The 1824 Confederation of the Equator and Cultural Production in Brazil

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Abstract

During the 1824 Confederation of the Equator revolt in northeastern Brazil, a middle-class junta rose to power and waged a war against the monarchy in Rio, journalists participating in creating pedagogical ideological pamphlets, actively engaging in battles, and governing until the revolt was suppressed after a few months. Despite the short duration of this rebel government, the Confederation of the Equator and its ideology have been addressed in cultural production by authors and painters associated with different political movements in the nineteenth, twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, including Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto, Carlos Queiroz Telles, Antônio Parreiras, Gustavo Barroso, Cícero Dias, Murillo La Greca, Heloneida Studart, José Pimentel and Câmara Cascudo. This thesis discusses the history of the event, the content of the message of these thinkers, the spread of their ideas over the course of the nineteenth century and the deployment of the Confederation and its ideas by cultural producers in order to prove that this event has had an impact on the arts in Brazil.
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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my father Plínio, my mother, Janete, my wife Lauren, my sister Bruna, my aunt Jací, my grandmother Lucila, Professor Nicolau Sevcenko, and to my baby Luca on the way.
Introduction:

Frei Caneca (Brother Mug) and the State

After independence from Portugal, a monarchy was created in Brazil based out of Rio. Consolidating power in the center-south region of the country, elites in Rio struck a bargain with elites in the northeastern region, once the wealthiest part of the nation. In exchange for exporting wealth southwards via taxes to enlarge the royal court, elites in the northeast received the ability to impress anyone who opposed them into a national army, as well as access to that national army to suppress local rebellions, the promise of economic monopolies, and the legitimacy of associating their own local dominance with a king chosen by God to rule the nation. A colonial relationship between the center-south and the northeast arose and led to the formation of an opposition to the court in the northeastern state of Pernambuco.

Newspapers had not been widely available in Brazil until after 1820, when a revolution in Portugal known as the Revolução do Porto (Porto revolution) obtained guarantees of free speech without prior restraint not only for Portugal but also its colonies. As a reaction to what they viewed as a new colonialism being implanted in the northeast by Rio, journalists in northeastern Brazil began publishing short periodicals comparing the post-independence system to domination by Portugal. The periodicals produced in the northeast in the post-independence era circulated throughout the country.

In 1824, northeastern journalists who published periodicals staged a revolution based out of Pernambuco known as the Confederação do Equador (Confederation of the Equator). Frei Caneca (Brother Mug) was one of the leaders of the revolt, a priest and journalist who published a newspaper titled O Typhis Pernambucano (the Typhis of Pernambuco). Other journalists who
led the revolt included Jôao Soares Lisboa and Natividade Saldanha. A journalist named Cipriano Barata was jailed immediately prior to the revolt but he was viewed by authorities and the participants as aligned with their views and his periodical was frequently quoted in Confederation periodicals. The objective of the revolt was to separate from the court in Rio and create an independent confederation of northeastern states, each state with its own local democratic institutions, and to convene a northeastern assembly to deliberate on a constitution guided by federalist principles. Rebel periodicals indicate that the constitution produced by the confederation would then have been offered to the nation as a whole. The revolt was crushed by monarchist troops sent from Rio in a few months, before concrete objectives could be achieved.

I argue herein that the Confederation has had an impact on the arts in Brazil. The ideology produced by the journalists of the Confederation of the Equator was adopted in bits and pieces by cultural producers tied to political movements of many orientations in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. The Confederation has taken on a life of its own, some of the most important cultural producers in the nation’s history deploying the Confederation for their own purposes: Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto, Carlos Queiroz Telles, Cícero Dias, Antônio Parreiras, Gustavo Barroso, Câmara Cascudo, and others. The repercussions of the ideas behind this short-lived 1824 revolt in northeastern Brazil can, in fact, be felt today, artists and authors continuously producing works about this event and its participants.

The State of Scholarship on the Confederation of the Equator as Historical Event and Cultural Production About the Confederation

No study has ever focused on the impact of the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator on cultural production in Brazil. The majority of studies discussed below focus on the
The event itself and most do not pay much attention to the ideas behind the revolt. The studies discussed below do seek to address the economic and political causes of the rebellion.

Eurico Jorge Campelo Cabral’s 2008 "O liberalismo em Pernambuco: as metamorfoses políticas de uma época (1800-1825)" (Liberalism in Pernambuco: political metamorphoses of an era 1800-1824) argues that classical liberal ideas were originally defended by rural elites prior to independence from Portugal but became the ideology of the middle classes after independence. Campelo Cabral sees the ideology of the Confederation as a populist form of classical liberalism opposed to two ideologies favored by the wealthy: a moderate liberalism and conservatism. Campelo Cabral does not go into the structure of these ideologies in depth but he ties classical liberalism to local autonomy, meaning that the radical classical liberals were the most anti-centralist, while moderate liberals were less anti-centralist and conservatives supported a philosophy of centralism in Brazil.

Implicit in Campelo Cabral’s work is the notion that each of these ideologies were tied to a particular class. Radical classical liberals represented the middle class and the poor who were opposed to the colonial relationship between the northeast and the center-south. Moderate liberals organized around the Partido Liberal (Liberal Party) tended to be from wealthy families but they were poorer and from less illustrious families than the richest elements in the province. The wealthiest residents supported the centralist Partido Conservador (Conservative Party).

Campelo Cabral identifies specific features of the government set up by the Confederation. The rebels instituted a local government with the separation of powers and elected representatives deliberating in public and argued that each state should have its own center tied to the others in a loose chain, and they supported prohibiting the importation of slaves
and the gradual abolition of all slavery. Classical liberalism for Campelo Cabral therefore involves openness in terms of deliberative processes, separation of powers, voting for elected representatives, federalism, and the abolition of slavery.

Campelo Cabral argues that landowners mobilized to support the monarchy in Rio de Janeiro while the middle classes made up of small merchants such as artisans, lawyers, doctors, some priests not particularly well-positioned in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and small landowners supported the 1824 revolution. To Campelo Cabral, the Confederation of the Equator was a moment when a popular faction broke with moderate liberals and conservatives to institute their own government. He does not, however, address how anti-centralism and individual rights could have improved the lives of the poor and middle classes in early nineteenth century Brazil.

Janine Pereira de Sousa Alarcão in her 2006 "O saber e o fazer: república, federalismo, e separatismo na Confederação do Equador" (the know-how and the do-it-yourself: republic, federalism and separatism in the Confederation of the Equator) sees the declaration of the Confederation of the Equator on the 2nd of July of 1824 as being caused by a desire for autonomy arising from an escalation of local conflicts between leaders allied to or opposing particular state presidents. The rebels had refused to allow a governor appointed by Rio to take office, preferring a governor they had elected. Loyalty to a particular official, therefore, created opposing factions. She also identifies excessive taxation and economic dissatisfaction caused by competition in sugar and coffee production from other nations as economic causes.

Aside from economic and factional causes, she identifies a budding Brazilian nationalism standing in opposition to Portuguese Institutions as contributing to the 1824 revolt. The rebels believed that separation from Portugal could not be realized until the Portuguese-born regent

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prince Dom Pedro ruling as monarch of his own branch of the Portuguese Bragança dynasty from his seat in Rio was weakened. Independence from Rio was, to Alarcão, a continuation of the struggle for independence from Portugal.

She identifies an ideology based on the formation of a social pact via a constitution as having inspired the rebels. On the 25th of March of 1824, Dom Pedro and his ministers in Rio had offered the nation a constitution establishing a unitary, monarchical state with an aristocracy. Prior to offering this constitution to the nation, he had dissolved a constitutional assembly comprised of elected representatives. The rebels rejected the constitution offered by Rio and demanded the right to make a constitution via elected representatives.

Alarcão, like Campelo Cabral, believes that the Confederation of the Equator reflected class conflict between wealthier elements and less wealthy elements. Wealthy land owners supporting Dom Pedro supported the wealthy majorat Francisco Paes Barreto for President of Pernambuco, but radical popular elements in Pernambuco supported the marine intendant Manuel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade. Paes de Andrade was allied with Frei Caneca, the journalist Jôao Soares Lisboa, the Afro-Brazilian lawyer and journalist Natividade Saldanha, and others who were not part of elite circles. Frei Caneca published his *Typhis Pernambucano* from the point immediately after Paes de Andrade’s rise to power in 1823 until the fall of the Confederation of the Equator in 1824, working as a propagandist for this regime. She does not go into how the ideology of the journalists who came to power in the Confederation of the Equator could have furthered the interests of the poor.

Alarcão identifies the composition of the rebel government: a marine intendant; a priest who worked as a professor at a seminary; a Portuguese-born journalist from Rio; and a lawyer from a lower caste background given the laws in place at the time. Alarcão sees a contrast with
the wealthiest landowners who rose to power in juntas before them. According to her, the junta was unique from the antecedent juntas in its class composition, all antecedent juntas in Pernambuco comprised of latifundary interests.

Alarcão asserts that the separatism of the movement was about many things but principally about separating not from Brazil but from the Portuguese Court in Rio and that, as such, the movement was a continuation of the battle for independence. She does not elaborate how her explanation fits with the long history of anti-centralist conflicts in the northeastern region throughout the nineteenth century, including during the reign of Dom Pedro’s Brazil-born son and after the end of the monarchy. Some of these revolts are discussed in the third chapter herein.

Alarcão sees signs that Frei Caneca was a believer in republicanism from the very beginnings of his writings². Liliane Gonçalves de Souza Carrijo doesn’t seem quite so certain in her 2013 "Frei Caneca, um republicano?" (Frei Caneca, a republican?). Carrijo focuses on the ideology behind the Confederation of the Equator more explicitly and ties it to the circumstances of the northeast. She does not explain what republicanism means. As with most authors writing about the Confederation, she utilizes terms capable of multiple meanings such as republicanism and classical liberalism.

Carrijo argues that Pernambuco is a unique region with a history of autonomy. She identifies a widespread belief during the Confederation of the Equator that since locals had waged a war against a Dutch invasion without much help from the Portuguese government in the seventeenth century, they had won their autonomy at that point and had agreed to return to submission to the Crown only upon a tacit agreement wherein the province was allowed self-

² Alarcão, "O saber e o fazer," 44.
government. To Carrijo, the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator was produced as result of a sentiment that this tradition of self-government had been offended. She notes that after the Portuguese Court had moved from Lisbon to Rio to escape the invasion of Portugal during the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, elites in the Northeastern region had experienced a decrease in terms of their influence over local affairs, an alteration of the doctrine previously in place wherein orders from above could be modified at the state level to suit local conditions. Movements for autonomy intensified until an 1820 revolt in Portugal secured that country for the return of the exiled Portuguese monarch, Dom Jõao VI, the prince-regent Dom Pedro’s father, in 1821\(^3\).

Portuguese constitutionalism inspired many in Brazil who hoped for a national constitution and when independence came, via the prince-regent’s decision to create his own independent monarchy based out of Rio in 1822, there was hope that Dom Pedro would allow for the creation of a constitutional monarchy protecting regional autonomy, a possibility defended by Caneca initially\(^4\). Then, Dom Pedro dismissed a convened constitutional assembly. Carrijo sees a change in Caneca’s positions as she indicates that, until the constitutional assembly of elected representatives was dismissed by Dom Pedro on the 12th of November of 1823, Caneca had been content with the notion of a constitutional monarchy but after that date, as Dom Pedro authored a constitution with his ministers and commanded the states swear to it, Caneca morphed and opposed adopting this 1824 constitution, resisting its centralist and aristocratic tendencies,

\[^3\text{Carrijo, "Frei Caneca, um republicano?", 19-20, 26, 27.}\]

\[^4\text{Ibid., 27-28, 30-31.}\]
and supported the declaration of the Confederation of the Equator, becoming a republican\(^5\). We can deduce that Carrijo identifies republicanism primarily with anti-monarchism.

