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Envisioning the apocalypse: (Dis)Order, progress, and Brazil's Canudos War, 1896-1897

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Dedication

I dedicate this project to the late Marjorie Hart Kidd, my great-great aunt and fellow alumna of Madison College (James Madison University). Shortly before her death in the early spring of 2011, she reminded me to make a name for myself. This master's thesis is a crucial foothold to discovering myself as a student and as a scholar.

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research in the language. More importantly, she stoked my enthusiasm for cross-disciplinary study.

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Abstract

This thesis uses the Canudos War (1896-7) as an analytical lens for unpacking issues of class, race, and gender in late nineteenth century Brazil. Brazil's perhaps bloodiest civil war between millenarian backlanders and the state and federal military sheds light on elite urban social preoccupations during a critical formative period of republican rule. I analyze travelogues, newspaper reports, political cartoons, and other period documents. I do so in order to engage with elite urban Brazilians' readings of, and prescriptions for, Order and Progress as articulated through questions of gender, class, and race.

Throughout this project, I argue that urban sympathetic audiences read Canudos as an example of what serious social problems lay before the young Republic established in 1889. Despite this, the meaning of the situation in the hinterlands changed dramatically. I show that important shifts occurred in individuals' interpretations of the millenarian community as the episode became absorbed into republican symbolic space. Travelers and the urban press initially understood the situation at Canudos to be a local or regional issue to be expected of stereotypical rural ruffians. After Canudos's armed inhabitants began to challenge the Brazilian military, urban writers and illustrators increasingly framed the community and war as a serious challenge to republican hegemony. From a symbolic perspective, I maintain that notions of gender and gendered behavior became more important as urban illustrators and writers integrated the conflict into republican Brazil's invented historical narrative.

Much work remains to be done to unearth the voices of Conselheristas, or Canudos inhabitants. Carefully mining archival sources in Brazil may allow subsequent researchers to engage with how Canudos inhabitants might have built their community as

an alternative to period sociopolitical formations. Moreover, using sources inaccessible to scholars farther afield can shed light on a Conselherista world-view that has long been concealed by myth and uncertainty. By examining Conselherista and elite discourses alongside one another, one can more fully appreciate the dialectical processes involved in a critical moment of nation building.

INTRODUCTION

Envisioning the Apocalypse

In 1897, an advertisement in the *Diário de Notícias* invited Rio inhabitants to partake in a "great novelty." For one *real*, audiences could venture into the great salon on Gonçalves Dias Street to observe a series of black and white photographs of "diverse panoramas" presented using Alfred Molteni's new projection device. Several dozen photographs of soldiers, trenches, hospitals, and prisoners encircled paying viewers in a post-apocalyptic climate. Although the scenes of carnage took place several hundred miles away from Brazil's most important urban centers, Rio's viewers were well aware of its antecedents and repercussions.[1]

In the collection of photographs was an exhumed corpse. The aged figure clad in a blue tunic and sandals was neither a powerful statesmen nor a wealthy celebrity. On the contrary, the late Antônio Mendes Maciel was a sort of anti-celebrity. More commonly known as Antônio Conselheiro, or the "counselor," the deceased was perhaps the most important victim of Brazil's bloodiest civil war in 1897. Considered a *fanático*, or religious fanatic, by period observers, Maciel founded an experimental community in the hinterlands of Bahia, Brazil (see Maps 1 and 2 in Appendix). In the semiarid region known as the *sertão*, the Counselor's new city of Belo Monte (Fair Hill) drew in thousands of displaced individuals and families. Supposedly bewitched by Conselheiro's religious fanaticism, various beggars, bandits, upstanding citizens, and even noble

1. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. I assume full responsibility for any inaccuracies, omissions, or general errors throughout this thesis.

The Brazilian *real* is indicated as $R.

individuals transformed the former rural backwater into a stalwart of hysteria and disorder.[2]

Antônio Conselheiro was opposed to the Brazilian Republic established in 1889. He was particularly disillusioned by the Republic's dismantling of the power of the Church. Wandering throughout the backlands as a *beato*, or an itinerant preacher, Conselheiro sermonized to crowds small and large alike. He invoked the biblical struggle between the forces of good and evil, often equating the Republic with Satan. To Maciel, the Republic was a wolf in sheep's clothing. Like the Antichrist, Brazil's republicans sought to erode the moral and religious character of their country. Conselheiro's Canudos settlement subsequently served as a center of new beginnings. The devout could live virtuously as Brazilians did during the former empire in the small city of mud huts and two large stone churches on the banks of the Vaza-Barris River.[3]

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2. Antônio Conselheiro and his followers referred to their hinterland refuge as Belo Monte. Coastal observers, military men, and the press referred to the community as Canudos, the name of the general graphic area in which Belo Monte was situated. I agree with the thoughtful conventions of Adriana Michéle Campos Johnson. She proposes that we refer to the Canudos known by history in a compound form: Belo Monte/Canudos. This naming convention carries more weight in terms of precision since it captures both inhabitants' name for their community and the imposed, "historical" name of the settlement. See Campos Johnson, *Sentencing Canudos: Subalternity in the Backlands of Brazil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 8-9. For simplicity, however, I simply refer to the community as "Canudos" throughout this thesis. It is interesting to evaluate the death photographs of Ernesto "Che" Guevara alongside that of Antônio Conselheiro. In both cases, photography serves a performative function. Indeed, the death photos of both polarizing figures communicate a sobering message of human vulnerability.

3. Many scholars define *beatos* or *beatas*, the female equivalent, as "transients who performed a religious service to the members of a host community" by collecting alms in return for prayers for their followers. See Lori Madden, "The Canudos War in History," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 30, no. 2 (1993): 6. That an itinerant pilgrim traveled long stretches of the backlands was not an oddity in nineteenth-century Brazil. In fact, the wanderings of *beatos/as* were an important legacy of Iberian Christianity implanted in colonial Brazil. The Church largely tolerated these holy men and women, particularly in the remotest corners of the state. There, they provided important services such as constructing churches in the absence of ordained priests. Like Antônio Conselheiro, many *beatos/as* espoused apocalyptic rhetoric. Robert Levine (1993) maintains that Canudos was the largest urban locale in Bahia after Salvador.

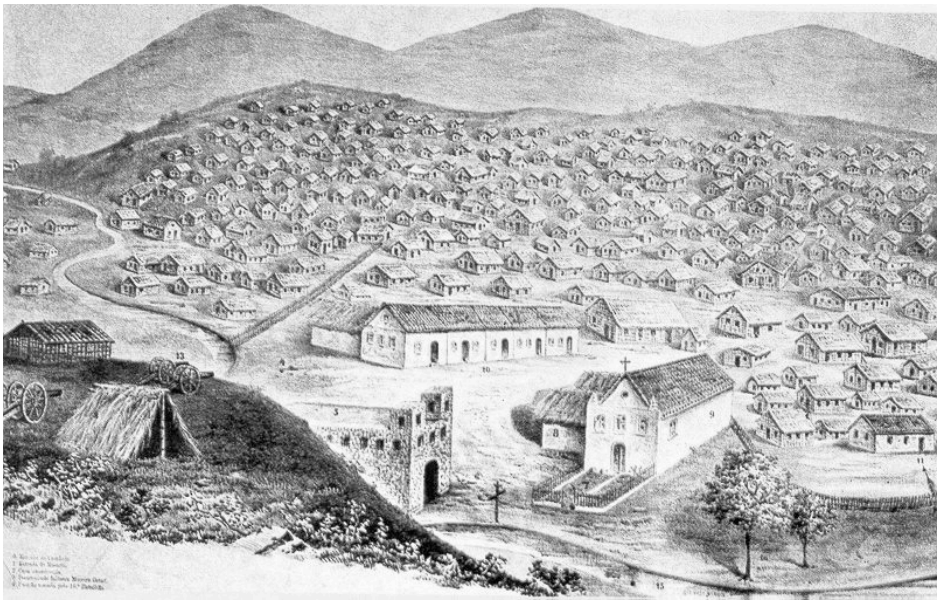

Figure 1: Unknown artist. “Empire of Belo Monte: diligent police expelled from the region of the Vaza-Barris River by the followers of Conselheiro.” Illustration in Veja, April 1896.

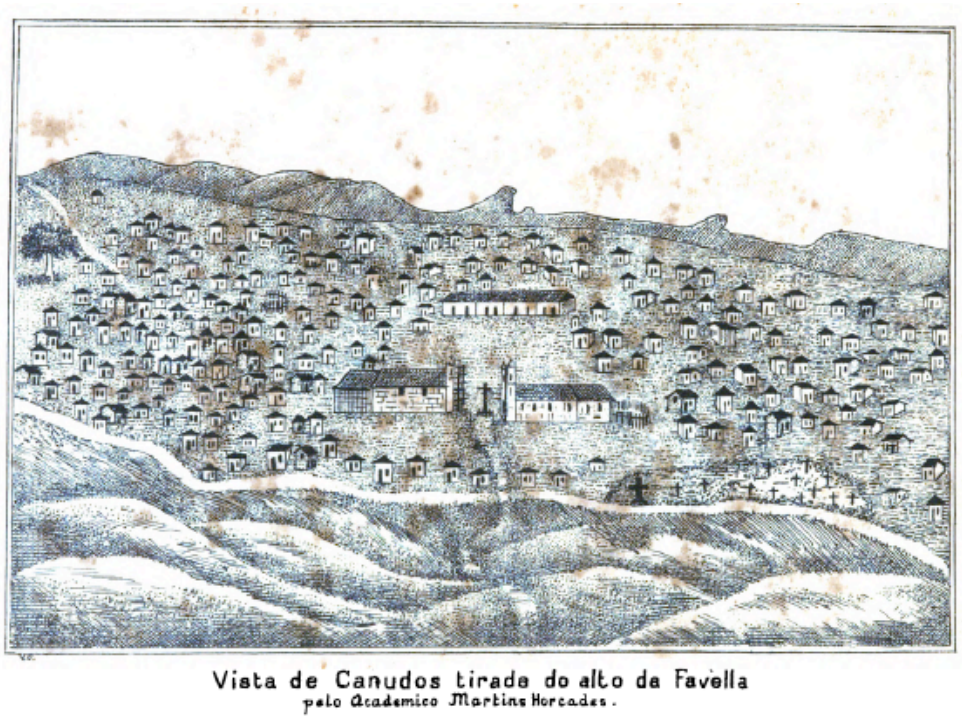

Figure 2: Alvim Martins Horcades. View of Canudos taken from above the mountain by the academician Martins Horcades. Alvim Martins Horcades, *Descripção de uma viagem a Canudos*. Salvador: Bahia, 1899, p. 187.

Map 1: Brazil in 1893 with the geographic area of the *sertão* indicated by the lined box. Robert M. Levine, *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893-1897* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 68.

Elite urban sympathetic Brazilians viewed Antônio Conselheiro and his followers as enemies of the state. During the Canudos War (November 1896-October 1897), five successive government expeditions attempted to dismantle what both elected officials and the press identified as a subversive *foco*. Although Maciel's well-armed followers provided to be a more formidable opponent than thought previously, the armed forces finally leveled Canudos in early October 1897. The Antônio Conselheiro died shortly before the conflict came to an end, allegedly because he had engaged in intense self-mortification by fasting in the latter half of the war. Both sides experienced staggering losses and the Canudos War became a focal point of contention among urban Brazilians before, during, and after the final shots were fired in Canudos.[4]

If the projected images in the Gonçalves Dias saloon did not provide metropolitan audiences with their first encounters with photographs or electric projection, the manifestation certainly introduced the first realistic images of the backlands and the figure of Antônio Conselheiro to them. Most audiences had up until now only seen images of Canudos in political cartoons. Flávio de Barros's photographs countered these images through the scientific documentation offered by late nineteenth century photography. Barros's images also reminded audiences of the separation of rural and urban Brazil and suggested that much work remained to be done to inculcate the virtues of Order and Progress into the nation's hinterlands.[5]

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4. R. M. Levine estimates that approximately 15,000 or 20,000 individuals resided in Canudos although some estimates have been as high as 25,000 or 30,000 persons. See Levine, ""Mud-Hut Jerusalem": Canudos Revisited," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (August 1988): 527. Exact figures for loss of life on both sides are speculative at best.

5. As many noted scholars have suggested, it is misguided to identify a singular "Brazil" during this time period. The national community imagined by urban individuals was certainly a marked contrast from that of country-dwellers. Moreover, the elite metropolitan figures that supposedly blazed Brazil's path to modernity could not help but identify their country as a space of contrasts. Thus, referring to a definite

Map 2: Detail of Canudos and the *sertão* region between 1893 and 1897. Robert M. Levine, *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893-1897* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 69.

This exhibition setting also situated Barros's photographs as a type of public performance. In an era before the dominance of motion pictures, the spectacle carefully cultivated the archetypal triumph of the forces of good over evil. Like in a play or an opera, the photographic subjects became a cast of characters. Using the sertão as a stage,

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Brazil or attributes of "Brazilianness" is misguided because these were heavily contested terms at the tail end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

the Republic's soldiers, generals, and medics served as the protagonists of the Canudos drama. Conselherista prisoners of war and the exhumed Antônio Conselheiro served as their villainous opponents. Although Barros's collection of photographs presented neither the beginning of the war nor intermittent combat, the photographer's subjects recreated the decisive moment of the Conselheristas' defeat. As Natalia Brizuela shows in her analysis of Flávio de Barros's Canudos photographs, military officials deliberately staged the apprehension of the enemy at gunpoint or the encirclement of throngs of inhabitants.[6]

The photographs were exhibited with a distinct beginning, middle, and end. Telling a national story, they also served as an incipient form of propaganda by exalting the superiority of the Republic to an urban sympathetic audience. Infantrymen and generals emerged as the celebrated victors of the affair, and they dealt surviving Conselheristas the punishment they deserved. Although the novel exhibition sketched a decidedly political narrative, the visual medium itself is also significant in at least two respects. First, the use of photography to capture the conflict's aftermath instead of hand drawn images—as had been the norm until the end of the war—underscores the technological tastes of the Republic. Second, the use of Alfred Molteni's projection machine to throw images of the war upon the walls of the Gonçalves Dias saloon suggests an additional reading of the republican victory: that new technologies should pave the way for the success of the Republic.[7]

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6. See Natalia Brizuela, "Curiosity! Wonder!! Horror!!! Misery!!!! The Campanha de Canudos, or the Photography of History," *Qui Parle* 15, no. 2: 139-169. The author contends that period photography equipment would not allow for precisely timed snapshots of live action.

7. See Ana M. López, "Early Cinema and Modernity in Latin America," *Cinema Journal* 40, no. 1 (2000): 48-78 and Maite Conde, "Screening Rio: Cinema and Desire for 'The City' in Turn-of-the-Century Brazil," *Portuguese Studies* 22, no. 2 (2006): 188-208. Several of Flavio de Barros's photographs feature republican weaponry, including firearms and cannons. It is no accident that the most notable depiction of armed soldiers surrounding Conselheristas presents them as weaponless.

As this thesis aims to show, the Rua Gonçalves Dias exhibition belongs to a broader vein of period discourse on the Canudos War. The medium of photography joined political cartoons, satirical plays, songs, diaries, and newspaper reports in interpreting the magnitude of the war and its implications for Brazil. Just as many different media provided distinct, and often competing, readings of the millenarian community and the ensuing conflict, interpretations changed over time. More fundamentally, the characteristics and degrees of "otherness" attributed to Conselheristas varied widely. Some observers undoubtedly identified Antônio Conselheiro and his followers as degenerate ruffians, while still others were horrified that the bravado of a modern people spurred the extermination of a pocket of simple country folk. Nevertheless, a matrix consisting of issues of class, gender, and race guided observers' appraisals of Canudos.[8]

The idea that the coast and interior were two different worlds was a hallmark of Brazilian history. While metropolitan centers along the seaboard imported the latest European fashions, art forms, and social theories, urbanites dismissed the interior as a land frozen in time. Elite urban social commentary opined that backlanders were backwards in their mental faculties and prone to extravagant superstitious. Moreover, travelers often regarded vagrants roaming the interior as particularly dangerous. It is against this backdrop of "otherness" that this thesis aims in part to understand how the urban popular press refitted these longstanding tropes during a pivotal moment of nation building. In order to do so, it is important to ask two questions. First, how did observers

8. For an insightful look at how the meaning of Canudos has changed over time—including considerations of historiography—see Lori Madden, "Evolution in the Interpretations of the Canudos Movement: An Evaluation of the Social Sciences," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 28, no. 1 (1991): 59-75.

approach dealing with the Canudos problem in their texts? Second, what did these writers think the Canudos War meant for a modern Brazil?[9]

To consider these overarching issues, I approach the Canudos War from an analysis of discourse. Whether in satirical political cartoons, commemorative illustrations, personal journals, or letters, observers narrated the actions of Conselheristas, military men, and esteemed citizens on stages of their own creation. Moreover, writers and editors presented their observations as distinct types of performance. By posing these overarching issues, I show that writers and editors framed the Canudos movement and war as distinct genres of performance. Their narratives underscore such themes as modernity, progress, morality, and respectability. These cultural representations of war serve as a yardstick measuring human 'nature' and the potential for Brazil to embark upon a path of modernization.

By studying the media's readings of the Canudos movement, one can appreciate more fully the extent of, as well as the significance behind, its readings. Indeed, I consider three interrelated questions in this thesis. First, I ask how elite interpretations of Canudos, its inhabitants, and the significance of the war changed over its one-year duration. Second, I also trace how notions of difference are constructed and how they transform over the same period. Finally, I ask how a small place in the sertão—the local—transformed sociopolitical discourse on the national stage.[10] Thus, I am to

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9. For a comparative perspective on Brazil's rural/urban divide, I point to the Argentine case. See Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Facundo: Or, Civilization and Barbarism* (New York: Penguin, 1998).

10. Throughout this thesis, I draw on the insights of Trevor Purvis and Alan Hunt concerning problematic distinctions between 'discourse' and 'ideology.' I agree with the scholars that 'discourse' identifies semiotic processes that "involve the production of meanings and truth-claims." Moreover, 'discourses' possess deeper meanings because they "inscribe signs within social practices as a condition of existence of the meanings and subjectivities produced." See Trevor Purvis and Alan Hunt, "Discourse, Ideology, Discourse, Ideology, Discourse, Ideology…" *The British Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 3 (1993).

reposition the war as an optic for understanding period social anxieties through urban observers' and periodicals' prescriptions for Order and Progress.

I argue that period concepts of Order and Progress are articulated in gendered language. When referring to Canudos, observers routinely evoke an inversion in gender norms to articulate anarchy. Indeed, they remark with alarm that effeminate men and manly women inhabit the city. It is also no coincidence that onlookers frame the situation of disorder in the sertão as a classic case of hysteria—an unmistakably feminine condition provoked by emotional excess. Observers characterize the interior as an irrational, feminine space. But by presenting ideas of disorder from the vantage point of gender expectations, the same writers sketch out ideas for reinventing order. Indeed, they articulate the importance of hierarchies not only in class and race, but also of gender.

Although issues of class and race are important themes in this project, the question of gender is especially important. Considering questions of gender, as Joan Scott reminds us, ultimately allows us to understand how power flows and operates in a society.[11] This is an especially central issue in this thesis. To be sure, period forms of social commentary regularly equate proper gender hierarchies with notions of Order and Progress. Moreover, gendered discourse figures more prominently in observers' reflections on the hinterland community and those esteemed individuals involved in the war. Contemporary reflections on gender through the lens of Canudos also leave imprints of class and race, as they were often conflated distinctions. Finally, I use the historical moment of the Canudos War to contribute to an important trend in scholarship. I follow Sueann Caulfield, Brodwyn Fischer, Bianca Premo, and others who identify the importance of

11. See Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053-1075.

the state as an arbiter of social policy in the early twentieth-century. I seek to broaden their findings by exploring the Republic's concern with gender roles, the family, and, thus, power, during a moment of great symbolic and sociopolitical importance.

Like other scholars before, I argue that Canudos ignited a sociopolitical firestorm in the urban sphere. The war challenged politicians-scientists' prescriptions for stability and for some time the conflict appeared to chip away at domestic support for elite urban rule.[12] Behind mocking assertions that Antônio Conselheiro and his followers expected an imminent end of days in 1900 during which "all lights shall be extinguished," the urban intelligentsia meditated a parallel apocalypse.[13] Orderly rule by enlightened men could be replaced by anarchy. Social vices including prostitution, gambling, and alcoholism would taint Brazilians' moral virtue. In short, the truism of Order and Progress might well have been replaced by Disorder and Stagnation in the shadow of the Canudos War.

