

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

Buarque examines the last two decades of the Empire to discover the final crises of the system. Bernstein writes “a history of a leader as he faced and handled personal and national problems.” (Preface).

The Empire, according to Sérgio Buarque, resembled other monarchies and republics in the northern hemisphere, in that attractive, well-connected lawyers with a flair for rhetoric reached parliament through electoral frauds perpetrated by the dominant party, whether Liberal or Conservative. Ideological questions rarely divided these legislators, who spent more time disputing spoils and patronage. No sizeable middle class, the “nerve of democracies” (p. 80), or authentic proletariat emerged to force greater representativeness. Only the Emperor himself prevented complete corruption through the exercise of the Moderating Power to dismiss cabinets and parliament and appoint new cabinet heads. Since Pedro believed that widespread illiteracy made irresponsible any extension of the suffrage beyond one percent or two percent of the population, he was arbitrary in the name of liberalism.

Sérgio Buarque dedicates the second half of his book to a provocative unravelling of the events leading to the Empire’s fall. He rejects popular explanations emphasizing the alienation of traditional allies such as the Church, due to religious disputes of the 1870s, or the landowners, as a result of uncompensated abolition in 1888. Instead he stresses the Paraguayan War (1865–70) which enhanced military prestige and sense of responsibility at the same time as many Brazilians criticized the renewed and largely unprofitable involvement in the River Plate region. The War also entailed foreign loans and paper money emissions which unsettled exchange rates and finances in the following decade. The awful droughts of 1877–79 aggravated conditions; and the beginning of mass immigration, in comparison with the heavier and more spontaneous movement to Argentina, is understood as a sign of Brazil’s economic difficulties.

Internal weaknesses in the 1880s left the Empire’s supporters at a disadvantage. Few cabinets or legislatures succeeded in completing their terms of office, the Emperor’s health declined, the prospect of succession by the religious Princess Isabel and her French husband did not arouse enthusiasm, and the regime’s aging friends lapsed into apathy.

But civilian groups did not overthrow the Empire. Republicans, “historical Liberals in a bad mood,” (p. 260), became compromised with the government, while the Positivists were too few and reluctant to act. Rather, ambitious military officers, who did not speak for a

middle class but who did resent the attacks on their honor and integrity by the garrulous Parliament, and who feared rumors that the National Guard and a “black guard” (p. 358) of freedmen loyal to Princess Isabel would replace the army, became convinced that their technical training and discipline qualified them to rule. When the disgruntled General Deodoro da Fonseca adhered to the cause, the Rio garrison staged the decisive coup d’état. The implicit parallels with the 1964 coup are inescapable.

The strength of Sérgio Buarque’s volume, seventh in the series but the first written by a single author, lies in his control of the subtleties of imperial politics, traced through the *Anais* of Parliament and personal memoirs and letters, and his sensitive reading of public opinion in the Rio and São Paulo press. But despite frequent comparisons with French, English, and American politics of the period, nowhere is there a clear statement of the relation between the Imperial Government and the dominant economic and social elites. Was the bureaucracy merely the executive committee of large landlords and merchants? The author sketches elite origins, but does not push beyond noting the frequency of Bahians at top levels. That a divided elite facilitated gradual abolition, or that a united elite prevented military coups prior to 1889, become only passing remarks. Did the government co-opt challenges from popular groups, as recent studies of the post-1889 period have hypothesized? Sérgio Buarque records the *quebra-kilos* revolt in the 1870s and the riot over trolley fares in Rio in the early 1880s, but apparently these movements never became more than pretexts for cabinet changes.

With only thirty-nine footnotes, the reader has great difficulty in independently confirming the interpretations; and one regrets that the extensive bibliography does not include pertinent studies by Richard Graham, June Hahner, and Charles Willis Simmons. Nevertheless, Sérgio Buarque’s book offers rich political history for the years 1868–89, and is highly suggestive for future studies.

Far less ambitious, the Bernstein biography concentrates on the man and loses sight of the larger questions. Bernstein sees the Emperor “as a Liberal, in the broad meaning of the word,” but he does not define terms and his evidence is mixed. He credits Pedro with the pace of abolition, yet Pedro gave little public leadership to this or any other cause. The Emperor witnessed early industrialization, and his government modernized Rio de Janeiro, but the personal responsibility remains vague. The biographer admires his subject’s regalism, but Pedro’s moderation and early pardon of the ultramon-

tanist bishops hardly distinguish him among Latin American liberals of the era. And what concept of Brazilian or personal honor persuaded Pedro to continue fighting for Paraguay's unconditional surrender when both Brazilian field commanders, as well as their Argentine and Uruguayan counterparts, were convinced that the war was over? Rather than actively guiding policy, the Emperor seems to have confined himself often to defending the power and prestige of the throne, through cabinet substitutions, timely trips abroad, and the frequent threat of abdication.

Bernstein's analysis often founders in the shallows. Conservatives are identified as a rural patriarchy working for personal liberties, while liberals were the urban bourgeoisie favoring political liberties, with no attempt at elaboration or verification. Pedro's tactics of "amnesty, conciliation and compromise, of delay and gradualism" (p. 43) allegedly preserved order in Brazil, but the biographer could have questioned why such moderation was not eclipsed in Brazil as in many Spanish American republics, and what kind of order was preserved. An attempt to elaborate the explanation of "social and ethnic quiet" (*idem.*) by invoking declining Africanization and increasing Europeanization after 1850 suffers from both racism and inaccurate chronology.

Bernstein does provide a very human picture of the Emperor as boy, husband, lover, and intellectual, extracted mostly from the hundreds of letters, the marginal notes, and the few diaries. The book is more critical than the earlier biographies in English by Mary W. Williams (1937) and Bertita Harding (1941), but it lacks the imagination of Bernstein's own *Modern and Contemporary Latin America* (1952). English-speaking undergraduates would learn as much about the Empire from Clarence Haring's clear summary (1958), and the serious reader fortunately now has Sérgio Buarque's rich treatment.

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*The Afro-Asian Dimension of Brazilian Foreign Policy, 1956–1972.* By WAYNE A. SELCHER. Gainesville, 1974. The University Presses of Florida. Latin American Monographs, Second Series, 13. Tables. Bibliography. Pp. vii, 252. Cloth. \$10.00.

Brazil has in recent years greatly expanded and diversified its international activities. Owing to its continental expanse (fifth country in the world in terms of area), its population of 110 million (nipping