and Góes Monteiro, equally determined to create a unified and obedient national military, both saw Flôres as their final adversary. Forced into exile, Flôres' defeat "signaled the destruction of state autonomy [and] . . . assured the return of dictatorship to the tired nation" (p. 88).

For all that is intriguing and challenging in Cortés' account, there is much he considers too briefly to render it convincing as explanation. What state autonomy and central authority meant, how they came to be defining issues, how they were played out in the precise actions of precise men at precise moments are details to which Cortés is unalert. How was it that one man could so confound Vargas' moves?

Dominance over Rio Grande's impressive military? Perhaps, but then why did military strength count so heavily, and how did Flôres' command hold sway given deep-cut rivalries within the state? Rio Grande, we are told, sought redress of long-standing economic grievances by hungrily eyeing federal resources. But what Gaúcho economic interests were and who decided them are points that require elaboration.

Emphasis on Flôres and Getúlio as protagonists is both original and Cortés' way of holding a double focus on state and national politics. The same approach used later as a way of understanding Brizola and Goulart works less well, in part because Cortés is not sufficiently attentive to distinctions between the two periods for the similarities to be anything but hasty. But most damaging to his purpose, Cortés has ripped loose from their particular social matrix a handful of political actors, as if knowing who they were and what their society was like were not significant to our understanding of their actions.

Imaginatively, Cortés undertook the tough job of interviewing nearly one hundred politicians, historians, and observers. Again, what could have been innovative is impaired by the omission of any reflection on interviews as a special kind of social document. Cortés does not tell us who those observers were, why he chose them, how we are to see their statements in the context of their particular time and social position, whether they contradict one another, or how they give challenge to other evidence. Similarly, in his final note on sources, Cortés comments that, "Memoirs provide personalistic if somewhat distorted insights into the Gaúcho political phenomenon" (p. 241). Nowhere in the text did he unravel those distortions. Yet the memoirs he used include those of Flôres da Cunha and Góes Monteiro as well as others relating to Vargas.

If the final result is too often brittle, it is not altogether unengaging. *Gaúcho Politics in Brazil* deserves to be reckoned with.

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Dom Pedro II. By HARRY BERNSTEIN. New York, 1973. Twayne Publishers. Bibliography. Index. Pp. 267. Cloth. \$5.95.

História geral de civilização brasileira, Tomo II: *O Brasil monárquico*, Vol. V: *Do império à república*. By SÉRGIO BUARQUE DE HOLANDA. São Paulo, 1972. Difusão Européia do Livro. Table. Bibliography. Index. Illustrations. Pp. 435. Paper.

These two studies focus on different aspects of the longest-lived regime (1840–1889) in nineteenth-century Latin America. Sérgio