Organization

Chapter 1 lays a rough sociopolitical groundwork for turn of the century Brazil. This chapter seeks to identify the predominant discourses about Antônio Conselheiro's experimental community. Using period newspapers and journals, I sketch out predominant discourses on class, gender, and race while paying careful attention to

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12. Brazil's urban elites were heavily influenced by French sociopolitical theory. The work of Comte and his notions of "positive science," or positivism, which held that a scientific elite could lead society to social order and progress, especially influenced them. The fact that republican Brazil's flag included the Portuguese maxim "Ordem e Progresso" (Order and Progress) speaks to the prevalence of European, and especially French, social and social evolutionary discourse.

13. Scotsman R. B. Cunninghame Graham echoes assertions that Antônio Maciel predicted the end of days made by the Brazilian press in his 1920 biography of the Counselor. Recent evidence suggests that Antônio Conselheiro did not refer to an impending apocalypse in his prayers and sermons. Some scholars maintain that the Counselor probably referred to the biblical event metaphorically. For the Counselor's alleged prophecy, see Cunninghame Graham, A Brazilian Mystic: Being the Life and Miracles of Antônio Conselheiro (London: William Heinemann, 1920), 85.

republican social anxieties during this period. Chapter 2 considers the commentary on Canudos in the early 1890s. I highlight the intersection between discourses on social science and gender, race, and class in the accounts of a Catholic missionary, Euclides da Cunha, and a local chief of police. Each employing the language of turn of the century positivist social science, these observers articulate a fear of the lines between respectability and deviancy being blurred in Antônio Conselheiro's city. Indeed, they present distinct variations on a theme of heterogeneity.

According to the detractors of Canudos, a diversity of inhabitants was a symptom of degenerate behavior. In the sertão, alcoholism and prostitution—two of the most essential social concerns in the urban sphere—could spread quickly, plunging even its most upstanding inhabitants into decadence. More importantly, I show that the social health of female Conselheristas is perhaps the most important concern of early republican observers. By suggesting that these women would deviate from decent sexual mores, observers express their understanding of Order and Progress in gendered terms. From a broader perspective, they establish parallels between the health of the female and the Republic at large.

In chapter 3, I analyze illustrated journals that describe the war's beginning. Evaluating commemorative illustrations and political cartoons included in the *Revista Illustrada* and other periodicals, I show that readings of the conflict shifted noticeably over a one-year timeframe. While the idea that Canudos signified sociopolitical danger (as observers remarked in chapter 2) did gain traction in the press, an analysis of published imagery sheds light an alternate reading of the community and subsequent

war.[14] In the initial phase of the operation, many cartoonists capitalize upon the element of the absurd and employ longstanding tropes of the hinterland bumpkin.

Like in period burlesque and variety shows, illustrators narrate not only the backwardness of Conselheristas in the hinterlands, but also that of enlightened officials in the cities. In so doing, cartoonists draw parallels between the feminine hysteria characteristic of Antônio Conselheiro and his followers and an excessive bravado on the parts of Brazil's male elected officials. That the irrational, feminine interior and the rational, masculine coast are scarcely different from one another underscores the challenges of overcoming human nature. More importantly, this sort of critique questions whether modernity can truly be attained in turn of the century Brazil.[15]

Following an escalation in the war, the second half of chapter 3 explores a shift in the war's meaning. I argue that the element of gender becomes more central from a symbolic perspective when the Canudos War is absorbed into republican representational space. If cartoonists stage the first act of the Canudos affair as a carnivalesque affair, they bill its second act as a heroic drama.[16] Like the literary motif of the damsel in distress, a

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14. I do not consider in great depth newspaper coverage of the Canudos War aside from various illustrations, as analyses of these pieces are sufficient. Concerning written reports of the conflict, Walnice Nogueira Galvão produced an excellent compilation of wartime coverage of Canudos. See *No calor da hora: a Guerra de Canudos nos jornais, 4a expedição* (Austin, TX: Atica, 1974).

15. See also Lizir Arcanjo Alves, *Humor e sátira na guerra de Canudos* (Salvador: Secretaria de Cultura e Turismo do Estado da Bahia, 1997). This work also explores widely different critiques of Brazilian modernity through the dual lenses of caricature and the Canudos War.

16. Many different scholars have engaged with the place of the 'carnivalesque' in Brazilian society, and they are especially interested in understanding how it relates to the annual festival of Carnival. The insightful article of Roberto da Matta helps to unpack the importance of the carnivalesque both in Brazilian society and in its yearly celebration. In both cases, da Matta argues a merging of distinct social spaces marks the Brazilian carnivalesque. Different personas for different social functions and spaces converge in this medium. One can act the same way whether they are attending a religious celebration, talking with a spouse or loved one, and interacting with a social superior. "The orgy permitted during Brazilian Carnival," da Matta argues, "carries the connotation of democracy and inequality." In short, the carnivalesque both as an art form and a social ritual provides a momentary, even if artificial, leveling of social demarcations. See

female figure emblematic of the Republic faces a dangerous Conselherista villain. I highlight commentators' association between modernity and the protected female by pointing to the idea that the existence of the womanly Republic rests in the hands of her male defenders and protectors. I conclude the third chapter with close readings of periodicals' prescriptions for social order through their illustrations.

In chapter 4, I frame the aftermath of the Canudos War as a cathartic performance. In light of enormous casualties on both sides, the meaning of the war shifts yet again. I use the elite Comitê Patriótico da Bahia as a tool for understanding how affluent Brazilians reintegrated Canudos widows and orphans and settling their differences. While the interwar satire and commemorative illustrations explored in the previous chapter are largely silent on issues of class and race, the highly publicized efforts of the BPC operated under the assumption that these factors were vastly important. Again, while references to gender are more explicit in the deeds of the BPC, we are able to recognize issues of class and race that also underwrote its efforts to reintroduce social hierarchy.

A concluding chapter briefly considers how interpretations of the Canudos War have changed since the middle of the twentieth-century. Special attention is given to the place of the conflict in its centennial anniversary. Finally, I identify important lacunas in scholarship that are beyond the scope of this project but would nevertheless enrich our understanding of society, religion, and hegemony in turn of the century Brazil and Latin America.

Roberto da Matta and Ray Green, "An Interpretation of "Carnaval"," *SubStance* 11/12, nos. 4 and 2 (1982/1983).

CHAPTER 1

AN 'INVERTED' GAZE THROUGH PRINT

Introduction

The war in Canudos resulted in both literal and figurative tears in the existing social order. In the wake of the events that unfolded, discourse exploded which revealed opposing worldviews that played out over themes of power struggles and social anxieties. From the vantage point of an isolated community in a virtual no man's land, we are able to fundamentally reconstruct coastal Brazilians' social and political anxieties through the products of their editorial houses and newspaper stands.

The aims of this chapter are threefold. First, I consider the conceptual baggage that outside observers carried with them to the backlands. Distinct ideas of the ideal city, family, and gender roles strongly guided their readings of Canudos inhabitants. I foreground city reformers' efforts to link the public and private spheres with the broader republican agenda of order and progress. Second, I highlight the importance of the press in shaping public opinion. More specifically, I show that periodicals framed (often competing) notions of modernity, republicanism, and progress. Finally, I draw the reader's attention to the prevailing discourses on gender norms in such cities as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo since observers' experiences in these urban areas shaped their understandings of Conselheristas and the backlands.

Interrogating dailies, pamphlets, circulars, almanacs, and political cartoons sheds light on what the Canudos War meant to coastal Brazilians. To editors and reporters, the hotbed of religious fanaticism in the remotest corners of Bahia was a monarchical conspiracy. Yet to others, including social scientists and academics, Antônio

Conselheiro's burgeoning community was sufficient proof that the mixing of races (*mestizaje*) in the sertão peopled the region with a degenerate and primitive people. More fundamentally, though, perhaps Brazil's bloodiest civil war sketches out substantial veins of gendered discourse. Not only did the conflict illustrate a (perceived) confrontation between modern and primitive, progressive and degenerative, but also between the honorable and dishonorable.

From a perspective of gendered behaviors, Canudos served as a yardstick by which middle and upper class Brazilians measured one's (non)compliance to proper behavior. Editorials and on-location reports of the conflict reached coastal audiences and greeted them with shocking depictions of chaos. Upon reading across and between outside newspaper reports, private diary entries, and travelogues we recognize that coastal Brazilians understood Canudos and its inhabitants in deliberately gendered terms.

Accounts of Conselheristas' gendered behaviors reflected nothing short of cultural shock. In their writings, da Cunha and others superimposed coastal ideas of gendered honor and respectability upon their sertanejo subjects. These observers gaped at perceived inversions in gender norms and responsibilities in Canudos; they wrote of effeminate men and virile women and of rampant prostitution and general lawlessness in Conselheiro's settlement. Rio and São Paulo readers read accounts of weak men, indifferent to the sexual honor of their female counterparts, who permitted wandering women to participate in post-litany orgies. In so doing, writers' dispatches underscored the predominant theme of patriarchy in crisis in the backlands. Perceptions of gendered disorder in the sertão established the need to both destroy Conselheiro's city and to more generally lessen the distance between the littoral and more marginal areas. Through an

umbilical cord linking the coast and the backlands, essential doses of modernity could be delivered from the coast to fringe areas seemingly frozen in time, thus quickening their developmental tempo.

The Brazilian Press

In a collection of miscellaneous notes detailing his years as British vice-consul of Bahia between 1843 and 1858, James Wetherell remarked that "So very changeable has been the political life of most Brazilians that there are few who have not something to be said about them on both sides." The Englishman pointed to a proliferation of Bahian gazettes and newspapers in which the "grossest personal abuse is freely printed." Periodicals emerged in political and social factions "wishful for their particular doctrines or statements to be promulgated." He dryly reported that "some very not pleasing episodes are brought to light—men's ancestors are not allowed "to lie quiet in their graves" and that "Invective of every description is employed, until a man is driven to buy off his attackers."[1]

As Wetherell's remarks suggest, publications of all sorts were ubiquitous fixtures of urban social and political life beginning in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The printed word reflected, defined, and shaped public discourse. Presses produced bulletins, folios, dailies, and pamphlets of all shapes, sizes, and political persuasions in virtually every social space of imperial Brazil. Readers purchased periodicals on street corners, in newspapers offices and typographer studios, and they hurriedly read their purchases in homes, offices, public libraries, and on the streets. Between 1808 and 1893, more than 1,000 titles were available for purchase in the capital of Rio de Janeiro. In

1. James Wetherell, *Brazil. Stray Notes from Bahia: Being Extracts from Letters, &c., During A Residence of 15 Years* (Liverpool: Webb and Hunt, 1860), 108-109.

1897, approximately 65 newspapers, journals, and reviews served a population of some 700,000 in the capital city alone.[2] Between 1811 and 1899, close to 700 periodicals served the state of Bahia, a region that accounted for a population of over 1.6 million in 1897.[3] Newspaper articles served as conversational focal points, encouraging readers both to formulate their own policy and social opinions and to engage in lively debates with other readers. What is most striking, however, is that the rich commentary offered by urban newspapers was not only limited to the upper and professional classes.

The illiterate lower rung of urban society was not roped off from discussions of current events. On the contrary, as William Wisser shows in his study of Rio periodicals, mid nineteenth-century newspapers were as much oral as they were textual. Popular stories were read aloud to public crowds and in private venues—including pharmacies, taverns, churchyards, squares and eating-houses. As Wisser argues, these spaces provided the "crucial means for the transference of ideas and ideology between the literate and illiterate urban populations." They also inspired "lively debate and spread[ing] editors' messages far beyond the narrow confines of the literate elite."[4] Stories of interest passed through word-of-mouth, immersing both rich and poor in a variety of topics, encompassing what it meant to be a subject of the crown or republic to one's leanings

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2. *Commercial Directory of the American Republics: Comprising the Manufactures, Merchants, Shippers, and Banks and Bankers Engaged in Foreign Trade; Together with the Names of Officials, Maps, Commercial Statistics, Industrial Data, and Other Information Concerning the Countries of the International Union of American Republics, the American Colonies, and Hawaii. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Republics, International Union of American Republics, 1897, 333-334*. Over 20 publishing houses served the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1897. Brazil's total population in the same year totaled 16.3 million.

3. Walnice Nogueira Galvão, *No calor da hora: Guerra de Canudos nos jornais: 4a Expedição* (São Paulo, Brazil: Editora Ática, 1974), 15. Galvão also cites the published work of Hélio Vianna and Alfredo de Carvalho.

4. William M. Wisser, "Rhetoric and Riot in Rio de Janeiro, 1827-1831" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 2006), 34-6. Wisser argues that nineteenth century Brazil was a decidedly oral culture.

regarding prolific court cases.[5]

Brazilian newspapers of the 1890s were very different from those of today, however. Except for important national events, including the deaths of important figures and international conflicts, illustrations typically did not accompany news pieces.[6] Like their North American counterparts, Brazilian newspapers rarely exceeded ten pages in length and readers encountered stories that could be read without having to continue on subsequent pages; sheets were structured according to long, continuing columns of newsprint. In terms of content, as Walnice Nogueira Galvão shows, period newspapers were "mosaics consisting of fragments in a markedly disparate nature."[7] Seemingly indifferent to unifying structures of organization, stories involving high-profile murders joined critiques of recently published books, lottery information, and sports headlines. In the domain of fine arts and literature, staff writers contributed stories devoted to fashion, short stories, plays, and poems.[8]

Rapid-fire snapshots of domestic and international headlines greeted audiences fresh off the news cables on the front pages of their papers.[9] Editors and typographers strategically placed advertisements and community announcements on the back pages of their publications, and it is no small wonder that these portions of newspapers contrasted the most visually. Different font styles and graphic flourishes called readers' attention to

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5. Wisser, 40.

6. Published photographs do not appear to have become common fixtures in Brazilian newspapers until the early 1900s.

7. Galvão, 18.

8. Júlio César Leal authored a play chronicling the early life of Antônio Vicente Maciel in 1897. *O Jornal do Brasil* printed the piece in several installments in March 1897.

9. Aside from the landlocked system of telegraph lines, Brazil was connected to Europe and the United States through four submarine lines of communication. Brazil's state telegraph lines amounted to an astounding 21,845 miles of cable in 1897. See *Commercial Directory of the American Republics*, 275.

the latest medical products and cordially invited them to attend plays, concerts, and other spectacles.[10]

Regardless of their headlines and length, each piece was written and presented in a singular "Parnassian-naturalist-positivist-patriotic" mode. Reflecting a widespread interest in studying human behaviors to cultivate modernity, writers sought to produce pieces that were objective in a scientific sense while also corresponding to a broad support for the Republic.[11] As a result, reporters wrote in a mechanistic language emulating the works of physical and social scientists; modernity, progress, civilization, advancement, development, and science remained important buzzwords in period newspaper articles.[12]

Urban Space and Social Planning

The 1890s signaled the rise of the capitalist bourgeoisie in Brazil as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo surged in importance. The impoverished and those seeking opportunities in the urban sprawl coursed into the twin cities. The population of Rio de Janeiro alone steadily increased by three percent per annum throughout the decade, as poor whites, mestiços, and ex-slaves concentrated in the oldest portions in the center of the city.[13] As can be observed in the 1890 vagrancy codes, the growing presence of the marginalized in

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10. See Galvão, "Apresentando o Jornal de 1897" in *No calor da hora: Guerra de Canudos nos jornais: 4a Expedição*.

11. Ibid., 19. The original Portuguese reads “o estilo parnasiano-naturalista-positivista-patriótico"

12. It is revealing to conduct a general keyword search for the abovementioned stock terms using a database of digitized period newspapers, as the numerical results are astounding. See, for example, the Fundação Biblioteca National's *Projeco Periódicos Extíntos*: http://hemerotecadigital.bn.br (accessed February 4, 2014).

13. Rachel Soihet, *Condição feminine e formas de violência: mulheres pobres e ordem urbana, 1890-1920* (Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária, 1989), 30.

Rio especially troubled republican observers. What should have been the country's leading bastion for enlightened positivism was being capsized by its most vociferous elements.[14]

Many pieces reflect Brazilians' dissatisfaction with what they perceived to be an upturn in the social order. Poor Brazilians began to occupy the same public spaces that were previously the exclusive reserves of the country's cosmopolitan elite. The crowding of washerwomen in old public squares and courtyards stoked officials' fears that the prolonged presence of a "large concentration of individuals" and their "irrational and disorderly" natures would render modernity stillborn. In the literary-artistic magazine *Revista Kosmos*, one critic criticized the "gross, annoying, bestial traditions that should be ruthlessly and relentlessly destroyed because they embarrass civilization." Describing the annual Festa da Penha in 1906, the same individual complained that it "was so brutal, so disordered, and marked by so many shames and crimes that it seemed to be not a merriment of the modern age in the middle of a civilized city, but rather one of those orgies of the ancient world and the Middle Ages that trumpeted the lower passions of the mob and the slaves."[15]

To regulate the "destructive actions" underwritten by man's "disgraceful passions

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14. New vagrancy laws belonged to the broader penal code of 1890, a compendium of laws that directed attention to prostitution and drunkenness, as well. See Martha Knisely Huggins, *From Slavery to Vagrancy in Brazil. Crime and Social Control in the Third World* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985).

15. Soihet, 57. The Festa da Penha continues to be one of the most important and lively celebrations in Rio de Janeiro. It takes place each Sunday in October and the first Sunday in November at the Igreja da Nossa Senhora da Penha de França. More fundamentally, the intersection of the country's well-to-do and "popular" segments of society would be alarming to international investors. Certainly, many well-heeled inhabitants opined in newspapers and magazines that it was "essential to destroy the image of the unhealthy and unsafe city, one with an enormous population of riffraff planted in its heart, [basking] in the greatest discomfort, filth, and promiscuity. See Soihet, 45. The rise of Juan and Eva Perón in the middle of the 1940s underwrote similar critiques of the "popular classes" who similarly flocked to the symbolic core of Buenos Aires.

and blind instincts," a cadre of urban planners, social scientists, and physicians nodded at the pressing need to "regenerate, sanitize, and civilize" the urban landscape.[16] In proposing their solutions for Rio's aura as a modern city, they studied its urban spaces as *instrumentos da normalização*, or normalizing instruments. When spatially reconfigured and repurposed along the lines of Europe's most advanced cities of the nineteenth-century, Rio de Janeiro would have a positive, modernizing effect on its inhabitants. Rio's city fathers commissioned extensive demolition campaigns to open up narrow streets and to form healthful public spaces. Like the circulatory system of an organism, Rio de Janeiro required unblocked veins through which to pump its positivist lifeblood of order, stability, and civilization. By the same token, reformers quickly expunged the "dangerous classes" from Rio's spatial and symbolic centers and planted them instead in surrounding peripheral areas.[17]

City reformers maintained on the one hand that their physical modifications to Rio de Janeiro would encourage proper, healthy behavior. Wide, open streets and airy squares not only obstructed the transmission of disease, but they were also important in that they encouraged orderly behavior in their inhabitants. The segregation of its population by class and race facilitated orderliness and adhered to the stern warnings of such scientists as Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, who cautioned that the mixing of Brazil's races produced

16. Soihet, 39. The original Portuguese reads "civilizar, regenerar e higienizar."

17. This spatial configuration continues to define present-day Rio de Janeiro. *Favelas*, or informal housing settlements, are reportedly condemned by state authorities. This process has become a highly publicized issue in the wake of the 2016 Rio summer Olympics. Rio reformers relocate marginalized populations while neglecting additional efforts to design alternative housing projects for displaced peoples. For a historical look at this process, see Brodwyn Fischer, *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

degeneracy.[18] On the other hand, however, modeling a new republican Rio de Janeiro on the likes of Paris and England served as an important advertisement for would-be investors. Government officials reasoned that when international backers observed the splendor of a sophisticated city in the tropics of South America, they would be more inclined to invest in Brazil's modernization and industrialization programs.[19]

The Family

While many Brazilians expressed their concern for public order, urban modernizers focused much attention to the social cornerstone of modernity: the family. As the basic unit of modern society, the Brazilian family imparted upon children (and future citizens of the Republic) standards for acceptable social behavior. Husbands and wives were jointly responsible for the healthy upbringing of their young. Husbands provided for and protected their families, and wives nursed, nurtured, and provided their children with important lessons in morality and respectability. The importance of the balanced family unit was twofold. First, stable families would preemptively eliminate asocial and deviant behaviors, thus ensuring the communal health of the larger Brazilian family. Second, they provided an environment in which sex-specific imperfections (i.e., unrestrained passions) could be equalized and controlled for the optimum societal benefit.

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18. See, for example, Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, *As raças humanas e a responsibilidade penal no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Guanabara, 1895). It is also striking to compare turn of the century theories of race in many different national contexts, particularly in the literary domain. While many positivist intellectuals in Brazil rallied against the mixing of races well into the twentieth-century, such individuals as José Vasconcelos anticipated an inevitable and advantageous mixture of all global races in *La Raza Cósmica* (1925).