Carrijo states that Caneca supported a fairly extreme form of decentralization. Each state would have its own army and navy, be subject to a system of requisitions as opposed to direct taxation of citizens, be able to elect its governors, maintain the vast majority of its tax receipts, and legislate on most subjects. Carrijo does not explain how support or opposition to a monarchical form of central government is key to understanding a philosophy wherein the central government should be powerless. Carrijo identifies the desire for regional autonomy as one of the major tenets of the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator and then goes on to argue that there was a shift in their beliefs away from co-existing with monarchism, but she does not indicate whether or not this shift reflected a realization that autonomy would not be possible without dismantling the monarchy.

Some scholars have focused on the sources of the ideology of the 1824 movement. Professor Kelly Cristina Azevedo de Lima has argued that there was, in Pernambuco, a conservative, Portuguese-influenced strain of Pombalismo, inspired by the Marquis of Pombal who had instituted liberalizing reforms in Portugal within the context of preserving the Lisbon-based monarchy, and a radical liberalism inspired by France and North America, a strain to

\(^5\) Ibid., 32-33, 36, 38, 104. Carrijo writes: “Em suma, até a outorga da constituição, em 1824, o projeto político do Carmelita centrou-se em dois eixos: a monarquia constitucional representativa e a descentralização política, aspectos que foram enfaticamente defendidos pelo frei. Todavia, a partir desta data, Caneca passou a defender o regime republicano confederado” (“In summary, until the bestowal of the constitution in 1824, the Carmelite's political project focused on two points: a representative constitutional monarchy and political decentralization, emphatically defended by the clergyman. Nevertheless, after this period, Caneca began to defend a republican confederation regime”).
which she claims Caneca belonged. Azevedo de Lima notes that Caneca believed that God did not grant sovereignty to kings but only to the people, in whom sovereignty is deposited via natural law, tying Caneca’s beliefs to St. Thomas Aquinas, Spanish theologian Francisco Suarez, Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and the German legal scholar Samuel von Pufendorf.

Azevedo de Lima identifies anti-centralism as one of the main tenets of the revolt in Pernambuco, concluding that the rebels had as their goal the creation of a system similar to the Articles of Confederation which preceded the adoption of the Constitution of the United States and was far less unitary. As with most academics writing about the Confederation, she identifies anti-centralism as an important aspect of the ideology of the rebels.

A brief overview of scholarship regarding the structure of the colonial relationship established between the center-south and the northeast might be helpful to understanding the context of revolts in Northeastern Brazil and what the above-mentioned academics mean when they write about centralização (centralization). In the context of Brazilian history, centralização as used by these academics has a specific meaning. Professor Richard Graham has produced extensive research on the subject of the organization of post-independence Brazil. In *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth Century Brazil*, Graham argues that local rural bosses in nineteenth century Brazil consolidated their power over local affairs by expanding the number of people obedient to them by obtaining appointments for the loyal from central authorities as bribes. Local oligarchs would make connections to powerful figures in Parliament, as well as Cabinet

6 Lima, "Frei Caneca," 146-147.

7 Ibid., 153-154, 156-158, 158-161, 161-164, 164-166, 166-168, 168-171. In these pages, Lima provides a summary of Caneca’s philosophical influences as she believes them to be. The authors she names are primarily European classical liberal philosophers.

8 Ibid., 148-149.
members and the Prime Minister, offering to enforce central government policy in exchange for appointments, and “patronage, whether dispensing it or seeking it” formed their main concern, local oligarchs seeking to be absorbed into the central government as much as possible⁹. In other words, one item offered to the elites in states outside of the center-south in exchange for enforcing high taxes transferring wealth from their provinces to the center-south was access to prestigious and high-paying offices to bribe opponents and smaller landlords into supporting their control over local affairs.

According to Graham, the crown also offered local elites the ability to control unruly persons through impressment into the national military and access to that national force to suppress insurrection. Graham writes that the purpose of the conscription law was actually to enhance the power of a few powerful local landlords, to force obedience through the use of a national military¹⁰. Compliant individuals would not have to serve in war but non-compliant individuals would be forcibly recruited and sent to the battlefields, the experience of military service disciplining subversives.

Another benefit which was offered to local elites was the legitimacy a king could give to those associated with him. A local rural boss might simply be a despot but a local rural boss who serves a king chosen by God is himself a servant of the divine. Thus, Graham writes that, in post-independence Brazil, the wealthy “had unambiguously decided to throw in their lot with central power” because “[t]hey made the central government theirs and then relied on its patronage to

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⁹ Graham, *Patronage and Politics*, 3, 7, 16. Graham summarizes his points, writing: “For their part Cabinets exercised their authority not against local leaders but through them, and these landed bosses, in turn, sought not to oppose the government but to participate in it. Thus emerges a crucial point in understanding politics in nineteenth-century Brazil that greatly lessens the significance of any opposition between private and public power.”

¹⁰ Ibid., 27-29, 61-63.
maintain their dominance locally” as “fear of revolution quickly tempered the desire for local autonomy” because “legitimizing [their] authority with the weight of a traditional monarchy, served them better than they would expect from fragmented republics”\(^\text{11}\). Some commercial interests tied to the crown were even able to obtain commercial monopolies. Patronage, impressment, and legitimacy were provided local bosses in exchange for their loyalty to Rio. In return, high taxes transferring wealth to the center-south were enforced, taxes that hurt small producers and merchants. It is interesting to note that the Confederation of the Equator was primarily supported in Northern Pernambuco where cotton was grown and opposed in Southern Pernambuco where sugar was grown in the context of Graham’s observation that “[m]ost of the production of long-staple cotton – native to Brazil – centered in the less humid, slightly higher regions of the Northeast” and that “[s]mall farmers predominated in this area” because “in the cotton- and food-raising area…the landlords…frequently did not possess any slaves and peopled their estates almost entirely with *moradores*” (“residents”) but sugar production was almost exclusively based on latifundiary estates\(^\text{12}\).

Graham analyzes the scope of centralization in Rio in the nineteenth century, helping to define the term in the Brazilian context. The executive branch in Rio came to possess the power to dismiss the national assembly at will, appoint powerful provincial governors and lieutenant governors, choose lifetime senators among three elected candidates, appoint police commissioners and their deputies who not only enforced the majority of laws but actually judged some cases and in turn possessed the power to supervise elections and appoint the inspectors who represented the law at the most local level - the Emperor’s Cabinet even appointed all

\(^{11}\) Ibid., 40, 42, 43, 49, 69, 70.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., 14-15, 21.
officers to the National Guard and most judges and dispensed monetary rewards to all officials.\(^{13}\)

Graham analyzed letters written in Brazil during this period of time. Letters requesting specific appointments directed at patrons at various levels in the pyramid of connections lead Graham to conclude that very rarely did people write asking anything for themselves in the typical manner one would apply for a job, but relied on someone with an “in” to pass on the recommendation, congressional representatives being frequent letter writers for their own patron’s clients as directed by their patron, requesting appointments for judgeships but also such positions as court reporters and notary publics and doormen for public buildings and musicians to play at festivals, and even being admitted to practice law or medicine required connections.\(^{14}\)

Aside from the extraction of local wealth, Graham identifies another side-effect of this centralization - violence. Graham claims that one can speak of a Conservative Party and a Liberal Party in general terms, but they were hardly consistent in terms of programs, both parties moving towards limiting the number of voters through various requirements and increasing the number of public employees as the century progressed.\(^{15}\) In other words, according to Graham, the parties had no specific ideology. To displace another local boss in the network of power, local elites had to prove that they could disrupt the ability of another patron to maintain order, often by using violence, causing enough violence that Rio would feel compelled to absorb them and extract someone else, such that there was a built-in incentive for conflict and for the central

\(^{13}\) Ibid., 47, 53, 55, 57-59, 61, 65, 83, 88, 92, 94, 102.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., 214-215, 217, 219, 222, 224.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., 159, 162, 169, 175, 176, 177, 181, 200-205, 210.
government to attempt to stabilize the situation by interfering through such methods as altering appointments and balancing out competing interests or choosing one winner\textsuperscript{16}.

Graham helps to define a term of art used by the above-mentioned academics when they write that the Confederation was opposed to centralization. According to Graham, centralization implies a transfer of wealth to the center-south enforced by local elites in exchange for the tools discussed above. Graham notes that it would be a mistake to conclude from the fact that national parties were somewhat unimportant and local interests were powerful that Brazil was a decentralized society as patrons “were spread out over an immense area, establishing patron-client ties that helped weld all of Brazil’s territory into a single system of patronage, despite its regional currents” and this did not change with the arrival of the republic as the army gained power and brought an end to the monarchy in 1889 as spending on officials remained fairly constant\textsuperscript{17}. According to Graham, opposition to this structure motivated revolts promising to take away the tools given to local elites by Rio (stopping impressment by eliminating a national military and eliminating patronage via reducing the number of offices that could be used as bribes) and the gifts local elites would give in exchange (enforcing high taxes).

Centralization may also have meant the expropriation of land, although Graham does not discuss this possibility. Some academics have addressed the role of the central government in concentrating land ownership in Brazil, such as Lígia Osorio Silva in \textit{Terras devolutas e latifúndio: efeitos da lei de 1850} (Reclaimed lands and the latifundio: the effects of the 1850 law). Although she focuses on a specific law passed in 1850, she notes that, during colonization in Brazil, lands given to particular individuals had been inaccurately measured, most people

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 122-123, 128, 131, 133.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 232, 266, 268.
having very little idea of where specific properties began or ended, the system for registering property full of bureaucratic complexities leading many to simply take possession of land and call it their own, a situation that continued after independence because most land was not occupied. Slowly, after independence, the local police and courts came under central control at the same time as there was confusion about who had title to which parcel of land, leading to debate about new regulations requiring some level of sophistication to register property and about appointing government officials to measure the bounds of land ownership and to establish ownership of public lands. In some cases, small holders were declared illegal and vast tracts of unpopulated land were transferred into the hands of the politically connected. Osorio Silva does not address whether movements for regional autonomy sought to address fears related to expanding latifundios but she does help define centralization and its side-effects as discussed by historians writing about the Confederation.

Scholarship regarding cultural production deploying the Confederation focuses on individual works. Professor Éverton Barbosa Correia analyzes author Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto’s 1984 poem about Frei Caneca’s execution Auto do Frade (Auto of the Friar) in his 2000 "Um auto cabralino em suas vertentes" (A Cabral Auto and its contours). Correia notes that Cabral had used Frei Caneca in the past, notably in the poem "Frei Caneca no Rio de Janeiro" (Frei Caneca in Rio de Janeiro) in the 1975 book Museu de Tudo (museum of everything), in which Cabral describes a “crioulo e enciclopedista” (creole and bookish) Frei Caneca lamenting in the twentieth century that Frei Caneca street in Rio is on the same street as a jail named after

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18 Silva, Terras devolutas, 52 -53, 69.

19 Ibid., 86-87, 90, 142, 168, 180.
him, a place where individuals might be imprisoned for expressing their views\textsuperscript{20}. Correia views the poem as suggesting that the government had unjustly coopted Caneca\textsuperscript{21}. He does not indicate how naming a prison complex after Caneca is an injustice to Caneca’s original ideology.

Correia notes that J\textsuperscript{o}ao Cabral de Melo Neto uses Caneca in the poem "Descri\c{c}\~ao de Pernambuco como um trampolim" (description of Pernambuco as a trampoline) in \textit{Escola das facas} (school of knives) in which the author notes that the trampoline of Pernambuco is a workshop teaching one how to sharpen stones and knives and that no one knew how to do this better than Frei Caneca which Correia does not connect to the history of revolts in the province\textsuperscript{22}. Correia focuses primarily on \textit{Auto do frade}, a play consisting of anonymous members of a crowd discussing Frei Caneca, observers making comments that Caneca was being treated like a subhuman animal by the authorities. In his 2007 "A poética do engenho: a obra de J\textsuperscript{o}ao Cabral sob a perspectiva canavieira" (the poetics of the mill: the works of J\textsuperscript{o}ao Cabral through a sugar cane perspective), Correia again discusses the impact of the Confederation of the

\textsuperscript{20} Correia, "Um auto cabralino," 12.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 13, 14, 16. Correia does not discuss the appropriation of the figures of the Confederation by the First Republic regime, discussed in chapter 4 herein, but he states that Caneca's ideals did not match the ideals of regimes deploying the Confederation prior to J\textsuperscript{o}ao Cabral Melo Neto addressing Caneca as subject matter: “[i]deais esses que em nada tocam, entretanto, a significação posterior que foi criada em torno de sua figura, que o enclausuramento em nome da rua explora e, por extensão, a construção do poeta também” ("ideals which did not match the subsequent meaning created around his figure, which the jail with the same name as the road explores and, by extension, the work of the poet as well"). Correia seems to believe that Melo Neto's version of Caneca's ideals is the correct version but, as discussed herein, Melo Neto changed certain aspects of the original ideology.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 26, 29-30. The line in J\textsuperscript{o}ao Cabral de Melo Neto’s poem states that Pernambuco “é oficina que ensina a aguçar setas, pedras: quem melhor soube usar disso que Frei Caneca?” ("is a workshop which teaches to sharpen arrows, rocks: who knew how to make use of this better than Frei Caneca?"). Correia does not connect the poem to the history of anti-centralism in the region.
Equator on Jôao Cabral’s work, including depictions of other figures, such as Natividade Saldanha. Correia does not address the ideas of the Confederation in that work.

Professor Rosangela Patriota of the Federal University at Uberlândia has written about repression suffered by revolutionary theater groups, such as the burning of the theater building of the União Nacional dos Estudantes (National Student’s Union) in Rio and arrests or threats of arrest of activist dramatists as the government cracked down, as in most of Latin America, against the possibility of another Cuba in the sixties and seventies. In one of her articles, she introduces the São Pedro Theater in the city of São Paulo as an artistic space putting on plays after 1968, transformed because it was purchased by the couple Maurício and Beatriz Segall who began to allow the space to be used to put on plays critical of the military regime, developing a theatrical language appealing to more than just a limited public but well-crafted enough to be considered high quality productions, choosing to put on a play by the writer Carlos Queiroz Telles about Frei Caneca. Patriota views the play as having been put on as part of an anti-dictatorial movement based out of this theater and she analyzes various parts of the play - such as when a blind man begging outside a church tells Caneca that it is better to use codenames to hide one’s identity explaining why he goes by “Cego da Penha” ("Blind man from Penha") as opposed to his real name or when Caneca remarks that his revolutionary ideas came to him from viewing his father work all day like a beaten down mule or when Caneca looks to the future and remarks that the movement will require new leaders - as representing double entendre moments.

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23 Ibid., 170-171.

24 Patriota, “Arte e resistência.” The article presents a summary of theater as platform for resistance to the dictatorship during the mid-to-late twentieth century.

fitting into nineteenth century history but engaging with the reality in 1972, when socialist and communist movements against the post-1964 dictatorship were driven underground, marginalized after an explosive period in the late sixties. Patriota writes in another article analyzing this play by Carlos Queiroz Telles that she views the play as intended to cause the audience to reflect on priests in the 1970s, several of them tied to Liberation Theology, priests who had established ecclesiastical communities in the poorest regions of the country and organized groups for worship but also to demand education and labor rights, some of these priests jailed and tortured. Patriota identifies a connection between Caneca and the anti-dictatorship movement in the twentieth century but she does not identify the original pillars of the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator and how that ideology was deployed by Queiroz Telles.

In summary, the literature about the Confederation of the Equator has primarily focused on its economic and factional causes, although some scholars have analyzed the ideology of the Confederation and use general terms such as "republican" or "liberal" to classify the movement. Anti-centralism is identified as an ideological tenet of the rebels and the term carries a specific meaning in scholarship about nineteenth century Brazil as opposition to a colonial relationship between the center-south and other regions. With regards to cultural production about the Confederation, the academic literature has addressed works by Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto and

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26 Ibid., 5, 7. The Cego da Penha state that “em tempo de tanta intriga, é melhor a gente não ter nome certo” ("in times of such intrigue, it is better that we not have a defined name"). Caneca says that he got his ideas from seeing his father “trabalhar o dia inteiro feito um burro de carga para ganhar uma miséria” ("work all day like a work donkey to earn a pittance"). Caneca goes on to say that “vamos precisar de novos chefes” ("we will need new leaders") for the resistance. Patriota discusses these moments and others as carrying dual meanings.

Carlos Queiroz Telles without discussing how the ideology of the Confederation was or was not deployed by these cultural producers. Herein, other cultural producers deploying the Confederation are discussed in addition to Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto and Carlos Queiroz Telles and the ideology of the Confederation is contrasted with the ideology embodied in artistic representations of the Confederation. By analyzing how the ideas of the Confederation are adopted or changed by particular cultural producers, the impact of the confederation and its ideas on cultural production can be detected.

**My Objectives and Methodology in this Work**

This work seeks to prove that the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator has had and continues to have a significant impact on Brazilian cultural production because cultural producers have felt an obligation to address the 1824 movement and to interact with its ideas throughout the nation’s history. Ideology and culture are concepts which cannot be measured with a significant amount of accuracy. The approach followed herein is to describe the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator and then to discuss in chronological order how cultural producers felt the need to interact with that ideology during three periods: the early to mid nineteenth century; the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

In terms of identifying the ideology of the Confederation, I do not examine the socioeconomic sources of the ideology of the rebellion. Instead, I read and analyze the periodicals written by the journalists of the Confederation of the Equator, focusing particularly on its most well-known members, their writings disseminated throughout the country. I identify the following tenets in their ideology:
Constitutionalism – The journalists of the Confederation of the Equator wanted a constitutional convention to be called and they wanted the new constitution to reflect the following values.

- Individual rights, due process of law, and equality under the law: the journalists of the Confederation of the Equator supported free speech, freedom of worship, opposition to caste systems and the gradual abolition of slavery. They criticize arbitrariness using the terms *governo arbitrário* (arbitrary government) and *arbitrariedade* (arbitrariness) frequently, stating that legal proceedings follow different rules depending on which group is affected. They thus seek objective legal procedures that cannot be manipulated as easily. They opposed the creation of titles such as Baron and Count, believing that the special privileges assigned to such titles should be eliminated.

- Anti-centralism: they believed that there should be no national army, no national bank, and no direct taxation by Rio. Officials, including judges and law-enforcement officials should be appointed by local authorities. Anti-centralism can also be characterized as localism, discussed below.

- Democracy: officials should be elected at the local and federal level. Furthermore, they opposed the existence of a senate because they believed it would reflect the wealthiest elements in society, supporting a unicameral system.

- Separation of Powers: they wanted limits on the creation of ministries and, specifically, they objected to the *poder moderador*, the power of the emperor to dismiss an elected body if he felt that the legislation was against his interests, which amounted to an absolute veto.

Localism – The journalists of the Confederation of the Equator stood for the idea of the local in the following ways.
• **Local production**: they wanted to build a domestic market. As mentioned above, their constitution would limit the federal government, but they cite the need to stop purchasing goods made outside of the country. They also emphasize the need to invest in local manufacturing, standing for the idea that a diverse local economy is better than a monocultural export-based economy. Referring to *luxos* (luxuries) as imported goods, they believe that more should be spent on developing local agriculture and claim that sending money to Rio obstructs this goal. They express views in favor of protectionism.

• **Northeastern nationalism**: they express admiration for the history of the region, praising its spirit. They lament the subjugation of the people of the northeast to the center-south. Natividade Saldanha, for example, writes a book wherein heroes from seventeenth century Pernambuco are lauded. The racial issue is important here because the participants not only oppose caste distinctions but they claim racism as a whole is wrong and non-sensical, accusing those surrounding the emperor of planning to return Brazil to its colonizer because they didn’t want the emperor ruling over a brown nation. The northeast is the region of the country which imported the most slaves and affirmation of anti-racist principles can serve as an affirmation of the character of the region.

**Americanism**: References to American states include centralist and anti-centralist figures. We see frequent statements to the effect that American states are republican or even democratic in nature while European states are despotic. A comparison is sometimes made between Augustín I, an emperor who ruled over Mexico a short time and was overthrown, and Dom Pedro, emperor of Brazil.
Discourse Against Excessive Wealth: The rhetoric against excessive wealth is constant in many of these periodicals. Their opponents are the fat cats, the big shots, the aristocrats, the wealthy parasites, etc.

Religion: The language of religion is used constantly. The members of the Confederation of the Equator turn their beliefs into a fé da liberdade (liberty faith). Their periodicals make frequent reference to the notion that kings are not chosen by God and that civil society is sacred. They take issue with Jesuits and propose a version of Catholicism wherein pluralism is tolerated.

Note that discourse against excessive wealth, Americanism and religion do not necessarily involve concrete goals but are linguistic tools appealing to a segment of the population. Religion, discourse against excessive wealth, and Americanism appear frequently but they might be better characterized as part of the language of protest rather than reflecting concrete objectives but this would depend on how they relate to the more concrete objectives the journalists presented, and no attempt is made herein to generate a coherent philosophical system. The approach followed in this work, rather, is to distill these themes from an analysis of their periodicals.

In terms of cultural production deploying the Confederation, I performed a search for works with the Confederation as subject matter utilizing a variety of tools described below. The cultural producers addressing the Confederation used the following forms of cultural production: ideological pamphlets, literary magazines, poems, paintings and plays.

In terms of periodicals post-1824, I first researched secondary sources about movements in nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first century Brazil. The secondary sources identified particular periodicals associated with each respective movement. I located these periodicals via the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library) in Rio, which has an extensive newspapers and
periodicals collection. I read these periodicals, searching for any mention of the Confederation of the Equator and its participants. The secondary sources I consulted are those listed in my works cited section. As noted herein, some of the most well-known journalists in the country addressed the ideas of the Confederation.

In terms of plays, I consulted the Biblioteca de Peças Teatrais (Library of Plays) at the University of Ubêrlandia in the state of Minas Gerais, which stores copyrighted plays, searching their catalogues for plays named after the Confederation or its participants, or containing any reference to these individuals and events in the summary of the play. Some plays in Brazil, however, were never registered as far as copyright but efforts were made to preserve the plays for posterity. The Sociedade Brasileira de Autores (Brazilian Society of Authors), established in 1917 and continuing to this day, maintains a library of over thirty-five thousand plays and I searched their archives, following the same approach but using keywords in their electronic search tools. In the course of researching these plays, I attempted to get in touch with these authors but most had passed away. I was, however, able to interview a woman named Vilma Dulcetti who was one of the most famous theater directors in Brazil in the seventies and eighties and who had worked with one of the authors of the plays about Frei Caneca. Our personal interview lasted for over two hours and reference to the interview is made herein.

In terms of novels, I utilized the catalogues of the National Library in Rio, searching them for keywords in titles and descriptions. In terms of poems, I performed an additional search of poems known as literatura de cordel (chapbooks) via the Biblioteca Belmonte (Belmonte Library) in the city of São Paulo, which maintains a library of chapbooks. Most chapbooks were written by authors about whom little to no information is available, making tying these chapbooks to particular movements difficult. The production of chapbooks in Brazil was and is
most common in the northeastern states although some chapbooks have been produced in other regions, and they illustrate that the participants of the Confederation of the Equator became regional symbols. As far as political content apart from these figures being used as symbols of regional pride, I found very little and therefore do not engage in an extensive discussion of these chapbooks herein.