19. In 1908, Rio hosted its highly publicized *Exposição Nacional* (The National Exposition), inviting foreign dignitaries to bask in the opulence of Brazilian modernity. An assortment of illustrated postcards and other forms of memorabilia featured an abundance of cinema houses, hotels, electric streetlights, automobiles, streetcars, and automobiles, rendering the nation's capital an important rival to the most fashionable European cities. More importantly, the *Exposição* put on display the modern, progressive, and foreign investment-friendly republic primed for the process of industrialization.

Popular periodicals also provide revealing glimpses into the divisive nature of gender norms in the late nineteenth-century. The years immediately following the withering away of the Empire were formative in that republican press organs sought to normalize images of the modern Brazilian male and female. Newspapers, gazettes, pamphlets, and circulars served as important, and often competing, means through which notions of femininity and masculinity were imposed upon biologically sexed bodies. If periodicals presented both models of acceptability and cautionary tales of nonconformity, their messages were far from uniform. On the contrary, the Brazilian press simultaneously widened and constricted gendered discourse. Females were able to voice their concerns in increasing numbers through various publications, but the degrees to which they were able to challenge their ascribed roles as mothers and nurturers were limited.

Searching for qualitative essences to femininity and masculinity, scholars and critics wrote regularly of various afflictions to affect modern males and females. Phrenological and biological evidence distinguished the sexes and served as rationales for a division of space into public and private spheres. Commentators showed that women were physically and mentally weaker than men. Perhaps more importantly, they argued that females concealed traits of immorality and deceitfulness. The findings of German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer were enormously popular, and many editorial columns reflected the view that females suffered various bouts of "infidelity" and "betrayal":

> Women are benevolent but they are also inferior to men in every respect concerning justice, rights, and scrupulous probity. Injustice is thus the main feminine flaw. The weakness of her judgment is the cause and what exaggerates the defect is that nature deprives her of strength, giving astuteness in compensation, where her instinctive tendency is to scam [and] lie.[20]

20. Soihet, 90. The original Portuguese reads: "As mulheres são caridosas mas são inferiores ao homem em tudo o que toca a justiça, o direito, a probidade escrupulosa. A injustiça é assim o principal defeito feminine. A fraqueza de seu juglamento é a causa; e o que agrava ainda o defeito é que a natureza lhe privando da força lhe dá em compensação a astúcia, de onde sua instintiva tendência ao embuste, sua invencível inclinação à mentira, de onde enfim sua falsidade, sua ingratidão sua infidelidade e sua traição."

The idea that women should be confined to the home rested squarely upon the argument that they required the protection of fathers and husbands in light of their moral weakness. Indeed, such an idea was equally paramount in the instrumentality of marriage. Many pronounced that a female's attraction to a male was not based upon her love for him, "but rather a manifestation of an inferior being's devotion to a superior being."[21] The elite understood women's attraction to their husbands as biologically preconditioned, or even programmed, responses to female weakness.

Remaining within the confines of the household consequently placed women closer to their husbands and fathers, where they could be more carefully observed and restrained. In light of their predisposition for moral corruption, respectable women were limited to the confines of the home. There, they could take part in light reading, handicrafts, and the like. When they ventured into the male-dominated public spaces encompassing the "street" in Sandra Lauderdale Graham's conceptual dichotomy, chaperones accompanied upper class women as to symbolically guard them from the dangers lurking in the narrowest confines of the city.[22]

Beyond the walls of the home, members of the "dangerous classes"—broadly referring to the racially inferior, petty and dangerous criminals, and dishonorable men—could easily seduce young women. Reflecting the republican premium placed upon virginity, many people maintained that single, honorable young women could be tempted

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See Schopenhauer's essay "On Women," available at http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/s/schopenhauer/arthur/essays/chapter5.html (Accessed October 27, 2013).

21. Soihet, 88.

22. Sandra Lauderdale Graham, " Making the Private Public," *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 1 (2003): 28-42.

and deflowered before marriage. Whether willing or by force, the loss of a young woman's prized virginity before marriage severely jeopardized her family name, making it exceedingly difficult for her to find a respectable husband. Without husbands, women risked being beckoned into the street as prostitutes. By the same token, if they did manage to find male companions, most reputable men would not consider marriage, thus opening the disastrous potential for unrecognized children and absent fathers.[23]

Despite being predisposed to ill moral health, women were generally perceived or expected to be more pious than their husbands. While males contributed strengths in logic and rationality, wives offered to families their natural piety. Although paradoxically women were often considered morally inferior creatures, newspapers and periodicals also imparted them with the sacred task of being their children's very first teachers. Highlighting the female's natural (i.e., biological) predisposition for nurturing vis-à-vis the processes of conception, birth, and breastfeeding, many different publications specific to the *bello sexo* reminded women of their duty to instruct their sons and daughters in principles of honor, morality, and civic responsibility.[24]

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23. Carole A. Myscofski, "Women's Religious Role in Brazil: A History of Limitations," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 1, no. 2 (1985): 50. Recognizing that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for young women to find suitable husbands with which to begin families, republican reformers updated the Brazilian constitutional and penal codes in 1890. Deflowering became codified as a punishable offense against the family.

24. Maria Celi Chaves Vasconcelos, "A educação feminina no Brasil oitocentista: A mãe e mestra," 7-8. http://www.ieg.ufsc.br/admin/downloads/artigos/11042013-031231artigo05.pdf (Accessed February 18, 2014). This idea is very similar to the notion of "republican motherhood" in the early United States. Perhaps the most important periodicals dealing with questions of womanhood in the second half of the nineteenth century include *O Jornal das Senhoras, O Belo Sexo, O Sexo Feminino, A Patria Mineira, orgam da idea republicana* and *A Família*. Although there were certainly publications produced almost entirely by men that contributed distinct images of the proper late-nineteenth-century Brazilian woman, such as Dr. Carlos Costa's journal, *A Mãi de Família* (The Family Mother), a large circle of *mulheres letradas* (lettered women) penned editorials and columns concerning the issues that involved them most intimately. The most prolific and debated topics included how one should properly raise her children, how she should aspire to be their first educator and inculcator of republican virtues, and whether they were suited for the teaching profession outside the home.

A Tale of Two Females: The Absent Lady and the Public Woman

The illusory standard for Brazilian women, as Dias Silva shows, is often noted in scholarly circles as the "myth of the absent lady." Restricted largely to the home and under the constant supervision of paternal figures, the respectable Brazilian woman did not enter public spaces to carry out business transactions for the livelihood of her family. Instead, the husband or father provided for his family, leaving women to manage the household and to rear obedient children. Placing women under close observation in the house thwarted them from being lured by the dangers of public life, thus guarding their sexual purity and, by extension, the honor of the family at large.

Despite this, the vast majority of Brazilian women were unable to attain the standard of the "absent lady." Often blacks and mestiças, single mothers and widows often resorted to joining the informal sector in order to provide for themselves and their families. Other women simply had no desire to marry. Although some females were able to overcome adversity and serve as single heads of households, they encountered a systemic bias that severely criticized the independence of female wage earners. Period observers often viewed the enterprising Brazilian woman with both amazement and contempt. That women could ably navigate modern society to make a living and ensure the health of their families contradicted a body of scientific literature that underscored their biopsychological weakness. Not unlike the witches of early modern Europe, independent, resourceful women in Brazil seemed to possess "an aura of sorcery, for it was they who manipulated the telluric forces of fire, water, and salt."[25]

Rather than ascribing to femininity as defined by frailty and submissiveness, single

25. Maria Odils Silva Dias, *Power and Everyday Life: The Lives of Working Women in Nineteenth-Century Brazil,* trans. Ann Frost (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 161.

workingwomen were usually evoked as anti-females with bizarre, if not dangerous, *macho* (masculine) characteristics. These women were strong, powerful, and public, and they skillfully navigated the disordered street. Observers frequently noted the sexual cunning of Brazil's public women, many of which reportedly worked as prostitutes. In their dealings with public spaces, they bewitched men through their sexuality. Beyond newspapers and travelogues, public women made appearances in literary and theatrical works. Indeed, many scholars point to the character of *mulata* Rita Bahiana in Aluísio Azevedo's picaresque novel, *O Cortiço* (The Slum, 1890) as a case in point. Like Pomba Gira, the Umbanda and Quimbanda deity of female beauty, sexuality, and desire, Azevedo's character of Rita Bahiana enjoys an unbridled freedom to elope and seduce even the most upright of men.[26]

Elite social theorists maintained that the presence of single women in the activities of the street had a degenerative effect not only on their physical wellbeing, but also on their moral health. Literature pulsated with issues of crime and personal vice, and the involvement of single women in the matters of the street reinforced their criminal behaviors. Indeed, upon examining newspaper reports from the 1890s, one encounters a documentary explosion in cases involving the *criminosa*, or female criminal. Physicians and psychiatrists sought to understand why women were joining the ranks of petty criminals, but also more dangerous crime rings. Rio's *criminosas* tended to "confuse themselves with the masculine."

Lacking strong male figures to provide for them and to ensure the harmonious

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26. Azevedo's novel is a naturalist-realist portrait of life in a Rio slum in the 1890s. Among critiques of womanhood are considerations of race/ethnicity and class. See Aluísio Azevedo, *The Slum,* trans. David H. Rosenthal (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Both Umbanda and Quimbanda are Afro-Brazilian hybrid belief systems. See Kelly E. Hayes, "Wicked Women and Femmes Fatales: Gender, Power, and Pomba Gira in Brazil," *History of Religions* 48, no. 1 (August 1, 2008): 1–21.

balance of their families, single women assumed *macho* characteristics. Faced with their eroding maternal instincts, these women became increasingly driven by their "excessive eroticism" and "a domination over the weak and susceptible, sometimes through their physical strength, excessive tastes in violent exercises, and the same vices and clothing that reproduce masculine traits."[27] The street thus built masculinized men. Others opined that criminal women were born the products of their environments and would "act upon impulses of crime because of her latent instincts."[28]

Many different parties induced the figure of the macho woman to make the case for republican oversight of families. With a balance in proper parental responsibilities—a male breadwinner and female moral educator—the family would produce modern, upright citizens. Honorable Brazilians would, in turn, serve as bastions for Order and Progress. Although many certainly sympathized with the plight of widows and single mothers, their ability to raise an orderly family was precarious. Most shameful of all, however, were those women who lacked husbands, children, and paternalistic oversight, for it was they who went against the very forces of nature that impelled them to be mothers and nurturers.

Conclusion

Close readings of popular periodicals consequently shed light on concerns symptomatic of a society in flux. Brazilian slavery had been abolished in 1888 and a bloodless military coup declared the country a republic only one year later. Large demographic shifts at the onset of the 1890s prompted vociferous debates of what a

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27. Soihet, 100.

28. Ibid., 102.

modern Brazil would, or should, look like. Given its distinctively heterogeneous mixture of colors, social classes, and mentalities, many wondered if Brazil could emerge a modern state. Indeed, republican Brazil almost paled in comparison to France and the United States. Unlike young Brazil, her older sisters were untouched by tropical environments and they boasted more homogenous populations.[29]

Although some questioned Brazil's developmental track, many more critics leaped headlong into discussions of modernity. As I have highlighted in this chapter, both specialists and laymen alike remarked on issues of morality, virtue, and health. Despite their differences, period commentators largely agreed that a rigidly hierarchical superstructure was the tonic for Brazil's disparate population. Moreover, they tacitly maintained that careful studies of human behavior, including individuals' interactions with others, their latent genes, and the environment, could methodically separate entire groups of Brazilians into appropriate milieus. Borrowing liberally from tenets of Social Darwinism, city planners divided Rio de Janeiro into zones suitable for the superior and the degenerate, moral and immoral, and the honorable and dishonorable. In so doing, social architects made concerted efforts to prevent these antagonistic forces from intersecting.

In offering prescriptions for social equilibrium in Brazil, observers recognized the state as an arbiter of human behavior. By normalizing irregular behaviors, the Republic could ensure social homeostasis. In some cases, this would entail the state supporting "natural" instincts, such as those of women as nurturers and mothers, and fathers,

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29. As Dain Borges has highlighted in his research, nineteenth century European medicine tended to respond to persistent concerns that tropical colonial environments would cause white settler families to degenerate. See Borges, "'Puffy, Ugly, Slothful and Inert': Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880-1940," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25, no. 2 (1993): 235-256.

protectors and disciplinarians. But more often than not, the individuals considered in this chapter also advised that some behaviors—particularly those representative of the lower classes—needed to be curbed or at least removed from plain view. If social scientists and physicians could not erase their traces of violence, dishonesty, crime, and perversion, spatial segregation of the city would quarantine the passions of the lower classes as to avoid their transmission.

If social planning and regulation was a government enterprise, it was also a masculine undertaking. The application of logic and reason would yield maximum sociopolitical order by taming psychosocial excesses. Not only is this paradigm evident in the subjugation of women (emotion) to men (reason), but it also sustains the idea that the male elite should guide non-white persons. In the event that essential doses of logic and reason are withheld from vulnerable populations, disorder is an imminent byproduct. And as I argue in subsequent chapters, the very same notion substantiates the armed intervention of Canudos. Again reflecting the metaphor of period gender expectations, the masculine world of the city must subdue the feminine interior—an axis of crime, disorder, and fanaticism.

In the following chapter, I consider how three figures contributed to published discourses on modernity, order, and morality in early commentaries of Canudos. In so doing, I ask how turn of the century sociopolitical fixations identified in this chapter guided observers' readings of the city in the hinterlands. To contribute a wider perspective, the subsequent chapter also outlines a change in observers' impressions over time. While Antônio Conselheiro's band of followers initially resonated with longstanding archetypes of the ruffian backlander, or jagunço (see Glossary),

commentators gradually regarded the community as a contagion of social vice and disorder. If unchecked by the reason of enlightened men, the hysteria of the feminine interior would raze the edifice of modernity, leaving in its wake crime, vice, and promiscuity.

CHAPTER 2

BRAZIL GROWS SMALLER: EARLY ACCOUNTS OF CANUDOS

> The crystallization of Antônio Conselheiro's delirium in the third period of progressive psychosis reflects the sociological conditions of the environment in which it is organized.[1]
> —Aristides Milton, *A campanha de Canudos* (1901)

Introduction

Beginning in the mid-1870s, Antônio Maciel wandered throughout the Brazilian sertão. As he passed through small towns and hamlets, the beato constructed chapels, gave alms to the poor, and sermonized. Along his way, the Counselor amassed a sizable following of all walks of life, including women, children, the infirm, and the penitent. As many scholars have shown, local and provincial authorities loosely tolerated the wandering beato. Given that religious services by ordained missionaries were far in between in the sertão, even the Church appreciated Maciel's laudable efforts. While Antônio Conselheiro traveled throughout the northeast, a political revolution occurred in November 1889. Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca deposed Dom Pedro II, proclaiming Brazil a republic.[2]

Maciel must have been aghast at the momentous changes imposed by the positivist elite. Civil marriage trumped religious matrimony, and republicans in Rio de Janeiro actively dismantled the former state Church. Moreover, statesmen opted to standardize

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1. The original Portuguese reads: "A crystallização do delirio de Antônio Conselheiro, no terceiro period da sua psychose progressive, reflecte as condições sociologicas do meio em que se organizou."

2. Unlike many other revolutions throughout Latin America, the proclamation of the Republic in 1889 was virtually bloodless. As many scholars have pointed out, referring to the 1889 coup as "revolutionary" is somewhat misguided. Under the First Republic (1889-1930), Brazil was an oligarchic democracy. Local bosses and powerful landowners frequently rigged elections and the presidency alternated between oligarchs in the two states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais.

weights and measures using the examples of other modern states such as the U.S. and France, and they endeavored to push Brazil along the path to industrialization. Conselheiro interpreted the shift from monarchy to Republic as an insult to Brazil's spiritual life. Following 1889, the beato's proselytizing became increasingly more aggressive against the state. He attacked the Republic as a criminal instrument of Satan. This rhetoric must have appealed to many as he cultivated a large following during his travels. The Counselor came into direct conflict with many different parties in the early 1890s. Ordinary backlanders frantically appealed to their patrons and provincial police organizations for protection against Conselheiro's armed followers. Moreover, the ecclesiastical hierarchy imposed a ban on Maciel's preaching due to his lack of proper qualifications.

This chapter examines the ways in which chroniclers read Antônio Conselheiro and Conselheristas. More specifically, I question how three different individuals used the language of positivism to evoke a situation of anarchy and disruption in the hinterlands.[3] Moreover, from the vantage point of social theory, I analyze the relationship between the human and national bodies in these accounts. Put differently, I am interested in how the three observers cited here integrate Canudos into the Brazilian collective, or the imagined *povo brasileiro*. Following my comments in the previous chapter concerning social theory, I show that the three accounts explored here explore the correlation between Brazilian social heterogeneity and sociopolitical disorder in both the coast and the

3. It should be noted that in each account, individuals identify "anarchy" in a particular way. In Canudos, anarchy entails self-government by group decision-making. Its inhabitants made decisions through collective action and group dialogue. This is significant because references to "anarchy" in period accounts do not evoke the lack of a governing structure; indeed, many observers note that community organizations were in place in Antônio Conselheiro's city.

interior. Finally, I consider these accounts to shed light on observers' gendered remarks on social (dis)order and their reliance upon tropes of gender to proscribe solutions.

I have selected here the accounts of a Catholic missionary, a rural chief of police, and engineer-journalist, Euclides da Cunha. It should be noted that I am not as concerned with commentators' particular agendas as I am with how they evoke danger in the backlands. Moreover, I employ da Cunha's *Rebellion in the Backlands* both as a means of obtaining contextual information and as a source unsurpassed in terms of its comprehensiveness. Change over time is an important theme in this chapter, as are similarities and differences across and between accounts. While the earliest report of Macedo casts Conselheristas as an isolated band of ruffians, narratives shift noticeably just before the government laid siege to Canudos in 1896. In this historical moment, the locale became an important problematic that could potentially challenge the semblance of Order and Progress.

I begin with a consideration of the account of the police chief of Itapicuru, followed by that of Frei João Evangelista do Monte Marciano, a Bahian missionary. I then engage with the many observations of engineer-journalist Euclides da Cunha. In an attempt to study the intertexuality of the abovementioned accounts, I conclude the chapter by considering how each observer read Antônio Conselheiro, Canudos, and its inhabitants in relation to the Brazilian collective, or the *povo brasileiro*. Throughout, I highlight the importance of change over time and emphasize the dissonance among individuals' readings of the situation in the hinterlands.

"Selfish, Unpredictable, and Arrogant": The Report of A Police Chief

Even before the advent of Belo Monte in 1893, Luiz Gonzaga de Macedo, police chief of Itapicuru, appealed to Bahia's chief of police in November 1876. Bearing witness to Conselheiro's wandering "fanatics and knaves [that] endangered public tranquility" in the settlement of Bom Jesus, Macedo urged Domingo Rodrigues Guimarães to send an offensive detachment with which to dispel the band of ruffians. Convinced that "fanaticism does not have its limits," the concerned citizen informed the region's police chief that Maciel's followers repeatedly intimidated citizens in the area. The lot of passersby was especially precarious, Macedo acknowledged, because Conselheiro's disciples were "armed with clubs, knives, and machetes" and periodically attacked or robbed uninformed travelers. The author pointed to the notable case of Miguel de Aguiar Mattos, whom Conselheristas gave 24 hours to relocate or face death.[4]

Although Macedo acknowledged that the *beato* improved preexisting chapels and constructed new ones throughout the backlands, Conselheiro did so at the expense of his *ignorantes*. Macedo noted that Maciel's jobless followers scrambled to sell whatever they could to subsidize their leader's improvement projects. The supplicant also suggested that Conselheristas raided passing caravans and neighboring settlements to make a profit that would, in return, support the restorations of chapels and graveyards.[5]

In his letter to the police chief, Macedo reiterated that Antônio Conselheiro and his fanatical hoard were "not benefiting the public good." Moreover, he argued that the

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4. Quoted in special report of Aristides Milton (1902), *A campanha de Canudos: memória apresentada pelo sócio correspondente Dr. Aristides A. Milton* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1902), 13-14. Letter dated November 10, 1876.

5. Macedo noted in his letter to the police chief that the construction of a *capela* (chapel) in the region cost approximately one hundred thousand *réis*.

'ruffians' transformed the region into an arms market. He felt that it was "impossible to calculate the damage caused by Antônio Conselheiro in [the region]." Macedo suggested that the actions of Conselheristas were flagrantly illegal and the beato steadily "abused the naiveté of the *ignorantes*," rapidly "turning them to fanaticism" through his sermonizing. Ascribing to the belief that backlanders were impressionable country folk, Macedo reminded Bahia's police chief that Antônio Conselheiro could convince his oblivious followers to do whatever he so desired. "I can confirm," he stated, that backlanders "idolize [Conselheiro] as if he were God on earth."[6]

Although Conselheristas considered Maciel to be God's emissary in the sertão, Macedo also considered the beato to be "selfish, unpredictable, and arrogant." And while the petitioner described Antônio Maciel in some detail, Macedo hides Conselheristas his behind rhetorical constructions of an anonymous, unconscious mass. Indeed, Macedo only described Conselheristas in the collective—as a fanatical group, mass, or hoard. Beyond the figures of Conselheiro and victim Miguel de Aguiar Mattos, there are no other individuals in Macedo's narrative. As opposed to recognizing Antônio Maciel's followers by their race or gender, we are forced recognize them by their disruptive behaviors. They are superstitious, ignorant, ill mannered and, most prominently, prone to bouts of violence.

Though certainly disruptive and unruly, Macedo did not appear to consider the band of Conselheristas to be out of the ordinary. On the contrary, his descriptions of Conselheristas fit within typical elite stereotypes of the turn of the century backlander. Macedo's depiction of Conselheristas in the mid-1870s dovetailed with Itapicuru's police

6. Quoted in Milton, 14-15.

chief's recollection of the same period in 1898. Macedo writes, "The groups grew more violent each day, engaging in crime, disturbing the public order, holding a tax representative at gunpoint, invading and plundering several farms, and threatening settlements."[7] In both accounts, the actions of Conselheristas are scarcely different than the notorious reputation of jagunços, whose threat to the "public good" entailed criminally preventing the free flow of people, goods, and services in the sertão.[8]

In his appeal to Guimarães, Macedo largely framed the fanatic question as a local or regional issue. The bands of rowdy Conselheristas were a civil disturbance, albeit one that could be mitigated upon the intervention of the state. Absent was the suggestion that Antônio Conselheiro's followers would upset the edifice of republican civilization (as other observers noted upon the advent of Canudos), much less present a severe danger to the rule of law in the region. Given that similar requests for state assistance emerged within the same time period reminds us of two things. First, the state government of Bahia did not immediately act upon the Conselherista threat. This suggests that state officials interpreted neither the wanderings of a prophet-pilgrim nor banditry in the hinterlands with much surprise. Second—and closely related to the first point—it implies that state officials sketched rigid boundaries between the coast and interior. In other words, sporadic attacks by a group of armed fanáticos meant little to the sociopolitical agenda of Bahia's urban capital of Salvador.[9]

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7. Quoted in special report of Milton, 15.

8. What constitutes a jagunço has changed over time. Well into the Old Republic, jagunços served as personal militias to local bosses and patrons in remote areas. "Jagunço" was also used as a descriptive term for any outlaw or bandit in the backlands. On more than one occasion, the terms "Conselherista" and "jagunço" were used interchangeably.

9. Milton also includes assorted telegram transcripts requesting support from the state government of Bahia.

In 1893, however, Conselheristas did spur an armed intervention by local forces. Angered by changes to the tax code in the municipality of Natuba, Antônio Conselheiro allegedly ripped down tax edicts in the town square of Bom Conselho. Lighting fire to the bulletin boards used for community notices and official notifications, Maciel staged a general protest against the Republic. Immediately thereafter, the beato and his flock retreated north. Conselheristas clashed with an armed detachment in the locale of Macete. Outflanked by the Counselor's heavily armed band, the police troop finally retreated and an armed corps did not encroach upon Conselheiro and his followers until the 1896 invasion of Canudos.[10]

Robert Levine and Lori Madden argue that local political bosses and the Church hierarchy grew increasingly less tolerant of Antônio Conselheiro in the early 1890s. Perhaps appreciated initially for their restoration of neglected chapels and cemeteries throughout the sertão, influential backlanders could no longer ignore Conselheristas' alleged inclination to violence. Given that they successfully routed a professional corps of police officers in Macete made the fanáticos particularly worrisome in the public imaginary. The prolific remarks of a Catholic missionary visiting Canudos in May 1895 confirmed observers' dormant fears. Antônio Conselheiro and his followers were more than a band of devout backlanders at best and an erratic civil disturbance at worst. A politically interested and socially irresponsible doctrine of anarchy percolated in Canudos, and the milieu of disorder could tip the edifice of Brazilian modernity.

10. In a number of sources, Macete is spelled "Massete." For a reliable chronology of the abovementioned events, see da Cunha, 141-2. As the author reminds us, "This diminutive battle [at Macete], unfortunately, was later to be duplicated many times on a broader scale."

A Capuchin and A Holy Mission to Canudos

Accompanied by two other Capuchin friars, Frei João Evangelista do Monte Santo approached Canudos in mid-May 1895. The ambitious errand of their Santa Missão, or holy mission, was fourfold. First, the delegation was to encourage Conselheristas' deep respect for republican rule of law in the burgeoning community. Second, the missionaries should corral its residents to true tenets of Roman Catholicism. Third, given that the Church ordained neither Antônio Conselheiro nor his clerical figures, the archbishop of Bahia required the Santa Missão to perform religious tasks for the community. Frei João and his colleagues were to conduct marriages and baptisms, hear confessions, and to perform the last rites. Finally, the delegation sought to encourage Conselheristas to abandon their hastily constructed homes and to return to their places of origin.[11]

Antônio Conselheiro permitted the Capuchin delegation to preach and perform ceremonial tasks, but the missionaries encountered a large degree of resistance. Although they conducted 55 marriages, 102 baptisms, and more than 400 confessions, Evangelista reported to the archbishop of Bahia that a band of armed henchmen eavesdropped during most of the interactions between Conselheristas and the fathers, including the sacred rite of confession. Moreover, the Capuchin assumed that many of the city's occupants received "secret instructions" to refrain from speaking in the presence of the three missionaries.[12]

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11. Concerning the Santa Missão to Canudos, see also João Pereira de Oliveira, *Missão de Paz a Canudos* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa do Exército, 1987) and José Augusto Cabral Barreto Bastos, "A Ideologia dos Discursos sobre Canudos," diss. do mestrado (Salvador: mimeographed edition, 1979).

12. Rvd. Frei João Evangelista de Monte Marciano, *Relatório apresentado pelo Revd. Frei João Evangelista de Monte Marciano ao arcebispado da Bahia sobre Antônio Conselheiro e seu sequito no arrail dos Canudos* (Salvador: Typographia do *Correio da Notícias*, 1895), 6-7.

While many Conselheristas appeared reluctant to interact with the missionaries, their leader made no attempt to conceal his scorn for the Republic. Given the opportunity to speak publicly about the importance of civil obedience, Evangelista reminded Antônio Conselheiro and his followers that the Church "condemns all revolts" such as those undertaken by Conselheristas. Appealing to the religious sensibilities of his audience, the Capuchin also maintained that the Republic was a recognized form of government that "govern[s] the people in the name of God." Good Catholics, he suggested, always respect the existing political order. In so doing, Evangelista suggested that actively resisting a legitimate form of government meant ignoring a divine vision for order and modernization. Despite the missionaries' messages of civil obedience and restraint, the beato reminded the delegation that he would under no circumstances recognize the Republic as he did the monarchy.[13]

On the fourth day of the religious mission, the delegation experienced more ominous difficulties. Frei João again reminded Conselheristas of the importance of civil order. All Brazilian "citizens, including those having contrary convictions," the missionary proclaimed, "should recognize and respect" the republican form of government. Unlike Macedo, whose silence on Conselheristas' political leanings almost considered them apolitical, Frei João plainly questioned the sincerity of their faith. To be sure, he criticized attempts to use religion "as a pretext or cover for one's hatred and excessive interests." Frei João openly confronted Canudos inhabitants for harboring sinister political ambitions behind the guise of a simple, pious country folk.[14]

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13. Evangelista, 4.

14. Interestingly, Frei João's insistence that Antônio Conselheiro and his followers used religion to disguise their political aspirations resonated in Marxian analyses of Canudos in the 1950s and 1960s. Such

After the mission's last attempts to expose the subversive tendencies of Conselheiro's flock, the inhabitants grew increasingly more agitated. They denounced the missionaries as external enemies: freemasons, Protestants, and undercover agents sent by republicans to dismantle the community. On May 20, 1895, Conselheristas staged a general protest of the holy mission. In the central square of Canudos, women, children, and men who carried weapons assembled amid large bonfires to shout *vivas*, or praises, to their beato. Subjected to insults and fearful for their lives, the Catholic delegation hastily ended its mission and fled the encampment. Having failed to deescalate the situation in the backlands, Frei João directed a lengthy *relatório*, or report, to both the archbishop and governor of the state of Bahia. Although the missionary furthered Macedo's depiction of Conselheristas as a civil disturbance, as we will see, he did so in such a way that evoked the stability of modern Brazilian civilization. In doing so, Frei João lessened the distance between Canudos and the innermost sanctum of Order and Progress: the city.

Like Luiz Gonzaga de Macedo had done, Frei João also presents Conselheristas as a mob. He suggests that Antônio Conselheiro exercised an almost supernatural degree of control over his flock. Indeed, the friar viewed the situation as a group of fanatics who viewed their charismatic leader as a living saint. Furthering the archetype of the erratic, violent jagunço that remained a hallmark of life in the hinterlands, the missionary repeatedly noted in his dispatch that Conselheristas were heavily armed throughout the goodwill mission, and at one point, the Capuchin feared he would be murdered for preaching the importance of obedience and orderliness.

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scholars as Eric Wolf and Eric Hobsbawm argued that religious tropes articulated backlanders' sociopolitical needs in the forms of proto-political movements.

Frei João's account departs from that of Macedo in that he felt that Canudos inhabitants harbored a secret political agenda. He writes, "Not only is the political-religious sect established and rooted in Canudos a *foco* of superstition and fanaticism," the missionary declared, "it is primarily a despicable nucleus, dangerous and fatal, of daring resistance and hostility to the constituted government."[15] Moreover, Frei João considered Canudos a nascent sort of anti-Republic. He indicated that the encampment was really a "state within a state," one in which republican was law unenforceable and where federal money did not circulate freely.[16]

The nature of disorder evoked by the missionary is as much social as it is political to a modern-day observer. Indeed, Frei João's attention to the implications of "insubordination and anarchy" in the backlands is striking. Rather than underscoring the prevalence of armed males suggestive of jagunço-like bands in the sertão, Evangelista scattered his report to Bahia with references to Canudos's more curious inhabitants: women, children, and entire families. Mirroring the prominent place of the family in republican social theory and law (see chapter 1), Frei João highlighted his profound concern for the social core of Brazilian modernity. Emanating an "agitated air and a semblance . . . that is both curious and sinister," he suggested that Canudos was undoubtedly an unhealthful milieu.[17] "I could not but disapprove," he advised the archbishop and governor, "of all these families living . . . in idleness, lewdness, and under conditions so wretched that they led to eight or nine deaths a day."[18]

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15. Evangelista, 7.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid, 4.

18. Da Cunha, 166.

To Frei João, Canudos's social environment was especially troubling. Scrutinizing the community's "disorienting mob," the friar counted two infamous murderers to whom Antônio Conselheiro granted asylum. Moreover, the sex ratio appeared heavily skewed in favor of males. Frei João took note of "more than 800 males and 200 females" in the community, indirectly tacitly evoking concern for Conselherista females. Armed, potentially dangerous men greatly outnumbered them, and he feared that women might fall pray to indecencies such as crime, prostitution, and violence.[19] Frei João Evangelista do Monte Santo also kept the governor and archbishop abreast of irregular gender responsibilities in Conselheiro's city. While women prepared meals and stoked enormous fires during the colder months, they also allegedly served as an auxiliary army in the event that their fathers, husbands, and sons required reinforcements.

To the missionary, the scene of political extremism and social hysteria in the sertão was not an insulated occurrence. On the contrary, the "infernal uproar" in Canudos dispensed several ripples. He concluded his report by imploring state authorities to provide the means for reestablishing order in the locality. Conjuring the perilous state of the collective *povo brasileiro*, the Frei João declared that

> The redress of religion, social wellbeing, and the dignity of civil authority beg for a providence that will reestablish in the locale of Canudos the prestige of law, the proper tenets of the Catholic faith, and our forum as a civilized people. That deplorable situation of anarchy and fanaticism must end for the honor of the Brazilian people, which is sad and humiliating religious dissolves such aberrations and political partisanship in such a foolish and hollow reaction.[20]

Thus, the missionary frames Canudos as a dangerous contagion, one that could and ultimately would spread far beyond the hinterlands.

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19. Evangelista, 5.

20. Ibid., 8.

Following the 1895 mission, the Bahian newspaper *Correio de Notícias* published Frei João's account in full form. The eight-page document subsequently removed the vivid account of Antônio Conselheiro's settlement from the archbishopric's offices and thrust it into the mainstream. In so doing, the report communicated a sense of urgency. Although coastal Brazilians had long recognized that backlanders were prone to violence and bouts of religious superstition, Frei João's alarming report set the stage for their assault on the remainder of the country. Unless checked by the intercession of state and federal forces, as the missionary inferred, anarchy would overturn the rule of law and other hallmarks of modernity.

Nearly one year after the *Correio* printed Frei João Evangelista do Monte Marciano's account, Canudos made headlines a second time. In early November 1896, Antônio Conselheiro arranged for a shipment of lumber to be floated down the Vasa-Barris River for continued construction projects. When the barge did not arrive in Canudos, a group of Conselheristas traveled to the neighboring city of Joazeiro to demand the undelivered supplies. Fearing an invasion of the city, Joazeiro's mayor appealed to the state government for protection against what he perceived to be a dangerous band of jagunços. On November 5, the state led a detachment to quell the uprising. Following their defeat at the hands of the fanáticos, the federal government began preparations for a full-scale invasion of Canudos.[21]

A Human Polyp: The Account of Euclides da Cunha

Many of the same individuals that reported on Brazil's program of order and

21. Da Cunha considered the Joazeiro incident to be the "immediate" cause of the Canudos War. See *Rebellion in the Backlands*, 178-83.

progress explored in the first chapter served as special correspondents during the Canudos War. Coming from Rio, Salvador, and São Paulo, among others, they accompanied the national armed forces on practically all expeditions to Canudos and the surrounding locales. Hastily constructed telegraph lines permitted correspondents to wire periodic reports to their editorial headquarters for daily or weekly updates. On the battlefront, they took careful note of the sights and sounds of the conflict, and many correspondents conducted interviews with backlanders, including Conselheristas, soldiers, and commanders.[22]

Journalists' periodic reports were prominently printed on the front pages of major newspapers and magazines. Copy editors framed reports from Canudos in small update boxes that grew increasingly larger as the conflict progressed. Like advertisements for plays, operas, and variety shows, coverage of the civil war moved toward the center of the front pages, as the struggle between republicans and Conselheristas grew more heated. Unlike modern newspaper, however, reports of high profile skirmishes, illustrations were exceptionally rare. Editors opted to include them only to commemorate various loses of life or major victory.[23]

Euclides da Cunha was one such reporter sent alongside military detachments to the backlands. Between August and October 1897, he served as a special correspondent for the *Estado de São Paulo*, accompanying a division of the federal army. Although da

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22. In many cases, it is difficult to identify the exact writer for many pieces published in urban newspapers because they were only identified as "correspondents." Nevertheless, Galvão identifies some of the most prolific contributors-reporters of the Canudos War: Euclides da Cunha (*O Estado de São Paulo*), Favila Nunes (*Gazeta de Notícias*), and Manuel Benício (*Jornal do Comércio*).

23. As we will see in the next chapter, the death of Moreira César (among others) was an important turning point during the Canudos War—one that caused journalistic interpretations of the conflict to shift dramatically.

Cunha's periodic updates joined many others to be published during the Canudos War, his magnum opus, *Os sertões* (translated into English as *Rebellion in the Backlands*) provided da Cunha with a larger space to consider such weighty themes as progress, disorder, civilization, and barbarism.

Da Cunha took copious notes of what he encountered in Canudos, and as an aggregate of his observations and extended analysis, *Os sertões* is important because it lessens the conceptual distance between the coast and hinterlands. Da Cunha The work rips open the underbelly of the rhetorical mob and foregrounds social issues taking place in the city. More fundamentally, in Canudos, da Cunha suggested that Antônio Conselheiro's risky form of patriarchy allowed gender norms to flex, thus breeding social disorder on an unprecedented scale. For da Cunha, then, the Canudos War was as much a social crusade as it was a political operation.[24]

Like Frei João Evangelista de Monte Marciano, Euclides da Cunha read Canudos as being anti-urban: disorderly, illogical, and unsanitary. No doubt exposed to intensive sanitization campaigns and modernization agendas in urban centers, da Cunha likens the "monstrous *urbs*" of Canudos to an infernal nightmare. Lacking any sort of planning or structure, the settlement appeared to be "tossed together in one night by a horde of madmen." Moreover, the reporter considered the physical landscape to be a "living

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24. The second half of *Os sertões* or *Rebellion in the Backlands* criticized the military for its unnecessary cruelty during the Canudos War. Like many other postwar memoirs, Euclides da Cunha presents the idea that Canudos's Conselheristas and backlanders more broadly were not politically motivated in the least, especially given their characteristic backwardness. While disapproving of soldiers' regression to barbarism in the latter stages of the conflict, da Cunha also singles out the coastal elite for having disowned backlanders. "Caught up in the sweep of modern ideas," he argues, "we abruptly mounted the ladder, leaving behind us in their centuries-old semidarkness a third of our people in the heart of our country. . . . [We] merely succeeded in deepening the contrast between our mode of life and that of our rude native sons, who were more alien to us than were immigrants who came from Europe. For it was not an ocean which separated us from them but three whole centuries." See *Rebellion in the Backlands*, 161.

document whose implications were not to be evaded, a piece of direct corpus delicti evidence on the aberrations of a populous."[25] It is in this light that da Cunha reintroduced the idea that carefully planned urban space should foment healthful behaviors and tame the excessive passions of its inhabitants, no matter how unscrupulous. Lacking these basic principles of urban social-spatial planning, da Cunha suggested that Antônio Conselheiro's monstrous is both a reflection of and an impetus for social disorder and subversion.

Lacking the most essential demarcations of social space, da Cunha considered Canudos to be especially dangerous. Like Frei João, who also took careful note of the community's carnivalesque social panorama, da Cunha explored a frenetic atmosphere hospitable to social evils. He reported that the city's vociferous inhabitants

> were welded into one uniform and homogenous community, an unconscious brute mass, which, without organs and without specialized functions, continued to grow rather than evolve, through the mere mechanical juxtaposition of successive layers, in the manner of a human polyp.[26]

Renowned murderer, bandits, prostitutes, honest women, and families lived in close proximity, and each constituent group descended into a form of "collective psychosis." Social issues abounded. Petty thieves raided nearby farms and passing caravans, and da Cunha admitted that murder occurred even before the state laid siege to the settlement in 1896.

Far more problematic for the journalist was male violence directed towards 'honest' women. On one occasion, da Cunha reported that Antônio Conselheiro was made aware of a "certain scandalous case in which the lust of a *débauché* had been

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25. Da Cunha, 144.

26. Ibid., 149.

responsible for the defiling of an unwary virgin." Rather than taking decisive action to punish the offender, the Counselor disparagingly remarked that the victim was "fulfilling the destiny of all women; for all must pass beneath the tree of good and evil!" Aside from instances of forced deflowering, da Cunha could not help but wonder whether "promiscuity and an unbridled hetaerism" remained the rule in Canudos. Given that "loose women" also peopled Antônio Conselheiro's community and that its leader "at least tolerated" free love, da Cunha postulated that infidelity surged throughout Belo Canudos, at least in part because of Conselheiro's apocalyptic prophesies.[27]

Within this environment of social chaos and loosened mores, da Cunha considered the innocent to be the most unfortunate victims in the community. Various "inoffensive ones out of weakness"—women, children, the elderly, and the sick—fed parasitically off Antônio Conselheiro. The reporter maintained that the leader lured "the extremity of human frailty" to the encampment in order to achieve salvation and to receive food and shelter. Beyond enticing his followers to Canudos, the Counselor did not, and indeed could not, care for his widely different population. Instead, he exposed them—out of indecision and madness—to the poisons of crime and hysteria. In light of his deficiencies, Euclides da Cunha severely criticized both Antônio Conselheiro's manhood and his capacity for patriarchal rule. Rather than imparting rationality and the rule of law—the occult of enlightened men—Conselheiro cultivated wantonness and religious fanaticism. In so doing, da Cunha associated the leader with nineteenth-

27. Da Cunha., 150. Indeed, the reporter notes that Conselheiro's "imminent catastrophe might come at any moment to wipe out the most intimate relationships, to break up homes, and to confound all virtues and all abominations in the same swirling abyss." See *Rebellion in the Backlands*, 150-1. It is likely that Euclides da Cunha was deeply troubled upon learning of the abovementioned rape case and Antônio Conselheiro's perceived unwillingness to curb the practice. As Brodwyn Fischer shows, urban deflowering cases surged in prominence at the tail end of the nineteenth-century, not least of which was due to the Republic's interest in maintaining the sanctity of the Brazilian family and worthy citizens' honor.

century conceptions of the feminine: irrational, overly emotional, and prone to hysteria.[28]

Euclides da Cunha's description of a typical religious service in the community also captured serious gendered repercussions of Antônio Conselheiro's ineptitude more explicitly. During Canudos's religious ceremonies, he writes,

> Individual emotions now overflowed, finding themselves suddenly confounded with the general, irrepressible, and feverish contagion. . . . Exclamation burst from all sides, half-pious and half-angry, as the worshippers exhibited those impulsive movements which are associated with visionaries; and piercing cries rang out as many of them fell in a swoon. Clasping to their bosoms the images slavered with saliva, the deluded women would sink down in the violent contortions of hysteria, while the frightened children wailed in chorus. Laid hold of by the same aura of madness, the masculine group of fighters, amid the general uproar and the clash and jingle of their weapons, were quivering to the same terrifying rhythmic beat, one that marked the powerful explosion of a barbaric mysticism.[29]

Through the episode, da Cunha emphasized that Conselherista males and females were scarcely different from one another. A strong form of emotional excitation gripped both sexes, and one can only distinguish between men and women by listening to the "jingle of their weapons."