Imperfections in my methodology were unavoidable. In terms of songs with lyrical content mentioning the Confederation of the Equator, for example, I could not find a reliable database for searching lyrical content. I did locate commercial websites allowing for a search of lyrics but I could not tie the songs I found to any political movement, the references to Caneca and the other participants in the Confederation mostly relating to streets named after them. Furthermore, these databases contained songs written within the last decade but not songs from previous decades. In terms of film, the Brazilian Ministry of Culture maintains a Cinemateca Brasileira (Brazilian Cinema Library) in the city of Vila Mariana, São Paulo, and I was able to locate a listing for a film about Frei Caneca titled Frei Caneca registered in 1977 based on a play discussed herein by the playwright Carlos Queiroz Telles. Queiroz Telles was actually credited with co-writing the script to the film but the Cinemateca lists the film as a filme desaparecido (disappeared film). My personal conversations with personnel at the library indicates that they have a record of the director requesting funding from the government-funded company Embrasilme created by the dictatorship in 1969 to finance domestic films but they have no record of the film ever having been made, the government most likely rejecting the request for funds.

My research revealed that the participants of the Confederation of the Equator were discussed in many revolutionary periodicals over the course of the nineteenth century. During this period of time, the anti-centralist ideas of the Confederation formed the primary ideological
component addressed but discourse against excessive wealth and even religiosity also appear as themes. In essence, the ideology of the movements citing the Confederation in the early to mid-nineteenth century reflected most of the ideas presented by Frei Caneca, Cipriano Barata and others.

Over the course of the period lasting from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century known as the First Republic, the participants of the Confederation of the Equator were used for street names, prison names, and studies by academics who described them as patriots. A number of cities in Brazil contain streets named after the participants of the 1824 revolt: Rio, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Recife, Curitiba, Florianópolis, Santos, Campinas, Belo Horizonte, Fortaleza, Natal, João Pessoa, São Luís, Maceió, Teresina, Passo Fundo, Pelotas, and the list goes on and on. The ideology of the cultural producers deploying the Confederation during the First Republic matched the original ideology of the Confederation in some respects but not others. As opposed to Americanism and discourse against excessive wealth, for example, these authors tended to support the Europeanism and elitism of a tropical Belle Époque discussed in Chapter 4. First Republic cultural producers did not represent the Confederation as an anti-centralist revolt or as one for democratic representative institutions. During the Estado Novo dictatorship lasting from the early twentieth to the mid twentieth century, the Confederation was repudiated by figures such as Câmara Cascudo and Gustavo Barroso as representing dangerous Enlightenment ideals, depicted as a masonic coup by international capitalists. After the sixties, Frei Caneca became the subject of plays written by anti-dictatorship authors, transformed into a symbol for socialist movements.

My purpose is to prove that the Confederation movement and the ideas the movement represented have affected cultural production in Brazil. I examine how authors associated with
movements in Brazilian history deployed the Confederation of the Equator as a symbol for their movement, appropriating parts of the ideology of the Confederation for their own purposes. I conclude that, with the exception of the Estado Novo ideologues who outrightly rejected the ideals of the Confederation, most cultural producers tied to movements were at least in part faithful to the ideology of the Confederation even if these movements represented ideologies that differed from those of the Confederation. Analyzing the impact of the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator is important because two of the major authors in the country, the poet and playwright João Cabral de Melo Neto and the playwright Carlos Queiroz Telles, wrote well-received works about the Confederation, and because other cultural producers associated with some of the most important social movements in the country’s history have been inspired by the Confederation. My argument is not that complicated: to understand Brazilian culture, we must understand the ideology of the Confederation and how that ideology has been used by cultural producers over the country’s history because so many influential cultural producers felt the need to address the ideas behind the 1824 movement.

Outline of Chapters

The first chapter goes into the history of the Confederation of the Equator. The 1824 revolution came after another revolution in Pernambuco in 1817. The 1817 and 1824 revolutions were waged against different enemies. The 1817 revolution was waged against Portugal for independence. The 1824 revolution was waged against Rio. The 1817 revolution was led by the wealthiest creoles in Pernambuco with support from the middle class and the poor. The 1824 revolution was opposed by the wealthiest elements in Pernambuco and was led by the middle class. The first chapter seeks to provide the reader with an understanding of the historical events surrounding the Confederation of the Equator and its participants.
The second chapter elaborates the ideology found in the periodicals of the participants of the Confederation of the Equator in more detail. The objective is to provide the reader with a familiarity with the *exaltado* thought of the 1824 movement.

The third chapter focuses on how journalists appropriated the Confederation of the Equador during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Numerous large-scale revolts occurred in Brazil during this period, mostly outside the center-south, in the northeast and the southernmost states. I review the periodicals of these movements and find that many cite the Confederation of the Equator as an inspiration. Most of these periodicals focus on the anti-centralist ideal of the Confederation but discourse against excessive wealth and religious ideals are also present. I could not find plays or other works addressing the Confederation. The primary purpose of the third chapter is to provide the reader with an understanding about how the ideas behind the 1824 revolution survived into later periods of time when a more ample cultural sphere came into existence.

The fourth chapter focuses on the Confederation of the Equator from the nineteenth century to the sixties in the twentieth century, and is divided into two sections: one addressing the First Republic lasting from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, and another addressing the Estado Novo regime lasting from the early twentieth to the mid-twentieth century. I conclude that cultural producers who addressed the Confederation as a topic during the First Republic did so without including overt discourse against excessive wealth, Americanism, anti-centralism or support for democratic institutions. During the Estado Novo, the supporters of the fascist movement known as national integralism outrightly rejected the Confederation as a prime example of poisonous ideas which could weaken the nation and expose it to the whims of international financiers. The Confederation during this period becomes a subject for painters like
Antônio Parreiras and Murillo La Greca, as well as authors like Gonzaga Duque, Câmara Cascudo, Gustavo Barroso, and others.

The fifth chapter discusses the role of the figures of the Confederation in the post-1964 dictatorship. Frei Caneca, in particular is deployed by a number of anti-dictatorship playwrights. Caneca becomes a symbol of democracy. In some circles, he becomes a symbol of socialism. Many participants of the anti-dictatorship movement were also communist supporters of Castro who wanted to implant a similar regime in Brazil but they used Caneca to criticize the authoritarian tendencies of the military government and to symbolize class-based revolt, appropriating the discourse against excessive wealth of the Confederation. Thus, I conclude that the anti-dictatorship activists who deployed the Confederation during this period transformed Caneca’s support for formal legal rights into support for effective rights, and they utilized the Confederation to criticize the anti-democratic and arbitrary practices of the military regime, including torture and arrests without due process of law. João Cabral de Melo Neto and Carlos Queiroz Telles are discussed in this chapter.

Finally, I end with my conclusion. In the conclusion, I assert that the Confederation and its ideology have had a profound impact on the arts in Brazil, stretching far beyond the few months the rebels held power in 1824. Rather, the impact of their ideas are still felt today. Cultural producers tied to political visions have to address the ideas of the Confederation in Brazil. I conclude by presenting possible reasons as to why this obligation seems to present itself so frequently over the course of the centuries.
Chapter 1:
The 1824 Movement

In 1817, rebels in the state of Pernambuco waged a war for independence against Portuguese rule. The movement was brutally suppressed in a matter of months, the participants jailed or executed. In 1820, a revolution in Portugal known as the Revolução do Porto (Porto Revolution) obtained constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press for Portugal and its colonies as well as due process guarantees resulting in the release of many of the 1817 rebels. Periodicals began circulating in Pernambuco without prior restraint, some of these periodicals written by the freed 1817 revolutionaries. In 1822, the son of the Portuguese monarch declared Brazil an independent kingdom ruled by a separate monarchy, his own branch of the House of Braganza. In 1824, a revolt against this monarchy in Rio occurred in the state of Pernambuco shortly after a national constitutional convention with elected representatives had been dissolved by the monarch and a constitution drafted by the monarch had been offered to the states. The 1824 rebels aimed to convene a regional constitutional convention and rejected the monarch’s constitution. The revolt spread to other provinces in northeastern Brazil but was suppressed before a regional constitutional convention could be called.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section provides a description of the 1817 and 1824 revolts as historical events. The second section provides details regarding the participants in these revolts with an emphasis on the participants of the 1824 revolt.

The Revolts in Pernambuco in 1817 and 1824

On the 22nd of February of 1817, Pernambuco Governor Caetano Pinto de Miranda Montenegro ordered an increase in forced military recruitment, 734 recruitments occurring in
total, men of allegedly bad morals between the ages of 16 and 60 arrested and their eligibility to serve evaluated afterwards, forcibly recruited Brazilians arguing and physically struggling with Portuguese officers\(^1\). The 1817 revolt began less than two weeks later, on the 6th of March of 1817. On that day, Caetano Pinto was informed by spies that the merchant Domingos José Martins had purchased armaments and was planning to overthrow him and opted to arrest Martins and his known associates that same day\(^2\). The arrest led to a conflict within the armed forces. A captain killed a brigadier shortly after Martins was arrested, resulting in a lieutenant colonel arriving on the scene to investigate, this lieutenant colonel also immediately killed, thereafter a mutiny spreading, Lieutenant Antônio Henriques Rabelo moving to organize troops to free Martins and others who had also been arrested, the military comprised of many forcibly recruited men so thoroughly in revolt that Caetano Pinto stepped down the next day and fled, the 7th of March seeing a new government\(^3\).

A provisional junta assisted by a council of “illustrious” men chosen by municipal authorities would rule via majority vote aided by two secretaries of state and a treasurer and the bishop until all parts of the state had been pacified and brought to the cause – freedom of the press was guaranteed immediately and, although Catholicism would remain the official faith, other faiths would not be prohibited\(^4\). The sedition was quickly and violently crushed by troops from outside the state.

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\(^3\) Leite, *Pernambuco 1817*, 183-184, 186.

After the revolt, businessman Gervásio Pires Ferreira assumed leadership, forming a junta closely tied to some of the revolutionaries of 1817 to appease rebel elements. When the Lisbon-born regent prince of Brazil, Dom Pedro I, decided in 1822 to create a separate branch of the Braganças, independent from the European monarchy, the junta in Pernambuco originally vacillated between Portuguese rule or rule by the new monarchy in Rio, only tortuously arriving at the decision to support independence via a Brazilian constitutional monarchy and even then refusing to pass on shipments of wood to Rio to help guarantee loans. Gervásio was replaced by a group of wealthy, rural property owners supportive of the project of a constitutional monarchy, the municipal assemblies in the cities of Olinda and Recife nominating representatives for a national Constitutional Assembly.

The Constitutional Assembly in Rio was immediately affected by censorship and arrests that kept some representatives from being seated, and the monarch soon manifested his belief in his right to appoint the heads of each province. The Pernambuco junta of powerful rural bosses led by Francisco Paes Barreto attempted to maintain a faction calling for state autonomy under control but news reached the state in December of 1823 that the monarch had tempestuously dismissed the constitutional convention in November of 1823 after discovering that limits would be placed on his authority and outrage in Pernambuco led to the fall of Paes Barreto and the installation of Manoel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade.

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6 Ibid., 80-81, 84-85, 105-106.

7 Ibid., 109, 113, 115, 117, 119, 143-144.

8 Ibid., 147, 151.

9 Ibid., 157-159, 161.
Manoel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade was leader of the anti-centralists opposed to the *unitários* (unitary faction) led by Francisco Paes Barreto. Dom Pedro I, now the Emperor of Brazil, announced that he would appoint provincial presidents, but Pernambuco’s state council stood in defiance by appointing Carvalho Paes de Andrade and refused to accept Imperial orders to the effect that Francisco Paes Barreto be restored to the presidency. When ships led by British mercenary John Taylor came to Recife in March 1824 to forcibly install Paes Barreto as President of the province, the state council met with Father Venâncio Henrique de Rezende presiding alongside the journalist Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca, leading to the decision to uphold the state’s right to appoint Paes de Andrade, forcing Taylor to impose a blockade, the tension so palpable that even a decision by the Emperor to substitute Paes Barreto with the bureaucrat José Carlos Mayrink da Silva Ferrão was rejected[^10]. Frei Caneca refused to consider an alternative constitutional project proposed by the Emperor, persuading others of the need to do the same, and Paes de Andrade issued a call to arms for the whole North on the 2nd of July, 1824[^11]. Paes de Andrade’s call to arms announced the formation of a *Confederação do Equador* which would be comprised of northeastern states but the rebel government only lasted until the 17th of September and no such confederation government was ever formed.