In light of its promiscuity, crime, and unbridled hysteria, da Cunha implied that coastal Brazilians should disinfect Canudos. As in the sanitization campaigns sweeping through Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, positivist social theory could tame Conselheristas and restrain their destructive passions or vices. Although enlightened officials in urban areas were partially to blame for allowing the distance between the coast and interior to widen, the recourse of armed intervention was the only suitable means of delivering shock treatments of rationality and the rule of law in the hinterlands. Thus, on a symbolic

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28. Da Cunha, 153. Euclides da Cunha considers Antônio Conselheiro to be a textbook example of the megalomaniac. In the first quarter of *Rebellion in the Backlands*, the author examines Maciel's upbringing, psychological state, and environmental influences.

29. Ibid., 160.

plane, the reporter sheds light on a deliberately gendered motif. In the name of Order and Progress, the masculine, rational urban world must subsume the feminine, hysterical interior. And as we will see in the next chapter, tropes involving gendered conquest and protection in the name of sociopolitical stability play an important role in the latter stages of the Canudos War. What is more, these tropes become ubiquitous when the popular press integrates the conflict into a narrative of republican modernity.

The Health of the Povo Brasileiro

Each individual examined in this chapter used the language of positivism to evoke the need for intervention. I show a change in meaning over time. Whereas some scholars have opted to show that local authorities grew less tolerant of Antônio Conselheiro over a twenty-year period, I show that the type of menace evoked by Canudos and its inhabitants varied widely over the same period. Luiz Gonzaga de Macedo's account from the mid-1870s chronicled a local inhabitant beseeching state authorities for a dangerous, but isolated, incident. Led by Antônio Conselheiro, a group of bandits attacked neighboring settlements and passing caravans. For Itapicuru's police chief, the disruption caused by Conselheristas rested squarely upon their ruffian natures. Macedo's primary concern is that that backlanders could neither travel nor engage in business without being subject to raids and threats of death from Conselheiro's settlement.

Following the founding of Canudos in 1893, the discursive parameters for presenting Conselheristas had shifted. Frei João Evangelista do Monte Marciano and, later, Euclides da Cunha, more plainly integrated Antônio Conselheiro and his settlement into the narrative of the *povo brasileiro*, or the Brazilian collective. Moreover, Frei João highlights the fear that these people threaten to dismantle the political superstructure of

republican governance. Despite this, we also find lodged within the missionary's account various critiques of the city's social problems. As we have seen, beyond nodding to their predisposition to armed violence, the Capuchin argued that Canudos was toxic to women, children, and families. Additionally, Frei João suggested that the gendered structures governing everyday life in Brazil were flawed beneath the Conselherista patriarchal mode.

Da Cunha frames Canudos as an example of what happens to the collective in the absence of a stable patriarchy. As I argued earlier in this chapter, the journalist's critique of Antônio Conselheiro and his followers considers gendered behaviors. Men and women are scarcely different from each other based on their mannerisms, as both sexes are deeply affected by the beato's brand of religious hysteria. Contemplating Antônio Maciel's ineptitude as a paternalistic figure, da Cunha sheds light on a microcosmic example of what would happen in the absence of rational, scientific republican rule. Returning to Conselheiro's prophecy that the "sertão shall become the coast and the coast shall become sertão," we recognize that coastal observers anticipated a comparable forecast. From the vantage point of gendered behaviors in Canudos—an important hinge of Order and Progress—men would become women and women would become men.

To consider a broader perspective, I return to the title of this chapter: "Brazil grows smaller." Of course, in the 1890s did so some degree shrink in the eyes and minds of ordinary Brazilians. Developments in print journalism, photography, telegraphs, and the railroad presented citizens with images and narratives of some of the remotest distant corners of the Republic. Each of these advances certainly allowed the observers presented in this chapter to embedded Antônio Conselheiro, Conselheristas, and the hinterlands into

wider networks of discourse. But more importantly, these accounts show that conceptual distance between the interior and coast perhaps minimized substantially because of Canudos.

In stark contrast to that of Macedo, the accounts of Euclides da Cunha and Frei João Evangelista presented the locality as a contagion. That these individuals' accounts use an urban language to describe the "licentious behaviors" of the laboring classes is significant. Their accounts place in relief a fear of morally dubious individuals capsizing order and progress by spreading dishonorable behaviors to upstanding citizens, connecting both edges of the Republic. In the city, where doctors and theorists traced social illness back to informal *cortiços*, or "beehive" communities, intensive sanitization campaigns were undertaken well into the early twentieth-century to restrain the passions and vices of the "dangerous classes." The Brazilian city was an inherently noxious amalgamation of colors, social classes, and nationalities, but careful spatial planning and European scientific racism provided the means by which Brazil could flourish in spite of, as Dain Borges refers to it, a "national hereditary predisposition toward illness."[30]

By reading their accounts closely, we see that Frei João and Euclides da Cunha recognize important similarities between Conselheristas and the city's "dangerous classes." While city planners' attention had been devoted to policing and spatially dividing centers such as Rio and São Paulo, the case of the interior apparently escaped unnoticed. But the example of Canudos revealed that it was increasingly necessary for the state to turn its attention the dangerous classes' disruptive counterparts in the country. As

30. Dain Borges, "'Puffy, Ugly, Slothful and Inert': Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880-1940," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25, no. 2 (May 1993): 248. Borges has argued that nineteenth century European medicine tended to respond to persistent concerns that tropical colonial environments would cause white settler families to degenerate.

I have shown, each observer presented in this chapter entrusted to the state the task of rooting out disruption in the sertão, consequently shielding the honor of the *povo brasileiro.* And it is in this light that they assumed that republican victory was imminent.

Chapter 3

A Spectacle in Two Acts: From Burlesque to Patriotic Enactment

> The rout of the Moreira Cesar expedition was a major disaster . . . Out of all . . . the mental confusion there came the idea, at first vaguely voiced by a few individuals here and there but gradually growing into a firm conviction, that the riotous backlanders were not alone in the rebellion against the government but that they represented, rather, the vanguard of unknown phalanxes that were likely to spring up suddenly, everywhere at once, and bear down upon the new regime.
>
> ——Euclides da Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands*

Introduction

Accounts of Canudos such as those explored in the previous chapter were published widely both before and during the war. The report of Frei João Evangelista do Monte Marciano in particular received great notoriety. The missionary was quoted in many different periodicals, and the *Correio de Notícias* even printed a standalone of the relatório in 1896. Travelogues often accompanied illustrations and various political cartoons. Both the printed word and drawing in tandem presented urban audiences with preliminary looks at Antônio Conselheiro and Canudos, and both mediums simultaneously reflect editors' desires to shape public opinion as well as to reflect it.

Having considered non-visual print media in previous chapters, it is the aim of this chapter to consider Canudos era political cartoons. In particular, I seek to reintegrate them into an important moment in Brazilian nation building. Given that the Republic was seven years old at the onset of the Canudos War, it is important to ask how graphical depictions of the conflict—as well as those belonging to print media more broadly—transmitted, repackaged, and interpreted notions of the Brazilian 'nation' or the collective. I approach this question using the framework of Benedict Anderson. In his vastly influential monograph *Imagined Communities*, Anderson underscores the influence

of print capitalism, including books and newspapers. Perhaps more than any other, this medium facilitated the linking of power, fraternity, and time together—the ingredients needed for disseminating notions of 'imagined' communities.[1]

Canudos era political cartoons are the results of complex interactions between reader, editor/illustrator, and current events. In this light, evaluating these illustrations imparts clear looks at urban conceptions of 'Brazil,' 'Brazilian-ness,' and 'Brazilian' behavior. Moreover, this sort of analysis sheds light on how these notions change over time and, in the historical moment of Canudos, even very rapidly.

Considering political cartoons and other illustrations from the Canudos affair is not new, at least not in Portuguese language scholarship. In commemoration of the centennial of the Canudos War, Lizir Arcanj Alves produced a monograph identifying the role of humor and satire in urban newspapers and miscellaneous illustrated periodicals. Although his book contributes interesting looks at a long neglected medium, it does not engage sufficiently with larger issues of interpretation and otherness. More importantly, Alves's book falls short of analyzing political cartoons both as artifacts of wartime attitudes *and* mirrors of elite sympathetic sociopolitical discourse.[2]

This chapter thus offers critical looks at how illustrators integrated the Canudos War into republican symbolic space through their political cartoons. It throws light on how illustrators' cartoons of Canudos served a didactic purpose as well as a representative one. Indeed, they joined such cultural products as schoolchildren's textbooks, flags,

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1. Anderson proposes that one understand a 'nation' as a socially constructed community that is imagined by individuals who understand themselves to be included in the community. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

2. See Lizir Arcanjo Alves, *Humor e sátira na guerra de Canudos* (Salvador, Bahia: Secretaria da Cultura e Turismo do Estado da Bahia, 1997).

plays, and songs in shaping a pool of republican symbols and motifs, each providing distinct messages of inclusion and exclusion, 'Brazilian-ness' and 'un-Brazilian' attributes. As I argued in previous chapters, these discourses of 'Brazilian-ness' largely belong to an urban sympathetic world-view. Though urban readers, editors, and illustrators might fundamentally disagree about how Order and Progress should be realized, they nod in agreement that the city should lead the country by example.

But as Canudos political cartoons show, cartoonists did not imbue Antônio Conselheiro, his community, and the war with a static meaning over the duration of the melee. Instead, I argue that graphical depictions of the situation in the hinterlands shifted noticeably upon the realization that the conflict would be neither swift nor decisive. At the onset of the war in 1896, illustrators joined social commentators in presenting the situation at Canudos as a carnivalesque farce. Since government officials opted to use the superior strength of a modern military against ignorant, but inoffensive, country folk fed the idea that absurdity and irrationality were indigenous to Brazil. Following the deaths of César Moreira and other noted commanders, however, cartoonists erected more rigid boundaries between the coast and interior, infusing the conflict with religious overtones and presenting a pantheon of secular martyrs. The Canudos War thus became a monumental cataclysm between the forces of good and evil. It also laid the groundwork for a symbolic rite of affirmation to republican Order and Progress.

The political cartoons explored here serve both as representations of urban social anxieties and recommendations for social order. As I argued in the previous chapter, the element of gender assumes an important place in the contributions of cartoonists. Gendered critiques of Conselheristas and military officials figure prominently in the

initial phase of the war, again underlining a general blurring between absurdity in the backlands and in the urban sphere. Following an escalation in the conflict, illustrators with increasing regularity depict the Republic as a female victim while integrating the conflict into imagined symbolic space. Antônio Conselheiro and his band of followers stand poised to violate her and to tarnish her honor. Military officials serve as her gallant heroes. Of special interest here is the idea that graphical depictions in the latter half of the Canudos War can be read as prescriptions for reinstating social order.

As we will see, while this second body of cartoons deifies government and military figures so as to foment support for the republican cause, it also aims to provide instruction on acceptable relationships of power. Using gender as an analytical lens, I contend that this subsequent vein of political cartoons sheds light not only on idealized relationships between men and women in the urban sphere, but also between the upper and laboring classes, and whites and non-whites. Articulations of gender and gendered behaviors in Canudos era political cartoons thus allow one to map out the contours of power concentration and diffusion in the urban sphere, as well as the apprehensions that distanced the idealized from the actual.

I begin by considering farcical political cartoons at the beginning of the Canudos War. I draw the reader's attention to illustrators' deliberate use of gendered critiques to lessen the distance between the littoral and sertão. In doing so, cartoonists for the *Revista Illustrada* and other periodicals ask whether Brazil can, in fact, join the ranks of 'modern' polities. The second half of this chapter explores the shift in illustrations following a series of republican blunders and losses. In a brief concluding portion, I consider how

urban sympathetic audiences may have interpreted the political cartoons evaluated in this chapter while posing questions for future research.

Canudos Burlesque

That the backlander remained a stand-in for ignorance, superstition, and backwardness made him a fitting subject for satirical cartoons during the war. Although backlander as a literary figure stoked fears of banditry, murder, and lawlessness, satirical cartoons such as those included in the *Revista Illustrada* and no doubt others disparage his danger. What is more, the figure of Antônio Conselheiro himself comes to represent his bands of followers. Rather than being heavily armed and threatening—much like observers in the previous chapter declared—the backlander-as-fanatic is elderly, frail, and peculiar.[3]

Like scientists who identified physical signs of degeneration, illustrators present Conselheiro as decidedly bestial in his appearance. His composition is more suggestive of a hominid than a human being. In a February 1897, for example, a "reliable portrait of the fanatic" adorned the cover of *Gazetinha* (Figure 3). Supported by a thin walking stick, a mane of unkempt hair frames the pilgrim's oblong face, and a long, crooked nose frames a taciturn, almost unconscious, glare. The front page of the January 29, 1896 edition of Rio de Janeiro's *Gazeta da Tarde* offers a similar interpretation (Figure 4). Sketched in profile, a hunched Antônio Maciel seems to take small steps with the assistance of a

3. Even before the Canudos War, scientific circles and popular writers perpetuated the image of the ignorant backlander. In many respects, both avenues intersected. While authors, poets, and playwrights wrote the backlander in as an archetypal stand-in for ignorance, superstition, and general backwardness, social scientists sought to understand his nature empirically.

walking stick, but his eyes appear to be closed, suggesting a lack of insight or a state of entrancement.[4]

Figure 3: Unknown artist. A "Reliable portrait of the fanatic Antônio Conselheiro." Front matter of *Gazetinha.* Rio Granda do Sul. February 1897

4 . For a precursory overview of late nineteenth century medical and developmental theory, see Borges, 47-57.

Figure 4: Unknown artist. "Antônio Conselheiro." First page of the *Gazeta da Tarde*. Rio de Janeiro, January 29, 1896.

Other depictions of Belo Monte/Canudos through the person of Antônio Conselheiro are overtly more emasculating. Much like the descriptions penned by observers in the previous chapter, cartoonists for the *Revista Illustrada* and other publications associated Conselheristas' encampment with the world of the wandering female. While male rationality reigned supreme in the city, female hysteria was installed in the inhospitable sertão. Naturally, cartoonists identified Antônio Conselheiro as the showy ringleader for his community's unsettling superstitions. The idea that emotion passed freely in Canudos

is as much a reflection of Maciel's unnatural rejection of standards of masculinity as it is a blanket representation of the absurdity of his community.

Four illustrated frames in an 1897 issue of the *Revista Illustrada*, for example, capture a comical episode of Conselheiro's life in the backlands (Figures 5-7). In the first frame (Figure 5), the "celebrated Counselor" paints an amusing image of the devil on his canvas. As in other renditions of Maciel, the pint-sized figure's eyes are tightly closed and his easel towers above him. In the second frame, perhaps later in the day, the cartoonist depicts Antônio Conselheiro fleeing a group of jagunços, or backlands ruffians. In the third frame (Figure 6), elflike ruffians flank the Counselor. He stands before the person of the Republic or Patria, and a crooked is extended as a sign of warning. "Halt!" he declares, "You shall not pass." Perhaps prepared to extend a handshake or offer a mother's embrace to Maciel, the Patria is visibly perplexed by the crude figure's dismissal.

It is hard to ignore the biting sarcasm in the caption of the fourth and final frame. Although Antônio Conselheiro and his two motley followers may have prevented the Republic from entering Canudos, the caption declares that the government has decided to launch a full-fledged expedition under the direction of Antônio Moreira César. The colonel and a single column of infantryman pass beneath a joyful cascade of flowers en route to the backlands (Figure 7).

Figure 5: Angelo Agostini. “In Bahia, celebrity Conselheiro has given what he can do and one can say that he has painted the devil.” Illustration in *Revista Ilustrada*, ano 22, no. 727, p. 5. Rio de Janeiro, 1897.

Figure 6: Angelo Agostini. “Antônio Conselheiro saying to the Republic: "Halt! You will not pass!"” Illustration in *Revista Ilustrada*, ano 22, no. 727, p. 5. Rio de Janeiro, 1897.

Figure 7: Angelo Agostini. “Happily, the government decided to mount an expedition under the direction of the brave colonel Moreira César that passes through a shower of flowers.” llustration in *Revista Ilustrada*, ano 22, no. 727, p. 5. Rio de Janeiro, 1897.

If Antônio Conselheiro's followers are backwards, but harmless, satirists depict the government's decision to punish them as a travesty. Another illustration in the *Revista Illustrada* presenting the "real situation of the fanatical Sebastianist" is revealing. Rather than being a worthy adversary, the illustrator places an aged Maciel at the edge of what appears to be an infinite gorge. Pitted between the crosshairs of four cannons, the caption remarks, "it is a curse to say that this vision is the Good Jesus" (Figure 8). Military onlookers appear similarly confused, and the figure of colonel Moreira César in the distance motions for the troops to hold their fire.

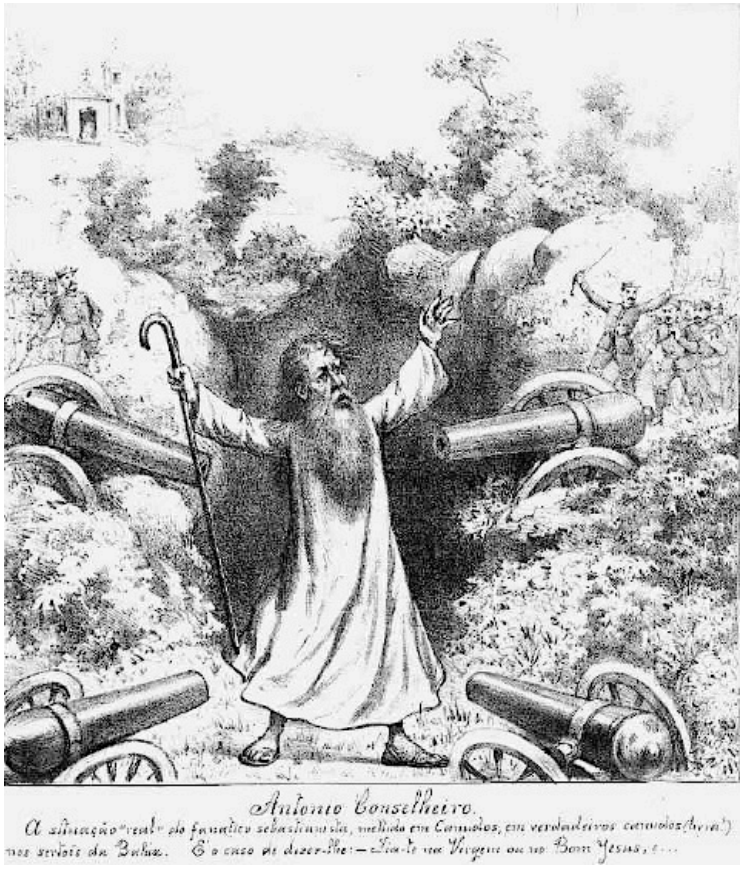

Figure 8: Angelo Agostini. "The real situation of the Sebastianist fanatic in Canudos, in the backlands of Bahia. It is a curse to say this vision is the Good Jesus." Illustration in *Revista Illustrada*, ano 22, no. 728, p. 74. Rio de Janeiro, 1897.

Although clearly denigrating the leadership of Antônio Conselheiro, the cartoon also questions the decision of the armed forces to venture into the backlands to begin with. The archetypal image of the backwards Conselherista thus presents an important paradox. If the backlander is backward, yet inoffensive, why should the republican government use its superior military against him? The implicit criticism in the *Revista Illustrada* satirical cartoons is almost sympathetic. The Conselherista cannot be held responsible for his own backward behavior, no matter how bizarre or un-modern it might be.

Illustrative satire thus capitalizes upon an ancient rift between the littoral and sertão in a different way at the beginning of the conflict. Cartoonists do so in order to draw attention to the situation of sheer absurdity of the situation at Canudos. While illustrators for the *Revista Illustrada* and other periodicals do not deny Conselheristas' positions of inferiority, their attention to the military's missteps sheds light on what they interpret as an equally troubling wave of irrationality surging through the masculine world of the city. Just as emotional excess among females is dangerous, satirists present the idea that the excessive bravado of enlightened males in urban spaces also underwrites sociopolitical disequilibrium.

Through these illustrations, the points at which 'civilization' begins and where 'barbarism' ends are indistinguishable. Illustrators suggest that both the city and country are equally problematic in light of their excesses, challenging directly the idea that the masculine world of the city should logically guide the wild interior. It is telling that the cover matter of the issue of *Revista Illustrada* depicting the multi-frame account of Antônio Conselheiro also parodies Carnaval (Figure 9). Clowns and jesters tug madly at strings attached to the female representation of the Republic. Her Phrygian cap covers her

eyes as she thrashes around a darkened stage. “This year, while the bigger societies stay at home,” the caption sarcastically remarks, “it seems that Carnaval will consist entirely of confetti and streamers.” The streamers are strings tightly wound around the Patria and the gesticulations of fools guide her.

Figure 9: Angelo Agostini. “Carnaval: This year, while the bigger societies stay at home, it seems that Carnaval will consist entirely of confetti and streamers.” Illustration in *Revista Illustrada* ano 22, no. 728, cover. Rio de Janeiro, 1897.

Cartoonists for the *Revista Illustrada* suggest that Brazil is predisposed to absurdity. As shown through depictions of Antônio Conselheiro, Canudos, and the military, Carnaval occurs year-round. Illustrators in the early portion of the Canudos War consequently express great doubt that normalcy can occur in Brazil. They suggest that the military—one of the bodies most emblematic of Order and Progress—is motivated by unrestrained passions and that they are scarcely different from the community of religious fanatics in Canudos.[5]

As the conflict intensified, however, voices of criticism are muffled by what many likely thought would be improbable: that Antônio Conselheiro's army would pose a serious threat both to the Republic and her military envoy. Canudos became an important, if not an exceptional, challenge to republican hegemony. Cartoonists for the *Revista Illustrada* and other publications accordingly worked to both convey the severity of the situation in the backlands and to foment support for the republican cause. While they flattened distinctions between the urban and rural in prewar political drawings, illustrators articulated decidedly Manichean interpretations of the Canudos War after the armed forces began to experience staggering losses.

As we will see, urban cartoonists cast the Canudos War as conflict of heroic proportions. It came to represent a cataclysm between oppositional world-views. The masculine—representative of the urban, progress, stability, and reason—had entered the melee against the unrestrained female—a symbol of the rural, decadent, and hysterical. Beyond justifying the coast needing to subdue the interior, interwar illustrations of the Canudos War percolate into the larger symbolic stock of the Republic. In other words,

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5. This discourse of cynicism appears again in the aftermath of the Canudos War in a number of memoirs and official histories. Euclides da Cunha most memorably articulates the thesis of dual barbarisms in his magnum opus *Os sertões* (1901).

Canudos becomes a part of the republican historical narrative. Additionally, later commemorative illustrations throw light not only on many of the urban social anxieties explored in preceding chapters, but also the metropolitan press's recommendations for reinstating order.

A Heroic Drama

Illustrators used representations of gender and gendered behavior to heighten the magnitude of the conflict between sertão and littoral. Newspapers depicted the Patria as a female figure with increasing regularity, and they pinned upon the war a familiar symbolic meaning. Just as the middle and upper class Brazilian woman required the protection of respectable males to guard her honor, the Republic pleaded for the assistance of her sons during the war. The mass of vice, disorder, and dishonor among Conselheristas described by observers in the previous chapter produced a menacing anti-Republic.[6] A backlands villain stood poised to symbolically violate the Patria. From an archetypal perspective, cartoonists dressed the Patria as a damsel in distress, and republican soldiers, engineers, and medics, her redeemers. Cartoonists depicted soldiers sacrificing their lives to protect their beloved Patria, and for those men that succumbed in the heat of battle, editors lauded their communal sacrifice.

The figure of the Patria borrows heavily from Greco-Roman symbolism. Republican propagandists laid much of the symbolic groundwork for the new government following the toppling of the monarchy in 1889, and many periodicals refitted existing

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6. Yuval-Davis discusses the archetype of the "male stranger" at length. See Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (New York: SAGE, 1997), 51. Moreover, the author underscores the dual role of women that carry the "burden of representation." Often times, they serve as the standard bearers for both the honor and identity of the collective. And these women are expected to serve as living examples of the collectivity's honor and identity.

interpretations of the Republic to accommodate the wartime milieu. Two of perhaps the earliest works commissioned by the republican government to symbolically cement a tradition of republicanism in Brazil highlight many of the common elements of depicting the Republic. Both Pedro Américo de Figueiredo e Melo's 1888 unrealized "Allegory of the Emancipation of Slaves" and an anonymous "Allegory of the Republic" (Figures 10 and 11) characterize both the Republic and Brazilian people as a prominent female.[7]

Like many feminine symbols of liberty—such Marianne of the French Revolution and Lady Liberty in the United States, to name a couple—the Patria almost always sports a Greek or Roman toga.[8] She carries laurels and palm leaves, and in most cases, she wears a Phrygian cap. A series of doves often accompanies the Patria, further complementing her image as a peaceful being. The Patria/Republic possesses both human and immortal characteristics. In the undated allegorical painting, the Republic is more suggestive of a noblewoman or queen while a pantheon of winged angels joins Figueiredo's Motherland-liberator. In her wartime manifestations, however, the Patria is decidedly immortal. Like a goddess upon Mount Olympus, she looms above the action occurring on the battlefield in the backlands, explicitly reminding audiences that the war is being fought in her name and in the defense of her honor.

7. Many scholars have determined that the anonymous, undated painting was created in the final decade of the nineteenth-century or the first decade of the twentieth-century.

8. Maurice Agulhon's work with the French Revolution is indispensable to interpreting republican symbolism, and his studies are applicable in a number of different national contexts.

Figure 10: Pedro Ámerico de Figueiredo e Melo. Painting. Study for a painting that was never realized: Allegory of the Emancipation of Slaves, commemorating the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888. Source: The Image of the Black in Western Art Research Project and Photo Archive, W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for African and African American Research, Harvard University

Figure 11: Unknown artist. Painting. Allegory of the Republic: General Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca (1827-1892), leader of the revolt in 1889 against Dom Pedro II and first president of Brazil, delivering the banner of the Republic to the Brazilian Nation personified by a female figure seated under a palm tree. Source: The Image of the Black in Western Art Research Project and Photo Archive, W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for African and African American Research, Harvard University

Although the Patria is an eternal figure, she is also a vulnerable one. While she occasionally carries a sword alongside the flagstaff bearing republican insignia, the weapon is solely ceremonial. She cannot defend herself from Conselheristas. Instead, she relies upon the untold sacrifices of brave soldiers and officers. In the five commemorative allegories examined here, illustrators are keen to celebrate the heroics of fearless men. In a sketch entitled "the Republic contemplates the heroism of her defenders" included in the *Revista Illustrada* (Figure 12), the Patria presents a crown of laurels to an ailing young man that is presumably shielding her from a stray bullet. Likewise, a tribute to

Antônio Moreira César in *Revista Illustrada* frames the fallen colonel in such a way that the Republic devotedly pays homage to her protector. She stands off-center among clouds of gun smoke, and her figure frames an ethereal portrait of the colonel while an attack on Canudos occurs immediately beneath them (Figure 13).

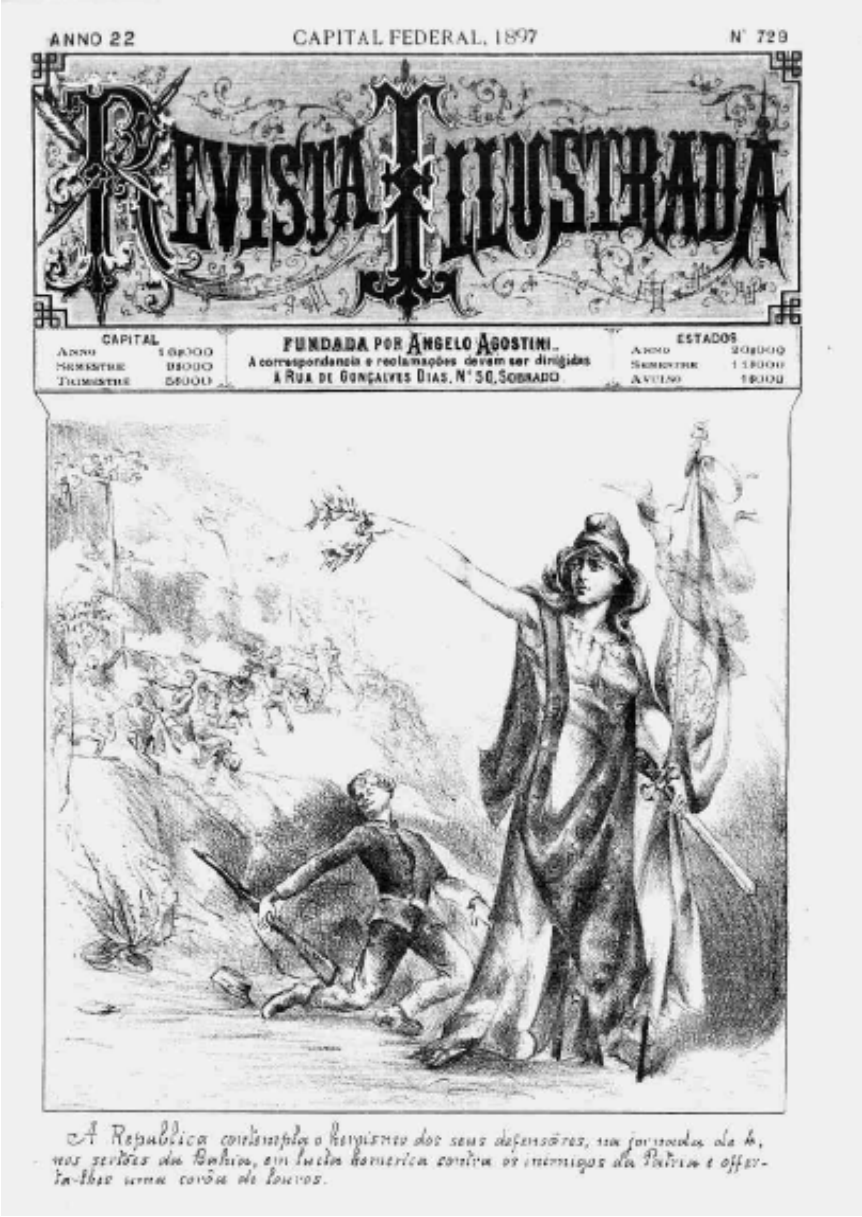

Figure 12: Unknown artist. "The Republic contemplates the heroism of her defenders, on the fourth expedition in the backlands of Bahia, in a Homeric struggle against the enemies of the Motherland and offers them a laurel crown." Cover matter from *Revista Illustrada* 22, no. 729. Rio de Janeiro, 1897.

Figure 13: Unknown artist. "Homage of the "Illustrated Review" to the glorious victors of Canudos." Illustration in *Revista Illustrada* ago 22, no. 734, p. 4. Rio de Janeiro, 1897.

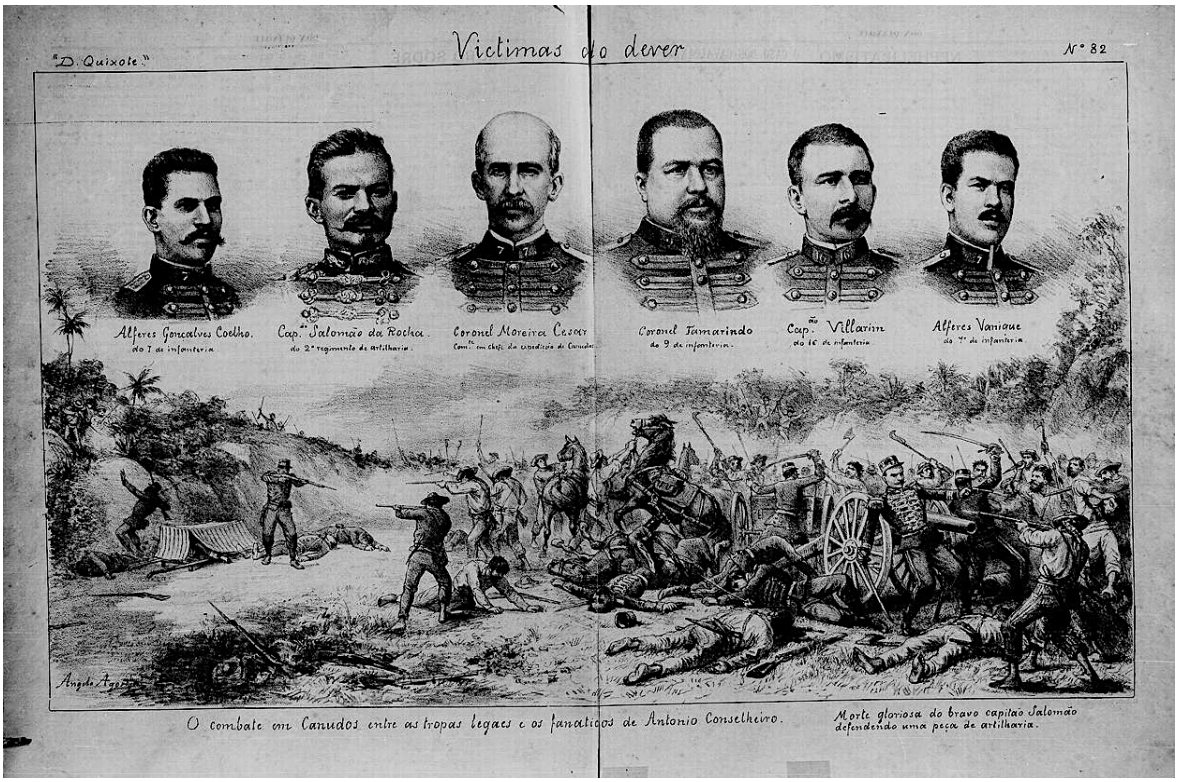

Figure 14: Unknown artist. "The battle in Canudos between legal troops and Antônio Conselheiro's fanatics." Also depicting "The glorious death of the brave Captain Solomon defending a piece of artillery." Illustration in *Don Quixote* 83. March 21, 1897.

Although the person of the Patria is noticeably absent in a vignette entitled "Victims of Duty" in *Dom Quixote*, the silhouettes of five infantrymen (including Colonel Moreira César) loom contemplatively above the battlefield. Continuing the theme of martyrdom, a prominently placed caption directs the reader's attention to the "glorious death of the brave Captain Salomão" da Rocha amid a chaotic battle scene. A member of the second artillery regiment, the captain nobly manned his cannon despite being fired upon at close range (Figure 14).[9]

9. The idea of an "honorable" or "glorious" death is evident in many different newspaper reports. Men who died defending the Republic—whether fighting an enemy that vastly outnumbered them or saving a fallen comrade—during their final moments receive this commemorative distinction.

In each of the above examples, illustrators represent men as individuals of achievement, and the Republic, a figure of inaction. Indeed, the Patria stands but a creation of noble men that is as much a reflection of their honorability as she is their magnum opus. As a good point of comparison, the undated "Allegory of the Republic" captures a similar theme more explicitly. Although the Patria sits atop a throne or elevated platform, an entourage of visionary military leaders presents her with the symbols of republican rule: a reconstituted flag of the Republic, the constitution, and several other documents. General Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca holds in his left hand a monarchical crown that he just removed from the Patria's head, and an invisible hand instead provides her with a Phrygian cap. Also an important motif in revolutionary and post-revolutionary French political symbolism, the invisible hand suggests that the shift to republican rule is not only inevitable from a historical standpoint, but also that the laws of nature justify its mortal male orchestrators.[10]

Like the unrealized allegory, wartime illustrations symbolically relegate the Patria to the sidelines. Illustrators suggest that the ideals of her enlightened sons and protectors are far weightier, for it is their prudence that ensures Brazil's survival.[11] Moreover, not all of

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10. The invisible hand motif is also common in the context of the French Revolution. See Maurice Agulhon, *Marienne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France* trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) and Maurice Agulhon, *La France Démocratique (combats, mentalés, symbols)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998). Generally speaking, the deliberately placed hand deals less with Adam Smith's study of political economy than it does to convey ideas of natural determination. The engines of the natural world predetermined the advent of the Republic. It is thus an important symbolic device that serves as republican propaganda. Note the similarity of a 1911 political cartoon in *The New York Times*. Renouncing the presidency, Porfírio Diaz offers Mexico a golden token of peace. See Johnson, 98-9.

11. Comparing political cartoons from family or female interest publications during the final two decades of the nineteenth-century provides an interesting contextual perspective. Many contributors establish a distinct rupture from the past when the monarchy was overthrown. In recounting the accomplishment of republican governance—particularly in terms of the Republic's vested interest in erecting healthy moorings for Brazilian family life—more than one commentator suggests that a sea change occurred on the family level thanks to republican positivism. One political cartoon contained within *Revista*

the Patria's sons are capable or worthy of protecting her. Only *branco* males form her honored vanguard. In the above illustrations, these men look down from the heavens and they are enshrined as martyrs. Although Brazil was inarguably a multiracial society at the turn of the century, Gilberto Freyre's myth of 'racial democracy' has yet to suffuse symbolic representations of the Patria and her positivist rescuers. Men and women of *cor* (color) are not actors in the preceding illustrated heroic dramas.[12]

The absence of non-white individuals in press illustrations suggests the elite's desire to whitewash the entirety of Brazilian society. Much like the removal of the 'dangerous classes' from areas of spatial-symbolic importance in the urban sphere, cartoonists in the *Revista Illustrada* and other publications jettison Brazil's multiracial heritage. In so doing, on the one hand, these cartoonists remove *mestiços* and other non-whites from the (invented) historical narrative of Canudos. For the preceding illustrators, the actions of brave men sacrificing themselves for the Patria form an idealized public sphere. On the other hand, the absence of persons of *cor* suggests that cartoonists and editors are both shaping and mirroring the idea that non-whites are the reason why the Republic has embarked upon a crusade against fanaticism and disorder in the first place.

As a point of comparison, the Fonseca painting (Figure 11) places blacks at the absolute bottom of the image. The perspective of the artist alone cannot account for the black women's marginal positions in a spatial sense because the Patria and the corps of

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Illustrada is particularly revealing. In a left-hand pane identified as monarchical times, the cartoonist depicts a chaotic home environment: children are fighting and the home is in serious disrepair. In the right-hand portion suggestive of republican rule, however, the children are well behaved and the house is in an immaculate state. See *Revista Illustrada* 21, no. 707 (1896): 7.

12. Brazilian sociologist, anthropologist, and historian Gilberto Freyre first proposed his notion of 'racial democracy' in *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization* (New York: Random House, 1964). In Portuguese, the book is entitled *Casa-grande e senzala*.

military leaders do not stand upon any sort of elevated platform. Additionally, the Pedro Ámerico de Figueiredo e Melo study painting (Figure 18) places newly emancipated blacks far beneath the meeting of winged white angels or goddesses. The exclusion of persons of color in the commemorative political cartoons in the *Revista Illustrada* and others suggests that they are fighting on the side of the Conselheristas.

In certain respects, in later depictions of the war against Conselheristas, it is not immediately clear *who* the army is fighting. Rather than depicting backlanders as the person of Antônio Conselheiro as cartoonists did at the onset of the conflict, illustrators generally do not depict Conselheiro's followers at all.[13] Instead, in figures 12 through 14, an invisible, but no less dangerous, enemy assaults republican infantrymen. On a representational level, the physical absence of the enemy in his full form (or his obfuscation in the case of Figure 14) suggests that treachery extends far beyond the conflict between backlanders and urban dwellers. Rather than being a war waged against degenerate Conselheristas, the Canudos conflict seems to be more universal in scope. In a broader sense, it is a stand in for the duty of defending a higher ideal. Given that the Brazilian press often speculated that underground political movements secretly plotted the demise of the Republic, subsequent depictions of the Canudos War amplify fears of a third column and make the case for heightened vigilance. Whether in the city or backlands, an adversary loomed.[14]

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13. The illustration entitled "The Victims of Duty" seems to be the exception rather than the rule. See Figure 22). Although it is clear that bands of jagunços have trapped infantrymen at the bottom of a ravine, their faces are hidden by the artist's perspective. The rebels firing upon Salomão and an anonymous infantryman beside a flattened crate face away from the viewer; only soldiers' faces are depicted clearly.