The *confederados* (confederates), led by Paes de Andrade, banned the importation of slaves into Pernambuco and repeatedly called for the northern provinces to form a confederation[^12]. Issues of Frei Caneca’s newspaper, the *Typhis Pernambucano* (Tiphys of

[^12]: Ibid., 109-110.
Pernambuco), were sent to other provinces by the rebel government of Pernambuco and, in Ceará, the president nominated by the Emperor was replaced by Tristão Gonçalves de Alencar Araripe, who adhered to the Confederation. Although a confederation of the region today forming Piauí, Ceará, Alagoas, Sergipe, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Pernambuco did not end up forming as planned by the rebels, as the rebellion was mostly focused on Pernambuco, Paraíba and Ceará, a war did ensue wherein local artisans in these states were mobilized to help build defenses, active recruitment including the pardoning of deserters was instituted, and a makeshift navy was formed from the commercial ships that could be obtained, the rebels prepared to go to war over the dissolution of the constitutional assembly and their less centralized model of nationhood which they hoped would ignite revolts elsewhere, including the South. The revolt did not spread to states outside the northeast, however.

British mercenary Lord Cochrane was sent to embargo Pernambuco, bringing troops for a ground invasion which was ultimately realized, but the rebels would not give up easily and, even when decisively beaten, marched to Ceará to regroup, only surrendering on the 29th of November of 1824 after it was clear they could not muster a large enough effort to retake Pernambuco. Canecá was executed on the 13th of January of 1825 being found guilty of the crime of disseminating revolutionary newspaper articles on the 23rd of December of 1824, Canecá attempting to defend himself by apologizing for some of his more indecent comments, his use of insults in his writings. The revolt had been suppressed after just a few months.

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13 Ibid., 112, 114.
14 Ibid., 115-118.
15 Ibid., 122, 125-127.
16 Ibid., 129, 131, 134.
Who were the participants in these revolts?

The 1817 and 1824 revolts were led by different sectors of society. The 1817 revolution was led by creole elites but also counted on popular support, coming to represent commercial independence from Portugal but also a fight of rich against poor and the elimination of color-based barriers to personal success not only among the third or so of the population of the state who were slaves but free men of color\(^\text{17}\). Wealthy merchants who aimed to do away with trade restrictions imposed by the Portuguese, such as Gervásio Pires Ferreira, Bento José da Costa, and the man viewed as the main leader of the sedition, Domingos José Martins, were leaders in the 1817 movement\(^\text{18}\). Domingos José Martins, once the operator of a commercial establishment in London and the official leader of the sedition, immediately nominated wealthy men such as Manuel Correa de Araújo to represent large-scale agricultural interests in the 1817 rebel government\(^\text{19}\). Maintaining a careful balance between idealists who opposed slavery and powerful property owners, the leaders of the 1817 revolt claimed to believe in equal rights and the eventual abolition of slavery but also in respect for property rights, brushing off notions of immediate abolition but enlisting slaves into battalions by promising them freedom, attracting free men of color like the cooper Joaquim Ramos de Almeida, who served as sergeant in the movement, Martinho da Cunha Porto, who served as captain of a regiment of *pardos* (brown people), Filipe Alexandre da Silva, captain of another regiment of *pardos*, the tailor Francisco Dornellas Pessoa and his brother José do Ó Barbosa, captains who sewed the flags of the new

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\(^{17}\) Ibid., 19, 29, 33, 39.

\(^{18}\) Ibid., 125.

\(^{19}\) Leite, *Pernambuco 1824*, 189-190; Quintas, *A revolução de 1817*, 96, 104.
Pernambuco republic, and many others - the revolutionaries were thus accused by their opponents of having made people of color feel overly empowered, men like the cobbler Antônio Luís preaching Pernambucan independence in the streets\(^{20}\).

The 1824 movement counted on the same popular support but was led by a different class: the priest Frei Caneca who was a professor at a seminary and not part of the higher echelons of the clergy in the state; Manuel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade, a marine intendant not part of the highest level of officers in the state; the ideological journalist Jôao Soares Lisboa; and Natividade Saldanha, a lawyer from a lower-caste background. It was understood at the time that the lower and middle classes were active in the 1824 movement in Pernambuco, opposed by the wealthiest families of the province\(^{21}\).

Aside from the fact that the 1817 revolution against Portugal was led by a multi-class coalition including the wealthiest families and the 1824 movement against Rio was opposed by the wealthiest families, another important difference between the two movements is the fact that the 1824 movement was led by journalists who published pamphlets. After 1820, pamphlets could be published in Brazil without prior restraint. Thus, the period lasting from 1820 to 1824 saw the development of ideological newspapers.

The anti-centralist writers who participated in the 1824 revolt were a heterogeneous, colorful, unique group. José da Natividade Saldanha was a poet and lawyer of partial African descent born in the tiny town of Jaboatão, Pernambuco, on the 8th of September 1796 to a vicar from the equally obscure city of Serinhãem named Jôao José de Saldanha Marinho and a poor woman. Natividade Saldanha’s poems about the heroes of the province earned him popularity,


\(^{21}\) Leite, *Pernambuco 1824*, 69, 71.
perhaps influencing his nomination to the position of secretary of state of the Confederation of the Equator after the province began moving towards revolt due to the dissolution of the constitutional convention in November 1823, a post he held until the occupation of Recife in September of 1824. After the occupation of Recife, Natividade Saldanha fled to Philadelphia and Manoel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade fled to England\textsuperscript{22}. Natividade Saldanha was a world traveler, studying law in Coimbra after graduating from the seminary in Olinda in Pernambuco, returning to his home province to practice law when the dissolution of the convention brought him into prominence as poet and editor of the newspaper \textit{Argos Pernambucano} (Argos of Pernambuco), which he used to spread his republican gospel\textsuperscript{23}. After seeing his cause lost and fleeing to North America, he spent some time in France, and then moved to Bolívar’s Gran Colombia, teaching Latin until dying under mysterious circumstances, leaving behind his 1822 \textit{Poemas oferecidos aos amantes do Brasil} (Poems offered to those who love Brazil) focusing on leaders from Pernambuco who fought off a Dutch invasion in the seventeenth century\textsuperscript{24}. Unfortunately, a play he wrote entitled \textit{Atahualpa} most likely about the Incan Emperor from Ecuador, was confiscated by French authorities and has been lost\textsuperscript{25}.

Another interesting personality is Jôao Guilherme Ratcliff, born the son of a Polish man in Portugal, traveling to Asia on more than one occasion, leaving the nation of his birth in November 1823 after insulting the queen, only arriving in Pernambuco after spending time in England and North America. Upon arriving in Pernambuco, he immediately enlisted with the

\textsuperscript{22} Farias, \textit{Mergulho no Letes}, 22, 25-28, 137, 140, 143.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 140-144, 160.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 141, 143, 145-146, 155-157.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 169.
rebels and was entrusted with a ship in the Confederation’s makeshift navy despite a total lack of experience with commanding ships.\textsuperscript{26} It should come as no surprise that Ratcliff, not being a military man, was ultimately captured and jailed in Rio de Janeiro, where he wrote notes on the margins of a book later discovered and in which he rejected the idea of titles, aristocracy, nobility, and the arbitrariness of tyranny, before being beheaded after being denounced as one of the main agitators of 1824.\textsuperscript{27} Along with J\^oao Soares Lisboa, also born in Portugal, republican editor of the \textit{Correio do Rio de Janeiro} (Rio de Janeiro Mail) published in Rio, a periodical which earned him a jail sentence for its incendiary remarks, and \textit{Dezengano aos Brasileiros} (disillusionment for the Brazilians), published in Recife after he had been released from jail and had officially joined the 1824 revolt in which he lost his life in battle, Ratcliff formed part of a group of international idealists finding themselves in Pernambuco less due to personal ties to the province but a commitment to a political vision.\textsuperscript{28}

While Saldanha left behind his poems and political writings, Soares Lisboa left his political writings, and Ratfliff left his notes, most participants left nothing at all – many were common people and some were foreigners attracted to the cause who left behind no record of their reasons for joining. The North American James Pinches served as postmaster general of the Confederation of the Equator while the young North American James Heide Rodgers was executed after having been nominated commander of a ship in the navy and captured, changing his name to Diogo and converting from Protestantism to Catholicism before his execution.\textsuperscript{29}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 34-36.
\item\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 37-40.
\item\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 105.
\item\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 57-60.
\end{itemize}
These figures, unlike Jôao Soares Lisboa, Cipriano Barata, and Frei Caneca, who often cited each other and published writings, left no record of their experiences, along with less scholarly figures such as Agostinho Cavalcati Bezerra de Sousa, in charge of the Henriques, the battalion of black men, and some figures about whom even less is known about because of their poor origins\textsuperscript{30}.

One of the most well-known supporters of the 1824 movement was Cipriano Barata. He was born the son of a Portuguese lieutenant on the 26th of September of 1762 in Salvador, Bahia, and educated at the university in Coimbra amidst battles still being waged between those who supported the enlightened despotism the Marquês de Pombal had sought to implement and the continuing, traditionalist religious opposition. The French Revolution occurred during his time overseas. Cipriano returned to Brazil a changed man in 1790 to work as a farmer and surgeon in Salvador, Bahia\textsuperscript{31}. Known to his neighbors as Baratinha (little Barata or dear Barata), he married, his wife Leonor Maria de Azevedo giving him his daughter Carlota, and by all accounts settled into life as a tenant farmer in a spartan, scarcely furnished house with his slaves living with him, the exact number of slaves unclear but constituting both men and women with their own children\textsuperscript{32}. The exact composition of Barata’s personal library is not known but he did possess tomes on agriculture as would be expected and a disproportionate number of books in French\textsuperscript{33}.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 50, 131.
\textsuperscript{31} Morel, Cipriano Barata, 27, 31, 34, 36, 38, 41.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 38, 41, 43, 44, 45.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 50, 53.
As an educated, middle-class, farmer, he felt the need to participate in the politics of his country, embroiling himself in local movements. He was arrested in Salvador in 1798 as one amongst forty-eight detainees, including slaves, held by the Portuguese Crown for being part of a group engaging in subversive meetings and pinning anti-Portuguese scrolls in public squares in favor of revolution, although Cipriano may in fact have tried to delay any independence movement by arguing that the French would come to free Bahia after freeing Europe, defending himself against charges by claiming the uneducated people he was arrested with misunderstood him, a strategy that may have worked as he was released\textsuperscript{34}. The brutal deaths of the four men executed as part of this \textit{Conjuração Baiana} (Conspiracy of Bahia) also known as the \textit{Revolta dos Alfaiates} (the Revolt of the Tailors), as some tailors were involved, their heads cut off and displayed and their bodies chopped into pieces with the pieces distributed throughout the busiest streets, wherein the participants may have created their own flag and planned an independent republic without slavery and discrimination, as well as without high taxes and monopolies, were to be seen as an example of what happens when one opposes the crown. After his release, Cipriano continued his political activities despite having more children, not fighting in the 1817 revolt in Pernambuco but making contacts with political prisoners like Frei Caneca who were transferred away from the instability of Pernambuco to the jails in Salvador, helping to gather funds for the sustenance of the prisoners\textsuperscript{35}.

What could we expect from Cipriano when a constitutional revolt threw Portugal, the metropolis, into disarray in 1820? He supported the junta that exercised control over Bahia,

\textsuperscript{34} Morel, \textit{Cipriano Barata}, 55, 61, 63, 66, 71, 76-77, 80; Garcia, \textit{Cipriano Barata}, 30-31.

armed with sword and pistol, although he was not nominated as a leader\textsuperscript{36}. Amidst the chaos, he was elected as a representative in the Portuguese assembly, opposing taxes, supporting Brazil’s right to trade with nations other than Portugal, arguing for popularly elected judges and the right to jury trials, defending the rights of the poor and even slaves to vote, physically fighting another representative who supported Portuguese troops being sent to crush a junta in Bahia, defending Brazil’s independence. He fled Lisbon furtively for Falmouth, England, on the British ship Duke of Malborough on the 6th of October in 1822 with other Brazilian representatives refusing to swear loyalty to the Portuguese constitution when Dom Pedro had called for a separate constitutional assembly to gather in Brazil, heading home to Brazil from England on the \textit{Snisluce}, almost arrested after that ship stopped in Madeira, arriving in Recife on the 21st of December of 1822\textsuperscript{37}.

Cipriano would begin publishing his newspaper, really a pamphlet or \textit{pasquim}, on the 9th of April of 1823, the date of the release of issue number one of the \textit{Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita de Pernambuco, Alerta!} (Sentinel of liberty in the sentry-box of Pernambuco, Alert!) through a local publishing house, where the pamphlets were sold and distributed, named Cavalcanti and Company, a four-page journal with long and wide pages, which would grow into eight pages through sixty-five numbers until the 15th of November of 1823\textsuperscript{38}. Although he occasionally wrote articles for other publications, such as the \textit{Gazeta Pernambucana}, and his articles were cited by newspapers such as J\text{"o}ao Soares Lisboa’s \textit{O Correio do Rio de Janeiro}, the

\textsuperscript{36} Morel, \textit{Cipriano Barata}, 119-121, 122; Garcia, \textit{Cipriano Barata}, 45-47.


\textsuperscript{38} Morel, \textit{Cipriano Barata}, 165, 168; Garcia, \textit{Cipriano Barata}, 81-82.
“watchman” or “sentry” of liberty became famous through the *Sentinela da Liberdade*, the title inspired by old testament prophets who were sentries of God. He was elected in Bahia to serve in the constitutional convention called by Dom Pedro to elaborate a new constitution despite Barata residing in Pernambuco and refusing to go because the majority forces were elaborating a much stronger national government than he could support, because the military surrounded the assembly in menacing fashion as if to showcase the power of Dom Pedro, and because he feared being assassinated for his views, representatives in the assembly holding up copies of the *Sentinela* to discourse on the risk of national disintegration.\(^{39}\)

Cipriano was arrested on the 16th of November of 1823 allegedly to force his presence at the Constitutional Assembly despite the fact that Dom Pedro had already dismissed the convention after claiming subversive views were being discussed, and was held at the Fortress of Brum, where he was able to smuggle out manuscripts and publish *Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita de Pernambuco, atacada e presa na Fortaleza de Brum por ordem da força armada reunida. Alerta!* (Sentinel of liberty in the sentry-box of Pernambuco, attacked and jailed in the Fortress of Brum by order of the united armed forces. Alert!) before being sent to Rio and only receiving a formal sentence in 1825, condemned to life in prison for his writings, shuffled from prison to prison in an attempt to isolate him, even serving some time aboard the prison ship *Presiganga*.\(^{40}\) The authorities refused to listen when the state assembly of Bahia and municipal council of Salvador requested his release, alongside the state government of Ceará, such that he

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\(^{40}\) Morel, *Cipriano Barata*, 183, 184, 199, 201, 203, 205, 218; Garcia, *Cipriano Barata*, 84-85, 88.
was only released in 1830, greeted by celebrations not only in Rio but as far South as Rio Grande do Sul\textsuperscript{41}.

After being released, Cipriano returned to Salvador on the 17th of December of 1830 and began publishing the \textit{Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita do Quartel General de Pirajá. Alerta!} (Sentinel of liberty in the sentry-box of the Pirajá general barracks. Alert!) on the 12th of January of 1831, as vitriolic as ever, as opposed to the aristocrats of Rio as ever, as vehement that moderate republicans who wanted to work within the existing system were traitors– it was only a matter of time before the authorities jailed him on the 13th of April 1831, less than a year after his release, sending him back to jail\textsuperscript{42}. Despite the fact that, on that date, he may have been asked by the government of Bahia to help stop attacks against Portuguese merchants, some of these merchants being killed, and had proceeded to walk through the city, soothing the crowds with tender words while wearing his straw hat and cotton coat and carrying a plant, the very image of the country gentleman, he was accused of supporting slave revolts and was arrested and sent to the Fortress of Villegaignon and the \textit{Fortaleza da Ilha das Cobras} (fortress of the island of snakes), where he managed to release the \textit{Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita do Quartel General de Pirajá, hoje presa na Guarita de Villegaignon no Rio de Janeiro. Alerta!} (Sentinel of liberty in the sentry-box of the Pirajá general barracks today jailed in the sentry-box of Villegaignon in Rio de Janeiro. Alert!) and the \textit{Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita do Quartel General de Pirajá, hoje presa na Guarita da Ilha das Cobras no Rio de Janeiro. Alerta!} (Sentinel of liberty in the


\textsuperscript{42} Morel, \textit{Cipriano Barata}, 242, 243-244, 246, 251, 265-266, 267-270, 275-276.
sentry-box of the Pirajá general barracks today jailed in the sentry-box of the Island of Snakes in Rio de Janeiro. Alert!)⁴³.

Even when they moved him to a prison ship, he managed to publish the *Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita do Quartel General de Pirajá, hoje na Guarita da Fragata Niterói no Rio de Janeiro. Alerta!* (Sentinel of liberty in the sentry-box of the Pirajá general barracks, today on the prison ship Niterói in Rio de Janeiro. Alert!) and when they shuffled him off to yet another location he published the *Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita do Quartel General de Pirajá, mudada despoticamente para o Rio de Janeiro e de lá para o Forte do Mar da Bahia, donde generosamente brada Alerta!* (Sentinel of liberty in the sentry-box of the Pirajá general barracks despotically moved to Rio de Janeiro and from there to the Fortress of the Sea in Bahia, from where it loudly shouts Alert!) but the prisoners in Bahia rebelled and pulled down the Brazilian flag to raise a blue-white-blue striped anti-centralist flag they had designed, so they moved him again and again until he was released in 1834 and continued publishing the *Sentinela* for most of his remaining years, dying of natural causes in 1838⁴⁴.

Throughout his life, his admirers had published newspapers such as: the *Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita do Quartel General de Pirajá mudada despoticamente para o Rio de Janeiro, e de lá para o Forte do Mar da Bahia, depois para Presiganga, logo para o Forte do Barbalho, de novo para o Forte do Mar, e segunda vez para a Presiganga, por fim para o Hospital, donde bradou Alerta; agora rendida e substituída por um camarada que vigia na Cidade e corajosamente brada Alerta!!!!* (Sentinel of liberty in the sentry-box of the Pirajá

⁴³ Morel, Cipriano Barata, 252-253, 256, 259, 260-261, 265, 272, 276-277; Garcia, Cipriano Barata, 109-112.

general barracks despotically moved to Rio de Janeiro and from there to the Fortress of the Sea in Bahia, later to the Presiganga, soon to the Fortress of Barbalho, and then again to the Fortress of the Sea, and a second time to the Presiganga, and finally to a Hospital, where it shouted Alert; now surrendered and substituted by a comrade who watches over the City and courageously screams Alert!!!!) in Rio along with the Sentinela da Liberdade à beira do mar da Praia Grande (Sentinel of liberty on seaside Praia Grande) and the Sentinela da Liberdade no Rio de Janeiro (Sentinel of liberty in Rio de Janeiro); the Sentinela Maranhense (Sentinel from Maranhão) subsequently published, after the author moved to a neighboring state, as Sentinela Maranhense na Guarita do Pará (Sentinel from Maranhão in the sentry-box of Pará) published by leaders of a revolt known as the Cabanagem (shack-dwellers) discussed in the third chapter herein; during the separatist revolts in Southern Brazil known as the Revolta Farroupilha (ragamuffin revolt), also discussed in the third chapter herein, a newspaper was published titled Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita do Norte da Barra de São Pedro do Sul (Sentinel of liberty in the sentry-box to the North of the São Pedro do Sul strip); exiles in England published the Sentinela da Liberdade do Brasil na Guarita de Londres (Sentinel of liberty of Brazil in the sentry-box of London); and many other sentries were published throughout the country.\footnote{45 Morel, \textit{Cipriano Barata}, 284, 297-298, 300, 361; Garcia, \textit{Cipriano Barata}, 144-156.}

Another well-known figure is Frei Caneca, Brother Mug. Unlike Cipriano Barata, who expressed support for the 1824 movement but was jailed for most of it, Frei Caneca was not only a journalist, but also participated as a political organizer and, possibly, militarily, in the creation of this new political organization. Frei Caneca was of humble origins, his father Domingos da Silva Rebelo a tanoeiro, a cooper, hence the name “Caneca” or Mug as a tribute. He grew up in the Fora de Portas neighborhood in Recife where he was originally known as Joaquim do Amor.
Divino Rabelo, his family with some roots in the city of Elvas, in the Alentejo region of Portugal, and the city of Porto in Northern Portugal but also, as he admits himself, some unknown heritages, possibly indigenous or African, putting on the monk’s habit on the 8th of October of 1796. Very little is known about his early life and he seems to have been viewed as so unlikely to change the course of history that, despite the fact that he was arrested for participating in the 1817 revolt and transported to a jail in Bahia, where he most likely first met Cipriano Barata as Cipriano became a zealous advocate for the prisoners, the full extent of Caneca’s participation in 1817 is unclear, Caneca himself petitioning for his release claiming he had been falsely accused of supporting the movement, in fact speaking out against the revolt, and that he had been coerced into acting as chaplain for the rebel troops. He returned to his religious career after his release, preaching to all classes and only beginning his career as a journalist on Christmas day of 1823, the date of the first number of the pamphlet-newspaper *Typhis Pernambucano*. When Jason and his Argonauts boarded their ship, the Argos, aboard was Tiphys, their helmsman.

As far as the readership of these papers, historical studies do not indicate the composition of subscribers. Men like Cipriano Barata, educated small holders with slaves in their homes, connected to poor tailors and laborers, may have read the *Typhis* to others, while wealthier landholders of unremarkable lineage who felt snubbed by more powerful types may also have made a point of obtaining issues of the publication. The identity of his readers, aside from some readers, apparently not all wealthy, who wrote letters published in his paper is not known. As

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discussed in the subsequent chapter herein, the readership used terms like fatcats and aristocrats to describe those who did not hold their views.

Caneca, a graduate of the Seminary of Olinda, was recognized by his religious order as capable of teaching rhetoric and geometry in 1803 and eventually began preaching sermons. He authored a grammar focusing on etymology, orthography, prosody and syntax, as well as a guide to writing with eloquence, as well as a rhetorical guide focusing on style. We can surmise he had access to the poor, middling classes, and rich; he was aware of the need to craft a message stylistically, to build a propagandic vehicle that would shock and appeal, hence the mix of high-minded rhetoric and personal insults present in the Typhis.