14. Many parties claimed that monarchists secretly funded Antônio Conselheiro so he could state a restoration of the monarchy. Other figures opined that Canudos was the result of an anarchic plot.

The Canudos War thus assumes a prominent place among the myths, rituals, and symbols that constituted the republican imagery. Cartoonists integrate the conflict into the foundational myth that enlightened men drive Brazil along its natural trajectory of development. These men are so dedicated to their positivist vision that they are willing to perish in order to defend it. It is in this light that the war adds to a pantheon of new holy figures; Moreira César and untold male martyrs represent the enduring belief in Order and Progress. In lieu of motion pictures and newsreels, commemorative illustrations of the Canudos War in *Revista Illustrada* standardize the conflict's image as a ritual of loyalty. Indeed, laboring on behalf of the collective *povo brasileiro* assumes a cathartic quality as a civil duty. Succumbing in a cataclysmic fight between the forces of good and evil, however, is suggestive of a profound religious experience. Like the crucifixion of Christ for the sins of humankind, dying for the permanence of Order and Progress is an unparalleled display of allegiance.[15]

As I argued previously, illustrators cast the performance of loyalty to the Brazilian collective as a decidedly masculine operation. In the public sphere, men fight on behalf of republican ideals while women serve as passive onlookers. Upon closer observation, however, one recognizes didactic undercurrents for far more than the metaphorical Brazilian family. To be sure, commemorative illustrations of the Canudos War also instruct men and women how to ensure the health of the collective through the microcosm of the biological family. Men are to remain individuals of action while wives and daughters are honorably inert. Husbands and fathers pass freely through the public

15. Although beyond the scope of this project, the number of parallels that can be drawn between Catholic symbolism and that of Brazil's Old Republic is very interesting. It remains to be seen how closely illustrators and editors modeled the female figure of the Patria upon the Virgin Mary.

and private spheres while females remain in the latter. Despite this, illustrators appear to equate the model of female obedience to males' feats on the battlefield. Put differently, the aloof (or "absent") Brazilian woman is just as respectable as the soldier avenging the honor of his biological and collective families.[16]

It is worth repeating that although the interwar illustrations considered here are also prescriptive. They aim to instruct the urban-minded movers and shakers of the Patria. This includes white, literate, and relatively affluent Brazilians, for it is they who pilot the Republic through rough sociopolitical waters. In this light, these graphics remind the middle and upper classes of the need to maintain the status quo. By adhering to predominant hierarchies of gender, race, and class, the Patria rests peaceably in a state of equilibrium.

Conclusion: Conjecture, Readings and Reactions

The degrees to which the abovementioned political cartoons accomplished the objectives of their creators are unknown. The reactions of ordinary readers/viewers are uncertain and the sources largely speak to the prevalence of preexisting attitudes and editors' efforts to coopt them. This limitation does not, however, dissuade us from considering how readers might have interpreted the illustrations found within the *Revista Illustrada*, *Don Quixote*, and countless others. Because middle and upper class Brazilians founded and operated many of these publications, we are able to speculate as to how readers from their social classes might have felt when they discovered depictions of the Canudos War.

16. This idea is similar to variations on the timeless argument that childbirth is on equal footing with men's place on the battlefield.

Yet this only offers a partial perspective because, generally speaking, it remains to be seen how lower class readers (or listeners) internalized the same depictions of the Patria, Antônio Conselheiro, and a new pantheon of republican martyrs. This reminds us that we must creatively mine the available sources to amplify those voices still concealed in the historical record. Brazil's middle and upper class readers likely interpreted the satirical depictions prominent in the first portion of the war as entertainment. Neanderthal-like images of Antônio Conselheiro and the inhabitants of Belo Monte/Canudos probably had a similar effect as popular advertisements for circuses, revues, and burlesque performances.

Like these published announcements, Conselherista caricature immersed readers in an unfamiliar world. Through the *Revista Illustrada* and other illustrated pieces, audiences could observe firsthand an assortment of sideshows that featured a people frozen in time. These depictions no doubt reinforced longstanding attitudes that the backlands was drastically different than the coast. It is uncertain, however, as to how urban audiences recognized or responded to cartoonists' implicit comparisons between civilization and barbarism from the vantage point of the Brazilian military.

The swing to commemorative illustrations also raises important questions of their viewers. One wonders if and how audiences consciously or subconsciously modeled their behavior upon the predominant themes of honor and communal sacrifice. Additionally, the shift from satire to memorialization begs the question of how the urban reading public understood the sudden change in the war's meaning from a comical farce to a decisive struggle. On the surface level, it is likely that cartoonists' commemorative illustrations elicited a strong emotional response from their audiences.

Symbolic references to defending one's personal and family honor might well have succeeded in calling the conflict away from a remote backwater and into Brazilians' everyday lives. Grieving mothers and widows could recognize that the Patria was also mourning the loss of her children. Likewise, these women could be reassured that the unforgettable sacrifice of a devoted soldier contributed to the health of the collective *povo brasileiro*. For males, the urgency of defending the honor and integrity of the Patria could wrest an emotional response if they equated the events on the national stage with the precarious stability of their wives and children.

CHAPTER 4

A PERFORMANCE OF HEGEMONY: THE PATRIOTIC COMMITTEE OF BAHIA

Of two strong brothers / There is neither a victor nor the defeated / What was victorious was Charity / You were the winner.
—J. H. de Cerqueira Lima

Introduction

Once the final rounds were fired in Canudos in October 1897 and after the corpse of Antônio Conselheiro was exhumed, photographed, and purportedly decapitated, republicans had to face the jarring aftermath of war. While heavy artillery fire and arson left most of Canudos's residential structures and two churches in heaps of rubble, soldiers worked to apprehend masses of "true sick mummies" that "represented the pungent portrait of ignoble suffering."[1] Military officers detained large numbers of females and their children, many of which were crippled by smallpox and dysentery or severely malnourished. The sight of surviving men and boys was far more infrequent. Serving as the foundation for Canudos's defense corps, male Conselheristas succumbed en masse while shielding the community from republican assaults.[2]

Though successful at destroying the settlement, the Brazilian military was not prepared for addressing the immediate mortal aftermath of the war. Surviving Conselherista girls, boys, and women suffered from wounds sustained in the heat of the

1. Lélis Piedade, *Histórico e relatório do Comitê Patriótico da Bahia, 1897-1901*. Ed. Antônio Olavo (São Paulo, Brazil: Portfolium Editora, 2002), 215.

2. Scholars' estimates of the number of the dead vary widely. Euclides da Cunha maintains that close to 30,000 were killed. Historian Robert Levine, however, postulates that approximately 15,000 fell in Canudos.

conflict, and many lost relatives, friends, and neighbors. Their homes and assets rested in mounds of debris, and the military was not outfitted to provide for many of its own men, much less the scores of ailing Canudos survivors.

In the wake of the war, the convention of elite charity served as an important means of delivering aid to Canudos's *desgraçadas*, or the unfortunate, as they were called. Elite Bahians from Salvador converged to form the Comitê Patriótico da Bahia, the Patriotic Committee of Bahia (PCB). As an endeavor ostensibly served by members of all social classes "whose presence already supported ideas of humanity and patriotism," the Comitê sought to assist the fallen of Canudos.[3] Supported by scores of Bahian journalists, the Comitê endeavored to provide assistance to Canudos's orphaned children, widowed females, and single mothers. The "virile and generous spirit" of Bahia, the Comitê's leadership proclaimed, served as a call for its inhabitants to join the PBC's "noble exercise" to "cure the sick and to provide caring assistance and love to [its] brothers."[4] The PCB's central commission organized supply drives and collaborated with members of the Bahian community to stage fundraising extravaganzas. Committee participants collected sizable donations of blankets, clothing, medicine, and food to distribute among those "disfavored by fortune."[5]

The Comitê provided spiritual and medical care to unfortunate women and children. Respectable physicians accompanied the PCB taskforce to the fringes of Canudos to

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3. Piedade, 48. Although nominally an effort supported by each of Brazil's distinct social classes, Bahia's most affluent citizens—bankers, clergy, cabinet-level secretaries, politicians, investors, doctors, lawyers, and others—guided the central commission of the Comitê.

4. For the remainder of this paper, the Comitê will be referred to as the "CPB." Ibid., 48. Italics added for emphasis. The endeavors of the Comitê were widely publicized in Bahian newspapers such as the *Jornal de Notícias*, among others.

5. Ibid., 52. Financial and accounting records do, in fact, exist and they can be found within Lélis Piedade's 1901 history of the Comitê.

dress wounds and to care for those stricken by smallpox, and they carefully monitored women and children found barely alive. Two determined clerics, Frei Francisco Electus and Frei Jerônimo de Montefiore, cared for survivors, "nurturing them to spiritual tranquility and lessening their mortal suffering."[6] More ambitiously, the Comitê sought to join mothers and their missing children, and they made great headway reuniting families. When searches for surviving mothers, fathers, or older siblings ended in vain, volunteers took abandoned and orphaned children with them to urban centers such as Alagonhias and Salvador. There, they could be reunited with distant relatives or placed under the temporary guardianship of esteemed citizens. PCB members led others, particularly those too infirm to travel long distances, by train to a rest home in the town of Cansanção, Bahia. There, in the "paradise of the backlands," a functioning pharmacy and hospital, grocery store, and chapel served the needs of Canudos survivors—including victorious military men.[7]

In this chapter I read between the untold deeds of the PCB in order to consider the social fixations that guided its work following the war. I explore how late nineteenth-century notions of gender and class are reflected in elites' assimilation of surviving Conselheristas into coastal, and republican, social spaces. In reuniting families and placing Canudos orphans in the homes of many citizens, the Patriotic Committee of Bahia assigned them to social spaces suitable for their race, gender, and class. In both of these cases, as we will see, the PCB sought to guard women and children's honor as a paternal proxy. In other words, the charitable organization served as an embodiment of

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6. Piedade, 215.

7. Portuguese: "o paraíso do sertão." The artist Manoel Lopes Rodrigues painted a number of works chronicling the work of the Comitê Patriótico in Bahia.

the patriarchal male figure, one vested with the important task of protecting his surrogate children by shielding their honor from unbecoming activities.

My analysis builds on the work on a number of scholars, including Bianca Premo, Erica Windler, and Nara Milanich. These individuals have explored the nexus between charity and socialization, consequently shedding light on the politics of honor and the centrality of charitable institutions in raising the unfortunate upon abandonment. Their consideration of convents, charitable bodies, *recolhimentos* (orphanages for foundlings), and special schools in colonial and imperial Brazil, demonstrates how these bodies reinforced the social hierarchy. While the studies of Premo, Milanich, and Windler consider cases of orphanhood as results of economic difficulty, abrupt deaths, and dishonorable births, I employ their theoretical frameworks to consider the place of a charitable institution whose work was situated in a very different postwar environment. I point to the paradox of assisting marginalized peoples, on the one hand, and debasing them in the heat of conflict on the other. The incompatible discourses on backlanders consequently frustrated the Comitê's mission to reintegrate survivors into proper social spaces. Indeed, the Comitê could not effectively curb the exploitations of civilians and military officials who rationalized their repression of the defeated on the grounds of their supposed barbarism.[8]

The records of the Comitê provide extraordinary glimpses into what became of many women and children devastated by war. We can dimly hear their cries and the reassuring words whispered by men of the cloth, and we can visualize their physical afflictions. But beyond anthropomorphizing a group that has entered the annals of history as vanquished

8. None of the abovementioned scholars explicitly consider what became of Canudos orphans, but their respective pieces nevertheless serve as a historical overview of orphanhood, marginality, and reassignment in eighteenth and nineteenth century Brazil.

'fanatics,' the Patriotic Committee's documentary trail is filled with the gendered anxieties of republican Brazil's elite. Indeed, an 1897 report presented to its benefactors serves as a reflection of the organization's fetishized standards of respectability among both their charitable workers and Canudos survivors. Indeed, the report imparts clear looks at how elite urban Bahians conceived of honor and respectability among its volunteers in addition to that of Canudos's unfortunate.

I begin by studying the documentary evidence compiled by the Comitê. The commission maintained meticulous records of the Canudos survivors under its care, and it is valuable to sketch out preliminary portraits of the women and children the organization encountered in the immediate aftermath of the civil war. Second, I trace how the PCB operated alongside and within traditional discourses on gender and class. I conclude this chapter with a consideration of the backlash against backlanders, and I contend that violence directed towards the former inhabitants of Canudos materialized amidst concurrent and conflicting discourses of its inhabitants. On the one hand, elite urban Brazilians severely criticized Conselheristas and interpreted them as barbarians. On the other hand, the elite driven PCB sought to care for and reintegrate the survivors of the war.

The Sources and Demographic Trends[9]

The Comitê documented its efforts for urban sympathetic audiences. Bahian journalists widely publicized the fundraising endeavors of the organization, and the PCB's financial workers maintained registers of the body's expenditures.[10] The Comitê

9. For complete statistics, see http://people.duke.edu/~gfk4/comite.html (accessed April 17, 2014).

10. Many newspaper articles are readily viewable online thanks to the digitalization efforts of the Hemerototeca Digital Brasileira: http://hemerotecadigital.bn.br/ (accessed November 8, 2013).

also recorded an impressive amount of demographic data pertaining to the women and children under its protection. Transcribers dutifully identified each individual's name, sex, color[11], physical afflictions, birth status, parents, birthplace, living relatives, and other related biographical information. When possible, volunteers also took careful note of women and children's respective social class and standing, emphasizing that several survivors belonged to a *boa família*, or a prominent family. In most instances, Comitê workers took an active interest in Conselheristas' means of obtaining a livable income, and they interviewed women and children to determine what motivated their families to join Canudos in the early 1890s.

In late 1897, a compilation of the records of 107 such individuals joined general reports of the Comitê's successes (and insufficiencies, as we will later see) to be presented to its members and benefactors. In the *Report of the Commission Named to Collect Backlander Children Taken Prisoner in Canudos*, PCB members applauded the body's impressive humanitarian feats, remarking, "The number of victims that we assisted and protected under our flag of charity, between women, babies, and children of both sexes, was not negligible."[12] Examples of heroism and sacrifice among civilians and military personnel peppered the report, further emphasizing the decidedly patriotic

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11. The employment of racial categories in Brazil, even at the turn-of-the-century, is vastly different than that practiced in the United States. On the contrary, racial markers were based upon an individual's complexion; as such, they could be identified as white (*branco*), brown (*pardo*), mixed (*cabolco*, *mulato*, or *moreno*), or black (*preto* or *negro*). As for the brown or black distinctions, descriptive modifiers such as "light" or "dark" typically complemented most descriptions of an individual's physical "color." See Howard Winant, "Rethinking Race in Brazil," Journal of Latin American Studies 24, no. 1 (February 1992): 173-192.

12. In the original Portuguese, the document is entitled O relatório da comissão nomeada para recolher as crianças sertanejos feitas prisioneiras em Canudos. Piedade, 211. Amaro Lélis Piedade, a journal for the Diário de Notícias and former secretary of the Comitê, published the report in 1901 alongside a general history of the PCB and its deeds in History and Report of the Bahian Patriotic Committee (1897-1901). In the original Portuguese, the title of Piedade's PCB history is Histórico e relatório do Comitê Patriótico da Bahia (1897-1901

orientation of the mission.

Although the Patriotic Committee of Bahia tried in earnest to produce faithful records of those it served, problems of practicality curbed their efforts. First, exact numbers of exactly how many women and children the Comitê assisted following the war are unavailable. The 107 individuals cited in the 1897 report is undoubtedly a small sampling of the Canudos survivors encountered by the body. Secondly, the registers of the membership report are incomplete. The efforts of volunteer transcribers were almost certainly compounded by the chaotic postwar environment. Many survivors were interviewed were too infirm to answer the questions of their examiners, and PCB officials often could not determine the complete names of the survivors, much less identify their birthplace or their likelihood of having living relatives.[13] Others were so physically disfigured that volunteers were unable to determine even victims' most essential physical attributes, such as color, sex, or age.

The potential pitfalls posed by the Comitê reports do not, however, sound the death knell for their value to scholars. On the contrary, the report and Lélis Piedade's 1901 history of the organization conjointly shade general trends concerning those served by the charitable body. Within the committee's statistics and its volunteers' varied remarks on specific *sertanejos*, one begins to observe distinct traits not only in terms of demography, but also in families' background stories and their motivations for relocating to Canudos.

Of the 107 individuals whose names appear in the Comitê's narrative, the average figure is a *branca* (white), legitimate northeastern female of approximately eleven years of age. Males are underrepresented in the body served by the organization, as over 70%

13. In the historical record, Canudos survivors are referred to as *desgraçadas*, or "unfortunate" persons.

are female.[14] The eldest sponsored by the Comitê is 60 years of age and the youngest, a mere ten days. Although most women are *branca*, a sizable portion is *cabolco* (of mixed Amerindian and European ancestry) or *mulata* (of European and African mixed descent).[15] In terms of geographic distribution, the majority of individuals interviewed by the BPC ventured from small villages and towns in north and northeast Brazil. The most prominent of such states include Bahia, Paraíba, Sergipe, Pernambuco, Ceará, and Maranhão. Though statistically fewer in number, others migrated from southern states including Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and Mato Grosso do Sul.[16]

Charity, Virility, and Modernity

Having lost fathers, husbands, and brothers in the backlands conflict, many Canudos survivors required the presence of a strong paternal figure to protect the honor and welfare of women and children. As a decidedly traditional organization assembled upon patriarchal values sustained by Salvador, Bahia's urban elite, the PCB imbued the figure of the Brazilian patriarch with special significance. Males not only provided their families with material support, but they also contributed rational and logical moorings.

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14. Men and boys were killed throughout the war and the Brazilian military executed surviving males.

15. Approximately 72% of the 107 individuals are female, while only 30 were male. The high number of men and teenage boys that fatally fought republican forces accounts for the smaller proportion of males served by the Comitê. Information pertaining to color is absent for nine individuals. The ages of thirteen individuals are absent in the committee's report, seven of which accompanied their newly appointed guardians to the coast. Others lacking information in age are listed as "invalid," "seriously ill." Most were infected by smallpox. For general descriptions of race in nineteenth century Brazil, see the Glossary in the Appendix.

16. These general demographic trends support many scholars' arguments that a protracted drought swept across the Northeast in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, forcing its inhabitants to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Following abolition in 1888, the Northeast sugar industry declined and remained secondary to industrial endeavors in the final decade of the nineteenth-century. Furthermore, most of the individuals' extended families based in the abovementioned states were also small planters and agricultural laborers.

Mothers were ascribed with the role of teaching morality and religiosity, and fathers were understood as providers of order.[17] In prolific studies, scientific circles maintained that adolescents lacking fathers and mothers were highly susceptible to social deviance and delinquency. Sons and daughters without mothers conceivably would be ill-versed in ethical lessons, but the conditions of husband or fatherless households would be especially pernicious, particularly in middle or lower class families, where deceased or absent male figures were least likely to set aside substantial resources in the forms of wills or remittances. There, matriarchs, and often their children, were drawn into the masculine world of the street, as described by Lauderdale Graham's analogy, of businessmen and negotiators.[18] In this dangerous otherworld of this street, women and children were vulnerable to unhealthful conditions and immoral behaviors. Prostitution and crime reigned supreme in the crowded alleyways of coastal cities, and adolescents and children remained at the mercy of their perils.

In the report to its members, the Comitê indicated that female Conselheristas were especially vulnerable to unbecoming influences. Its officials remarked with surprise, "not one, out of all the *prisioneiras* [female prisoners], was of irregular reputation or irregular conduct." On the contrary, they embraced "good customs, good habits of work and sentiments of honor and modesty." Regarding the scores of children cared for by the

17. As Caulfield, Soihet, and Lauderdale Graham have pointed out, scientific circles studied manhood and womanhood through an essentialist framework. In other words, physicians, psychologists, and phrenologists, among others, sought to discover and understand attributes specific to biological sex. In medical studies that were disseminated widely, intellectuals underscored the analytical strengths of men and the moral aptitude of females. Despite this, scientists understood men to be prone to violence and infidelity, while women frequently lied and were often emotionally unstable.

18. Brazilianist Sandra Lauderdale Graham points to the metaphorical dichotomy between the house and the street in her seminal work, *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. In this work, she sketches out the symbolic spaces of the feminine and masculine and is careful to note the class and racial underpinnings of these distinct milieus.

PCB, the 1897 report assured its members that on-site volunteers were "unable to observe condemnable words or gestures" among Conselherista children, and that domestic education was a prized skill passed from mothers to their daughters.[19] Upon learning of an ailing Conselherista women that gave 5,000 *reis* to her poor brothers and sisters, the Comitê concluded that many of the individuals under its care were "made respectable by their honest conditions of living and working."[20] In many respects, then, Comitê volunteers recognized parallels between backlanders and their cosmopolitan counterparts, a realization that undoubtedly differed from sensationalist newspaper reports or from longstanding accounts of barbarism in the backlands.

Given that its directorship regarded Canudos survivors as particularly upright, the Comitê remained cognizant of the potential pitfalls of women and children wandering into the street. And while the work of the commission supported the theological cornerstone of Christian *caritas*—particularly in providing immediate relief through donations of food, clothing, medicine—its charitable deeds also served as a response to elite Brazilians' fears of growing the "dangerous classes." The PCB actively sought to avoid adding to the stream of marginalized prostitutes, vagrants, and ordinary criminals that descended upon coastal cities in search of work during the second half of the nineteenth century.[21] Beyond caring for the worn spirits and sickly bodies of

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19. Piedade, 216.

20. Ibid., 216-7.

21. Brazilian elites courted foreign investors throughout the 1890s in attempts to place Brazil on the track to industrialization. As many scholars such as Brodwyn Fischer have shown, capitalists emphasized republican Brazil's new role as a modern, progressive country, one increasingly comparable to the industrialized cores of Europe and North America. Extensive sanitation and renovation campaigns in coastal cities—particularly in Rio de Janeiro—were undertaken in order to provide visual façades of modernity. City planners relocated marginalized groups to undesirable sectors of the cityscape as to avoid bringing foreign dignitaries into contact with cities' "dangerous classes." See Teresa Meade, *"Civilizing"*

Conselheristas in the immediate aftermath of the conflict, the commission served as a channel for returning women and children to paternal figures that would protect their honor for the long term. In returning survivors to their families, the Patriotic Committee of Bahia consequently upheld the status quo without significantly challenging the existing social order.

Beyond granting temporary refuge in hotels and in the infirmary at Cansanção, reuniting families remained the chief priority of the commission. While the Comitê cited impressive results in terms of joining lost children and mothers, it also collaborated with Bahian journalists to publicize in newspapers small samplings of the children encountered in Canudos and the surrounding cities in the hopes that the editorials would attract the attention of their relatives. For children whose parents or living relatives were either nonexistent or not immediately available, the Comitê Patriótico da Bahia worked with state officials to grant temporary guardianship to upstandings citizens of Bahia.[22]

Indeed, the membership report acknowledged that the PCB had been successful in matching nineteen children under the age of thirteen with respectable military and civilian families. Married men collectively representing occupations that served as hallmarks of Brazilian modernity, including train conductors, capitalists, tax collectors, and businessmen, took in six of the youngsters noted in the report. Soldiers of the fourth division took a number of abandoned children, as did those of the twenty-eighth division. The example of republican general Olímpio da Silveira did not go unnoticed in the

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Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889-1930 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

22. Comitê documents do not, however, provide us with information concerning how long temporary guardianship lasted.

Comitê bulletin, as the victorious commander took in two *preta* girls, both six years of age.[23]

The commission was especially concerned with widows, who in this society were seen as especially needy because they lacked property and the economic security of their husbands. As a result, the commission acted swiftly to unearth a number of surviving property deeds in the remains of Canudos "so many widows [could] earn honest means of living thanks to the resources left by their husbands."[24] As for women who did not receive endowments from their husbands, committee volunteers took extensive notes on women's birthplaces prior to settling Canudos, the names of their living relatives, and their respective professions.

Using the information provided during countless interviews, the organization ferried some women to Queimadas, Alagonhias, or Salvador, where they often joined distant relatives.[25] Perhaps most illuminating of the agency's preference for limiting women to the supervision of their fathers, uncles, or other male family members is the interesting, if not remarkable, case of 18 year-old *branca* orphan, Maria Rosa dos Santos, of Sergipe. Having lost both parents during the conflict, but also belonging to a wealthy *boa família*, or honorable family, dos Santos became engaged to one captain Ângelo of the fifth corps

23. Piedade, 216-7. The studies of Windler and Milanich conjointly provide an analytical framework with which to understand an additional incentive for respectable military officials (and citizens) to take in foundlings. As they have shown, engaging in acts of charity and goodwill provided men and women with added public honor, thereby increasing their likelihood for decorations or various appointments.

24. Ibid., 217.

25. Ibid. In the statistical information compiled by the commission upon interviewing *desgraçadas*, transcriptionists were careful to note that many women's relatives were simple tillers or tradesmen, quite respectable positions according to Comitê members.

of the Bahian state police.[26] As the daughter of a good family, Santos gravitated to, or perhaps was coerced into, a locus consistent with her social standing. Serving as a relatively prominent figure in the republican armed forces, captain Ângelo could protect the especially revered honor of his fiancée, and he would imaginably consign his new wife the responsibility of overseeing the home and the upbringing of the couple's children.[27]

Difficulties

Despite the laudable intentions of the PCB, predominant issues of class and race, undergirded by geographic "otherness," repeatedly thwarted its efforts. As we have seen, the Comitê reunited many children with their mothers and distant relatives. When such individuals were not immediately available, the organization placed supposed foundlings under the temporary care of civilians or military officials. Despite this, several morally dubious figures managed to acquire innumerable children. Under the tutelage of these questionable persons, young boys and girls became prime targets for free labor in the cities. That many lower ranking soldiers taking in young girls flatly refused to transfer their care to the Comitê was equally problematic; many men brutally raped young girls and forced them into concubinage. Lélis Piedade and other PCB administrative officials blenched in horror as dishonorable individuals seemed to resurrect a 'new slavery' that capitalized upon the misfortunes of Canudos survivors.[28]

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26. Piedade, 222. That several other young women included in the commission's report also belonged to wealthy and highly respected families suggests that they might well have met similar fates due to their status. The identification of similar cases will allow one to study with more precisions the place of race and class in the fates of Canudos survivors immediately following the Canudos War.

27. Additional research is required to determine the outcome of the couple's marriage.

28. Throughout his writings, Piedade draws parallels between pre-emancipation Brazil and the *nova escravidão* engendered after the Canudos War.

Both in the 1897 report and in newspaper stories, Comitê spokesmen denounced the unspeakable crimes against Conselheristas with increasing regularity. PCB officials turned the public's attention directly to the injustices committed by Brazil's armed forces. Secretary Piedade remained particularly vocal in condemning soldiers' practice of transforming children into spoils of war as "living trophies."[29] Many of these children abducted by soldiers in the frenzy of victory were, as Piedade notes, young girls. In the published report, Piedade expressed the great pain in reminding Comitê members that many girls were "deflowered without being able to recover their honor and without a provision taken against such monstrous and cowardly attacks."[30] Twelve year-old Maria Domingas de Jesus, for example, returned to the care of the Committee thanks to the proper conduct of Captain Manuel Luiz da Silva Daltro, but only after being raped repeatedly by an infantryman belonging to the 25th division.[31]

Large numbers of minors allegedly gravitated to the homes of ordinary market workers and prostitutes in Alagonhias and Queimadas. That esteemed citizens abandoned the children under their care warned officials of a "shameful trafficking of hopeless orphans."[32] Although records do not provide precise glimpses into the exact process by which girls purportedly became gratis laborers and servants, the case of Sr. Aguido Batista suggests that orphans became vouchers of obligation between social peers and/or their dependents. The prominent owner of the Hotel Americano in Alagonhias, Batista

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29. Piedade, 217.

30. Ibid., 212. Throughout the documents belonging to the Comitê Patriótico da Bahia, rape is referred to as deflowering (Portuguese: *deflorar*).

31. Ibid., 212. Young Maria was apparently only able to recall the given names of the infantryman, identified solely as one José Maria.

32. Ibid., 212.

received from the Salvador Comitê a ten or eleven year-old *branca*. When conferring with Sr. Batista some time later regarding the state of the *branca* girl under his care, representatives learned that she had been sent without their authorization to work in the home of Captain Ramiro Leite Vilas-Boas, owner of the Hotel Brasil in Cachoeira.[33]

Other Bahians obtained minors without the assistance of the Comitê, and many were not orphaned to begin with. The commission directed benefactors' attention to the 'notorious' case of Matias da Costa Batista, who reportedly harbored a child "barbarically taken from their mother." When questioned by the Comitê regarding the three minors under his tutelage (two of which were presumably arranged with its permission), Costa Batista declined to provide information concerning the three children. He further argued that he would not return the three children to the commission, for his temporary custody was endorsed by the organization itself.[34] Likewise, in Queimadas, two girls resided in the home of grocer Francelina de Limas Dias, but the Comitê was alarmed by claims that one of the girls remained under the guardianship of a *parda* woman with a *reputação duvidosa* (dubious reputation). Officials feared that the women obtained ten year-old Jovelina and five year-old Maria, both *morenas*, through the illicit orphan trade. Limas Dias declined to provide authorities with the identities of the young girls and later informed them that the pair had been sent to Vila Nova for their safety.[35]

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33. Piedade, 219. Unfortunately, Comitê documents do not indicate comment on the fate of the *branca* girl following her transfer to the owner of the Hotel Americano.

34. Ibid., 219. The age, gender, and *cor* of the child supposedly sequestered by Costa Batista are not found in Comitê documents.

35. Ibid., 220. Limas Dias and the troublesome *parda* woman by the name of Eduviges Dias occupied the same residence. No additional information is provided in order to identify exactly why the *parda* had a dubious reputation, but in line with the paramount fears expressed throughout the Relatório, it is certainly possible that Dias had the reputation of a "loose" woman or as a prostitute.

The Comitê embarked upon a crusade against the "wicked and beastly crime." Elected officials declared that the separation of children from their mothers was "*not even* permitted during the time of slavery."[36] Confiscating children from their mothers split the veins through which republican virtue was ordinarily transmitted. Placed instead under the negligent and exploitative supervision of immoral persons, such as greedy merchants, prostitutes, and deviant soldiers, young girls remained susceptible to the vices of the "dangerous classes."

Though the Patriotic Committee of Bahia avowedly sought to protect and defend the honor of young women and orphaned children, their work was often criticized. PCB efforts did not prevent professedly moral individuals associated with the commission from engaging in the underground orphan trade, nor was it able to find untold numbers of girls quietly taken by military officials as sexual objects of conquest. In each of these cases, the Comitê reacted in horror as the Canudos survivors under its care drifted more closely into the very unhealthful milieus that it sought to avoid, all the while blemishing their personal honor, often irreparably.

Clearly, the young girls orphaned by Canudos were vulnerable and abused. The aristocratic PCB maintained the need to assist Conselheristas, on the one hand, while republican military officials and journalists recurrently debased (or "othered") them prior to, and during, the heat of conflict to foment domestic support for the campaign.[37] And while writers and illustrators produced distinct images of the bumbling promiscuous and immoral backlander, their newspaper articles and pieces of illustrated satire merely

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36. Piedade, 218. Italics were added for emphasis.

37. Many of the means of imbuing *sertanejos* with degrees of otherness can also be found in period medical literature. See Dain Borges, "Puffy, Ugly, Slothful and Inert: Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880-1940," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25, no. 2 (May 1993): 235-256.

typified longstanding archetypes of the rural dweller. As I have argued in previous chapters, the conceptual dichotomies between the coast and hinterlands were not novelties in nineteenth-century Brazil. The antecedents to the Canudos War merely widened the fissure between urban dwellers and their country cousins, and propagandists capitalized upon preexisting animosities and elements of popular lore.

Military men and ordinary civilians on location in Canudos were thus surrounded by two different discourses on marginalized backlanders. Despite being a decidedly traditional body, the Comitê nevertheless provided for the needy by contributing medication, food, and clothing. Although it facilitated the act of returning women and orphans to their corresponding spaces in the nineteenth-century Brazilian patriarchy, the PCB declined an agenda that would fundamentally challenge Conselheristas' systemic marginalization. Although we are not privy to their written reactions, soldiers, generals, and engineers involved in the civil war were imaginably perplexed or perhaps even infuriated by the charitable efforts of the PCB, who placed orphaned children and abandoned young women in the very same resting quarters at Cansanção. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the victors, the republican victory over backlanders placed into relief elite urban Brazilians' invented evolutionary superiority, having been reminded of their enemies' degenerative savagery and preference for political subversion as monarchists.[38]

Although much work remains to be done in terms of unpacking issues of race and class in the specific instances of abducting orphans and rape is not deflowering, we

38. The reader should not, however, mistake my (speculative) consideration of such a backlash as any sort of rationalization; I merely intend to sketch out the disagreement in ideas that opened the space in which violence towards Canudos survivors occurred.

recognize that their "otherness" encouraged, or at least recognized, the wave of repression following the war. The violence of rape quite literally confirms male dominance. In this way, the male body, suggestive of republican progress and rationality, subjugates the feminine, characterized as weak and disobedient.[39] In the long term, though, rape was a life-changing act. Not only would a young woman carry the recollection of the violence, but also her honor could be severely injured and with serious consequences. In many respects, then, rape committed by military men was a weapon in its own right. It inflicted not only psychosocial damage among female victims, but it also severely damaged their personal honor, that of their families, and that diffused among their children.[40]

In the clandestine exchange in Conselherista children, both orphaned and abducted, we also encounter the couched assumption that compulsory gratis labor was permissible in light of backlanders' inferiority. It is indeed telling that Comitê officials likened the dishonest and unspeakable acts of opportunists to the rationales of slavery among Brazil's former slaveholding elite. In both instances, individuals' alleged backwardness vindicated their subordination. And it would be a disservice to the reader to forgo remarking on the fact that the Patriotic Committee also worked under the idea that backlanders were different from, and even inferior to, coastal Brazilians.

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39. Similar paths of inquiry have been followed concerning the Japanese occupation of Singapore and others. See Kevin Blackburn, "Reminiscence and War: Recalling the Japanese Occupation of Singapore, 1942-1945," *Oral History* 33, no. 2 (Autumn 2005): 91-98; Roland Littlewood, "Military Rape," *Anthropology Today* 13, no. 2 (April 1997): 7-16; and Claudia Card, "Rape as a Weapon of War," *Hypatia* 11, no. 4 (Autumn 1996): 5-18. Claudia Card's analysis is especially useful because it considers martial rape as a weapon of war.

40. As Nazzari, Lauderdale Graham, and others have shown, since the colonial period in Brazil, the personal honor of a woman remained closely tied to that of her family. If a woman willingly engaged in promiscuous and dishonorable behavior, or of she were violated, the injury to her personal honor affected that of her family, as well.

As we have seen, its representatives were perplexed upon observing that Canudos survivors exercised proper demeanors and thus behaved respectably. Despite this awareness, the Comitê's treatment of foundlings clarifies its wider assumptions that orphaned required rehabilitation upon the end of the Canudos War. The distribution of children among prominent cosmopolitan workers whose occupations were the props of Republican positivism is also symbolic. Placing these children in the homes of urban, and no doubt republican, families provided them with paternalistic oversight, on the one hand, and healthful incubators in which orphans could acquire an appreciation of Order and Progress, on the other.

Conclusion

The topic of the Canudos aftermath is thus significant because it sketches out the contours of charity practices among urban elites, a performance that was largely conservative and mainly concerned with reestablishing the status quo and minimizing suffering. It also provides us with clearer looks at how elites began to reevaluate the nature of the sertão/littoral divide in the late 1890s. Indeed, they seemed surprise to note that backlanders were not beastly or ill mannered. Looking at the individual stories and experiences of the dispossessed creates sympathetic portraits of a group that largely remains "others" as religious fanatics, or backwards/"traditional" individuals. More fundamentally, the aftermath places into relief gender and class expectations and anxieties.

Finally, it opens the opportunity to ask questions of how we can use the commission's documentary evidence to looks at Conselheristas' experiences in richer detail. We have yet to understand the gendered dynamic of millenarianism on its own

terms, and the Comitê's 1897 report to its benefactors is an important starting point. We now know at least *some* of the names of those assisted by the Comitê, and it is thus possible to track down any surviving oral histories or written documents. The report of the Comitê, then, provides not only closer looks at the interconnectedness between the littoral and sertão, but it also serves as an impetus for exploring Canudos in a more holistic manner.

Appendix A: Timeline

1870s	Antônio Vicente Mendes Maciel (1828-1897) emerges in the historical record as a Bahian *beato*. Wandered intermittently throughout the sertão, preaching, collecting alms, and taking part in religious processions.
1873	Founded the city of Bom Jesus in Itapicurú; lived there for approximately 12 years.
November 15, 1889	Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca deposed Emperor Dom Pedro II, proclaiming Brazil a constitutional democratic republic.
November 1896	Luiz Gonzaga de Macedo appealed to police chief of Bahia for protection against ruffian Conselheristas.
Early 1890s	Antônio Conselheiro less tolerated by local political and religious figures; archbishop of Bahia prohibited the Counselor for preaching because he lacked basic qualifications (i.e., being ordained).
? 1893[1]	Settled an abandoned *fazenda* (a ranch) known as Canudos; subsequently established the city of Belo Monte.
May 13-21, 1895	Capuchin delegation sent to Canudos to encourage Conselherista population to return to their homes. Friars driven out of the city.
November 1896	Antônio Conselheiro arranged for wood to be delivered to Canudos for the construction of a new church, but the goods were intercepted. Several Conselheristas traveled to the nearby city of Joazeiro to claim their lumber, but a local judge petitioned the governor of Bahia for the help of state troops to suppress the Conselheristas. First republican attack led on Belo Monte/Canudos.
January 6, 1897	Second republican attack on the city.
March 2, 1897	Moreira Cesar morally wounded.
March 6, 1897	Third republican attack on Canudos.
Late September 1897	Antônio Conselheiro dies from dysentery and fasting.[2]

1. The exact month of the founding of Belo Monte/Canudos is unknown.

October 1-2, 1897	Fourth and final attack on Canudos; the city fell.
October 6, 1897	Corpse of Antônio Conselheiro exhumed by armed forces and decapitated head sent to Salvador, Bahia.

2. Euclides da Cunha speculates that Antônio Conselheiro died on September 22, 1897. See *Rebellion in the Backlands*, 478.

Appendix B: Glossary

Bahia*:* A state in Northeast Brazil noted for its importance as a former major sugar-producing region.

Beato/a*:* A transient holy man (or woman) that typically wandered throughout Brazil since the sixteenth-century. These individuals were prominent individuals that cared for the ailing, collected alms, offered prayers, and maintained cemeteries and churches in disrepair. Some, but not all, claimed to possess magical powers, thus contributing to their allure in Brazilian folklore.

Belo Monte/Canudos*:* Belo Monte ("fair hill") is the name of the "New Jerusalem" established by Antonio Conselheiro in the Bahian backlands on an abandoned *fazenda* (farm). Canudos, more generally, refers to the area and was named after a sort of reed native to the region.

Branco/a: A term of *cor*, or color, used to describe someone that is white or an individual that identifies as white.

Caboclo/a: A person of mixed indigenous and European ancestry. A *cabolco/a* is a type of *mestiço*.

Canudense: A noun or adjective that refers to someone residing in Belo Monte/Canudos.

Conselherista: For the purposes of this thesis, an individual living in Belo Monte/Canudos. In a general sense, it refers to a follower of Antônio Conselheiro.

Antônio Conselheiro: The self-proclaimed pilgrim (born as Antônio Vicente Mendes Maciel) that amassed a large following of pious Brazilians in the backlands in the 1880s. He and his followers stumbled upon and resettled the abandoned *fazenda* (farm) of Canudos in 1893, dubbing it Belo Monte (see above). The Counselor perished as a result of illness and malnourishment from severe fasting in September 1897. Throughout this thesis, Antônio Conselheiro, Conselheiro, and Maciel are used interchangeably.

Fanático: A "fanatic." In a pejorative sense, this term was used to refer to the inhabitants of Belo Monte/Canudos since urban Brazilians frequently identified religious fanaticism and superstition as essential attributes of backlanders.

Jagunço: Loosely refers to a backlands bandit reminiscent of the figures of the "Wild West" in U.S. history. These individuals made a living by raiding throughout the backlands, and they served as important allies of Antônio Conselheiro as a sort of auxiliary defense corps. Furthermore, *jagunços* recurrently conduced supply raids on neighboring towns and villages and brought sequestered supplies to Belo Monte/Canudos.

Mestiço/a: Denotes a person of mixed race in the Portuguese-speaking world. In Spanish America, the parallel term is *mestizo*.

Moreno/a: Refers to someone that is dark skinned. This term is analytically ambiguous, however, because it can refer to any number of persons perceived to be "dark" in complexion.

Pardo: An umbrella term that denotes persons exemplifying various shades of brown.

Preto/a: An umbrella term that identifies persons of blackness.

Sertão: The arid backlands that forms part of the highlands region in the eastern, southern, and central portions of Brazil.

Sertanejo/a: A descriptive term for individuals living in the *sertão* region.

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For a comprehensive introduction to constructions of race in Brazil, see Robert Stam, *Tropical Multiculturalism: A Comparative History of Race in Brazilian Cinema and Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 45-58.

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