Caneca’s involvement in the 1824 movement is more notable than his involvement in 1817 because Caneca was part of the council called upon to deliberate on the new governor and made it clear he opposed acceptance of a governor chosen from above, authored manifestos, and joined the troops and walked with them until the end. It was well-known he was a leader and, even after repressive forces arrived from Rio, Caneca tried to escape to Ceará with rebel troops to unite with sympathizers he believed were waiting to join the rebels, encountering opposing forces in the tiny hamlet of Couro Danta, where the Portuguese-born journalist João Soares Lisboa, publisher of the Correio do Rio de Janeiro and Dezengano aos Brasileiros, was shot, dying the following day. The rebels surrendered at a farm, the heads of the revolt sentenced to death – interestingly, when the head of the opposing forces asked Dom Pedro to clarify whether

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49 Ibid., 181, 185, 187, 196, 225, 230.
a “head” included only military men, the monarch clarified that it also included journalists who wrote articles injurious to his person.\(^{50}\)

\(^{50}\) Ibid., 240-241, 251, 260-261.
Chapter 2:

The Ideology of the Confederation of the Equator

Caneca affirmed the importance of ideology in his writings\(^1\). He claimed he was writing his articles to indoctrinate common people who could not read or write, not the wealthy, indicating he expected his papers to be read aloud\(^2\). Barata actually included songs in some of his articles, possibly to spread his message among the illiterate\(^3\). An analysis of the periodicals written by the participants of the Confederation of the Equator reveals several recurring themes. I do not pretend to be able to place these themes within a philosophical scheme. For the purposes of this work, it is sufficient to identify and understand these themes as presented in revolutionary periodicals.

CONSTITUTION:

A Constitution Reflecting Anti-Centralism, Democratic Institutions, the Separation of Powers, Individual Rights, Due Process of Law, and Equality Under the Law

As far as national organization, the participants of the Confederation of the Equator referred to Switzerland as a model to be emulated and the Chinese empire as a model to avoid.

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\(^1\) Caneca, *Frei Joaquim*, 55. Caneca writes that “as idéias falsas e inexatas, que fizermos das coisas, produzirão infalivelmente juízos falsos, incoerências; crimes, atentados, pertubações da sociedade e a sua ruína afinal” (“false and inexact ideas, which we make of things, will infallibly produce false judgements, incoherencies; crimes, attempts, disturbances of society and its final ruin”) so that we can see that getting the right ideology in mind was important to him.

\(^2\) Ibid., 57. Caneca tells us: “eu não escrevo para os homens letrados; sim para o povo rude, e que não tem aplicação às letras” (“I do not write for lettered men; yes for the rude people and who do not have application for the letters”)

\(^3\) Barata, *Sentinela da Liberdade*, 821-822. One can find an example of a song in those pages. He used this sort of device with some regularity. His songs sometimes ridicule his opponents.
Barata wrote that he believed in a union like “o da Suiça” ("the Swiss one") which would work as one body for the general welfare, a “Governo Confederativo” ("confederation government") made necessary by distances and diversity of inhabitants, supporting a slow organic “torrente natural da política” ("natural political torrent") wherein the state is built gradually, through cooperation. Frei Caneca believed that as “os cantões suíços sacodem o jugo dos austríacos” ("as the swiss cantons shake off the dominance of the Austrians") so too could Brazil shake off despotic ruled based out of the center-south because Pernambuco would not be alone should a civil war be necessary to change the organization of the country, but would be joined by the other provinces. Caneca views the perfect model of organization for Brazil as being a confederation because if any province attempts to attack any other province the others can rise up to protect their sovereignty through a cooperative network. Barata argued for a weak central government like the Swiss model believing most laws should be made in the provinces and indicated that military recruitment into the armies of the empire was actually a tool for controlling subversives. The system described by Richard Graham in Brazil, comes up in

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4 Ibid., 531-533.

5 Caneca, Frei Joaquim, 112, 124-125, 137. Caneca writes: “nós não nos veríamos sós em campo, e a braços com esse Rio e suas adherentes do Sul; porém sem dúvida teríamos mais províncias com que dividir o trabalho, e a refrega” ("we would not see ourselves on the battlefield alone in battle against this Rio and its adherents in the south; but would without a doubt have more provinces with which to divide the work and war")

6 Ibid., 257. Caneca writes: “Na confederação, pode sim escravizar-se uma república, mas todas as outras a defendem, e fazem a guerra ao opressor” ("in a confederation, yes one can enslave oneself a republic, but all the others will defend her, and make war against the oppressor").

7 Barata, Sentinela da Liberdade, 499-500, 505, 506. Barata discusses his idea of a decentralized republic, writing that such republics are better “como bem afirma a razão e a experiência da Antiga Grécia e de outras Nações Passadas, e hoje da suiça, da América do
Barata’s writings as a “espécie de Império da China, retalhando todo o terreno em pequenas porções, para poder-se bem dominar a cada uma pela rivalidade das outras, e dominar as daqui pelas dali, e estas pelas de acolá, e assim chegar-se ao fim de dominar, desfrutar e tiranizar imunemente a todas” ("a sort of Chinese Empire, breaking up territory into small portions to better dominate each one with rivalries and dominate these ones with those ones, and those ones with these ones, to dominate, take advantage of and tyrannize all of them with impunity")

Autonomy would be the answer to what the Confederation journalists termed Asiatic despotism. The Swiss system was presented by the confederados as representing a form of decentralization which would amplify the voices of the less well connected while the Chinese system was presented as a form of national organization which would allow a minority comprised of the wealthiest individuals to exercise control over and impoverish the majority of the country.

The Swiss system was presented in confederado periodicals as representing a nation united but comprised of autonomous cantons, and the participants of the Confederation of the Equator were proposing a model of national organization for Brazil with a significant level of state autonomy they claimed would actually work to preserve national unity. Caneca wrote in the 15th of January of 1824 issue of the Typhis Pernambucano that he believed that Brazil needed a political center and also that this center could strengthen the bonds uniting the provinces, and when the Confederation of the Equator began, he wrote that this Confederation would be the

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8 Ibid., 501.

9 Ibid., 515.
salvation of the entire nation, not just Pernambuco. His goal was to propose a new model of national organization as he wrote in the 27th of May of 1824 issue that the spirit of the nation is a democratic spirit appearing throughout its history and that a constitution was needed to guarantee liberties and preserve national integrity. In other words, Caneca believed that attempting to impose Asiatic despotism, understood as involving a strong central authority, on the provinces

10 Caneca, Frei Joaquim, 335, 360. Caneca writes that “não havendo um centro comum a que se refiram todas as vontades, e donde partam as direções das marchas seguras, ficavam as províncias isoladas, tomando cada uma seu rumo diferente, e por isso aptas a serem subjugadas, uma após outra, vindo rematar o negócio na escravidão de todas” and that the “cordel triplicado é difícil de romper-se; mas não subsiste a mesma dificuldade quando os remais estão desacochados e separados” (“not having a common center to which all desires are referred, and from which would originate defined marching orders, all provinces would remain isolated, each taking its own path, and for this reason apt to be subjugated, one after another, resulting in the slavery of them all”). He also wrote, on the 19th of February of 1824, referring to the Confederation of the Equador, that “dadas as mãos entre nós, e com as províncias nossas limítrofes, na firme esperança de que…seremos a salvação dos nossos brasileiros,” “[s]eremos beneméritos da patria, com um inauferível direito à sua gratidão…” (“us holding hands, and with our neighboring provinces, in the firm hope that we will be the salvation of our Brazilians”, “we will be meritorious of the fatherland, with an undeniable claim on its gratitude”).

11 Ibid., 448, 452, 456. Caneca informs us that an opposition paper “está em contínuas declamações contra o sistema democrático…nada obstante ter à vista os Estados Unidos na América do Norte, os novos governos da do sul, Cantões Suíços” (“is in continual denunciations against the democratic system…notwithstanding having in sight the United States of North America, the new governments of South America, the Swiss Cantons”). He also writes that “se conhece que a tendência do Brasil é para o governo democrático; a qual seria sopitada, se em câmbio se lhe desse o regime constitucional representativo; que esse espírito é indomável, nos mostra a história…” (“it is known that the tendency of Brazil is for democratic government; which would be silenced if in exchange was given a constitutional representative regime; that this spirit is unconquerable, history shows us”). Caneca makes his demands clearer on the 3rd of June 1824 writing that “nós queremos uma constituição que affiance e sustente a nossa independência, a união das províncias, a integridade do império, a liberdade política, a igualdade civil, e todos os direitos inalienáveis do homem em sociedade” (“we want a constitution which furthers and sustains our independence, the unity of the provinces, the integrity of the empire, political liberty, civil equality, and all inalienable rights of man in society”).
would lead to constant conflict and possibly national dissolution as the provinces would not accept rule from Rio but the Swiss model promised national unity.

The journalists of the Confederation do not explain in any detail how granting more autonomy to the provinces serves the interest of preserving national unity but their periodicals emphasize that they are proposing an alternative organization and that they repudiate independence from Brazil. Although confederations have generally been thought of as forming for the purposes of self-defense against a common enemy, Alfred Stepan in his essay "Toward a New Comparative Politics of Federalism, Multinationalism and Democracy: Beyond Rikerian Federalism" in the 2004 collection of essays Federalism and Democracy in Latin America differentiates between “coming together” organizations from “holding together” ones where centralized regimes return power to the local level in order to manage conflict, perhaps as different regions compete for control of the central apparatus, one region unwilling to accept another’s rule, the return of power to the local level as a way to avoid internal conflict¹². The journalists of the Confederation of the Equator do indicate that their confederation model would better serve the interest of managing conflict between provinces and hold the nation together as mentioned above.

The confederation model as they presented it involved a virtually powerless central government. Barata is so committed to anti-centralism that he opposes the “Diabo de Banco” ("devil of a bank"), the national bank, and proposes that each province maintains their separate banks out of fear that a central bank would benefit a select few with connections¹³. Setting up a

¹² Stepan, "Toward a New Comparative Politics," 33-34.

¹³ Barata, Sentinela da Liberdade, 335-336.
far-away capital had been a mistake resulting in a loss of local power. He foresaw the colonial relationship that would come to mark north versus center-south relations in Brazil, comparing domination by Rio to domination by Portugal. A system of patronato (patronage) would grow over time as a result of this relationship. Cipriano wrote that each province should have its “Exercitozinho à parte” ("own little army") and its own navy but he emphasized the need for national unity in the same pages, repudiating separatism. Caneca is suspicious of the national military, writing that the nature of the soldier, his training, his lifestyle, makes him a danger to his fellow citizens. The confederados indicate that they wanted to take the following powers away from Rio: the power to levy taxes on citizens as opposed to depending on requisitions; the power to form a permanent national military force; the power to create a national bank; and the power to appoint local officials.

The participants of the Confederation demanded that provincial autonomy be protected via a constitution embodying this confederation model. They demanded that a constitutional convention comprised of elected representatives be convened as soon as possible. The procedure

14 Caneca, Frei Joaquim, 139. Caneca writes: “Quem foi que nos obrigou a seguirmos o Rio de Janeiro? Foi algum direito que reconhecemos no Rio de nos ser superior, e nossa capital?” ("Who forced us to follow Rio de Janeiro? Was it some right we recognized on the part of Rio to be superior to us, and our capital?").

15 Ibid., 140. Caneca writes: “Se o Rio fizer conosco, o que Deus não permita, o mesmo que Portugal fez com o Brasil, que se segue daqui?” ("If Rio were to do to us what, God forbid, Portugal did with Brazil, what will follow from that?")

16 Ibid., 335.


18 Caneca, Frei Joaquim, 369.
for the formation of this new constitution appears as important to them, however, as the content of the constitution itself.

The journalists of the Confederation write about the appropriate method to follow in making a constitution and making laws. Caneca’s writings reveal an obsession with the constitution based on the notion that constitutions must bind governors, and therefore that the constitution must come from the people through representatives and not be handed down by a ruler who is able to change the laws as he sees fit and therefore the dissolution of the constitutional assembly by Dom Pedro had been wrong and had robbed the people of their natural right to legislate for themselves, and the emperor possessed no right to pressure citizens to swear to the constitution. Barata believed that sovereignty resides exclusively in the public and that the public has a right to use violence to assert its exclusive right to make laws. Specifically at issue were the decision by D. Pedro to dissolve the constitutional convention, dismiss the delegates to that convention, and draft a constitution with his ministers, having it approved by local authorities in Rio and then demanding that this project be sworn. The manner in which the social pact is formed is as important as the specific contents, and a group of

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19 Ibid., 339, 481. Caneca believes that the executive should be kept from making laws “porque o legislador fica com o direito de interpretar, alterar e obrigar a lei, quando lhe dá vontade” (“because the legislator preserves the right to interpret, alter, and impose the law, when he feels like it”). A separation of powers should therefore be instituted.

20 Barata, Sentinela da Liberdade, 675-676, 679. One can find clear allusions to violence being justified to replace despotic rulers in these pages. Barata refers to historical cases wherein peoples in ancient times replaced rulers via violent revolt.

21 Caneca, Frei Joaquim, 337. Caneca writes: “É da essência da representação nacional a escolha das matérias que devem formar o objeto do pacto social; porque só a nação é a quem toca e pertence estatuir” (“national representation and the selection of the topics which should form the content of the social pact are of the essence; because only the nation affected by it has the right to institute it”).
bureaucrats, ministers, forming an aristocracia (aristocracy), remembering that the aristocracy in Brazil is nothing but a group of men from the same origins as the rest of the country decorating themselves with titles, should not direct the formation of the Constitution. Caneca defends equality before the law by openly stating that the nobility in Brazil live a non-existent fantasy, a silly self-aggrandizement. The formation of a constitution should therefore involve representatives who are elected, without any requirement that participants in the constitutional convention possess any title or property, and these representatives should deliberate without interference from the monarchy.

For the participants of the Confederation, one of the functions of a constitution is to restrain governing bodies by preventing arbitrariness in the application of laws. The word arbitrariedade (arbitrariness) is regularly used to describe the actions of the government in Rio.

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22 Ibid., 254. Caneca comments on the aristocracy: “os fidalgos do Brasil não formam um corpo, são uns indivíduos isolados, não constituem classe distinta; pois que todos os dias estão a confundir e identificar-se com outras famílias” ("the important sons of Brazil do not form a body, they are some isolated individuals, and do not constitute a distinct class; thus every day they are confusing themselves and identifying with other families"). He also writes that “foram do barro damasceno de que se amassou esta nova espécie afidalgada, que deve de ser atendida impreterivelmente na Constituição do Império” ("it was from the mud of Damascus that was formed this new variety of important men, which should be safeguarded promptly in the constitution of the empire").

23 Ibid., 148. Caneca writes: “é destes dois ilustríssimos troncos, descendentes de Raja Abrahemo, Nazameluco, Raez Xarafo, Xeche-Hamed, Mocrim, Guazil-Cabrito, Rei de Calau, Pacém, Jamapatão, Samory, daquém e dalém mar, senhores de Guiné, Marrocos, Tunis, é daqui, digo, que procedeu a grande fidalguia pela qual te pertence o morgado de Porto de Galinhas, o ducado de Tacaruna e Cabanga, o condado do Beco de Camalaú e do Marisco, e o senhorio da Amirueira” ("it was from these two branches, descendants of [non-European names], near and far away, masters of Guinea, Morocco, Tunis, it is from here, I tell you, which arose the great nobility from which you have the heir of Porto de Galinhas, the duque of Tacaruna and Cabanga, the count of Beco de Camalaú and of Marisco, and the sirs of Amirueira"). Caneca makes up names he believes sound non-European in origin and creates names for places which are intended to sound provincial to indicate Brazil's aristocrats come from the same lineages as the rest of the country.
In the 17th of June issue of the Typhis, Caneca publishes an anonymous letter from a reader wherein the reader addresses the issue of patronage in the following terms: “O sistema liberal não convém a estes amigos, porque lhes encurta o elásterio da teia legal, e não podendo eles extraí-la, e estender a vara, seca-se a lavoura, e se lhes diminui a colheita” (“the liberal system is not convenient to these friends because it decreases the elasticity of their legal webs and, not able to manipulate it, to extend their powers, their crops dry up and they collect less”)\(^{24}\). Barata opposes military recruitment as arbitrary, not following any set legal norms\(^{25}\). Caneca believes that the army should be temporary, no one serving more than a year and that soldiers should live among the populace as opposed to barracks so military forces cannot be used for arbitrary, oppressive purposes\(^{26}\). Individual rights such as freedom of the press, due process guarantees, the separation of powers and equality under the law are presented as necessary to restraining arbitrariness but are not elaborated in specific detail. Their focus on the procedure for convening a constitutional convention, however, reveals that the confederados believed laws should be produced in an environment wherein elected representatives chosen without restrictions deliberate freely, without interference from the executive branch.

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\(^{24}\) Ibid., 478.


\(^{26}\) Caneca, *Frei Joaquim*, 227. Caneca writes: “é necessário, ou que o Exército não seja permanente, ou que aqueles que se empregam no Exército tenham bens para responderem da sua conduta aos demais cidadãos, e não sirvam mais do que um ano, como foi em Roma” (“it is necessary either that the army not be permanent or that those employed by the army have property to stand for their conduct with regards to their fellow citizens, and that they do not serve more than a year, as it was in Rome”). He also writes that “é necessário que eles habitem com os demais cidadãos, que não tenham campo separado, nem quartéis, nem praça de guerra” (“it is necessary that they live with the other citizens and that they do not have separate quarters nor barracks nor bases”) because “[f]ora desta circunstância, a Força Armada sempre foi o instrumento da tirania” (“outside of these circumstances, armed forces have always been the instrument of tyranny”).

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In rebel periodicals, Switzerland appears as a united but decentralized nation of laws while the Chinese empire is depicted as involving arbitrariness in the application of laws, as representing the dominance of a small number of figures tied to the central government. The term *despotismo asiatico* appears regularly as a description of the peril to be avoided. In summary, rebel periodicals suggest the best manner to prevent such a peril is to form a constitution guaranteeing individual rights and preserving state autonomy.

**RELIGION:**

The participants of the Confederation of the Equator created a liberty faith to help promulgate the system of government they favored. Barata wrote: “Tomemos de novo a Cruz às Costas e vamos com ela às quedas, Segundo as nossas poucas forças, até chegarmos ao Calvário do Projeto e Deus nos alente para sofrermos o peso de tanta manobra do Absolutismo, tanta audácia dos Aristocratas” (“we again take this cross upon our backs and go slowly according to our limited strength to the Cavalry of the Project and God relieves us from suffering so many artifícies of Absolutism and the shamelessness of the Aristocrats”)

Caneca uses the term *sans culottes* (men without fancy breeches), the populists of the French revolution, as a derogatory term for the opposing side in his war of words against the newspaper *Arara Pernambucana* (macaw of Pernambuco) sending a clear message that he does not support radical policies while also writing in the same piece that one cannot respect impious men who do not respect the divine, calling his enemies irreligious and immoral.

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28 Caneca, *Frei Joaquim*, 125, 127, 147. Caneca writes that “[n]ão pode respeitar a honra dos homens o ímpio, que não reverencia a divindade” (“one cannot respect the honor of impious men who do not revere divinity”) and he goes on in other publications to insult the same person as “um ímpio que, pelos seus desaforados ataques à divindade, foi acusado ao tribunal da fé” (“an impious man who, for his mad attacks against divinity, was accused before the tribunal”).
of piety, of religiosity, of duty and obligation, and of traditional social relationships, wherein saying someone has a “origem carbonária” ("carbonari origin"), a reference to the carbonari or charcoal burners populists in Italy, and insulting another journalist by stating he writes in a “Íngua crioula” ("creole language") probably either a reference to Cape Verdan Creole or perhaps to the African elements in popular Brazilian language and not merely a reference to someone who writes incorrectly, are commonplace. The darker, nastier side of such language is noticeable when he reflects intolerance sarcastically stating that a journalist writes in brown people’s grammar and tells him to try to write like a white man. We also see some of the language of religious intolerance when he writes that the former president of the Portuguese censorship board was good at cracking down on traitors to the faith.

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29 Caneca, Frei Joaquim, 148, 149.

30 Ibid., 172, 173. Caneca calls another writer’s style “boa gramática parda” ("good brown grammar") and tells him “veja lá como há de arranjar esta construção em língua de branco” ("see there how you should arrange your linguistic constructions in a white man's language").

31 Ibid., 180. Caneca writes: “Quando o imortal bispo... d. frei Manuel do Cenáculo viu começarem de grassar por Portugal impressos que espalhavam proposições perigosas, fontes caudais de erros na fé, corruptoras dos bons costumes, e germes da libertinagem, não ficou mudo espectador do mal” ("when the immortal bishop Brother Manuel do Cenáculo saw leaflets beginning to sprout in Portugal which spread dangerous propositions, the source of torrents of errors in the faith, corrupting of good customs, and germs of debauchery, he did not remain a silent observer of the evil").
The confederados viewed themselves as part of an anti-statist Catholicism. Barata explicitly says that republics are sacred while monarchies are the work of the devil. Caneca distinguishes his vision from “religiões monárquicas” ("monarchical religions") which live off the public purse. Caneca does not believe in the divine right of kings, believing instead that the title of emperor comes not from God but from the public. He believes that the “demônio” ("demon") of absolutist monarchy is a difficult demon to exorcize and that “mãos sacrílegas” ("sacrilegious hands") should never touch the “sagrada” ("sacred") Constitution.

The restraint and distribution of power appears as a religious cause in the writings of the participants of the Confederation of the Equator. Cipriano Barata included a version of the following prayer in several of the issues of the Sentinela, a prayer reflecting a new liberty faith. The original quotation contained a drawing of a cross which I editorially replaced in the quotation below with the word cruz (cross):

Sinal da [cruz] Católico e político que devem fazer todos os Brasileiros de manhã quando se levantarem, quando saírem para a rua e quando se deitarem...Em nome do Padre, Seja criada a completa Liberdade da Imprensa e da Consciência. Em nome do Filho, se crie a liberdade das Indústrias de Corpo e Espírito para se gerarem Ciência e riqueza, com toda segurança individual. Em nome do Espírito Santo [cruz] se crie já o verdadeiro Tribunal do Jurados e a Responsabilidade dos Ministros e de todos os Empregados públicos. Amém.

(Sign of the [cross] Catholic and political which all Brazilians should do in the morning when waking up, when leaving their homes and when lying down at night...In the name of the Father,

32 Barata, Sentinela da Liberdade, 912. Barata tells us: “Repúblicas são governos de Deus e as Monarquias governos do Diabo” ("Republics are the government of God and monarchies are the government of the Devil").

33 Caneca, Frei Joaquim, 299.

34 Ibid., 503. Caneca gives us his formulation that the power of kings comes “não de Deus, sim da soberana e generosa nação brasileira” ("not from God but from the sovereign and generous Brazilian nation").

35 Ibid., 516, 518.
let there be created complete Liberty of the Press and Conscience. In the name of the Son, let there be created liberty for all the Industries of Body and Spirit to generate Knowledge and wealth, with individual security. In the name of the Holy Spirit, let there be created a true tribunal of juries and Responsibility for all Ministers and all public Employees. Amen.)

Protestant notions entered his discourse as he argued that the pope was just another man who achieved legitimacy through an election via conclave, rejecting divine legitimacy for rulers and involvement in government by the Church. Montesquieu himself believed that the Catholic Religion was incompatible with democratic institutions and that Protestantism was far more likely to match democracy and Montesquieu was frequently cited by the confederados.

In Os Padres e a Teologia da Ilustração: Pernambuco 1817 (the priests and the theology of Enlightenment: Pernambuco 1817), Antônio Jorge de Siqueira argues that the 1817 revolt was partly the result of the devastating Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which resulted in King Dom José I promoting foreign affairs minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the Marquis of Pombal, to prime minister and de facto head of state to help rebuild the nation and restore order, setting off a series of reforms in education and the clergy introducing foreign enlightenment political theories into educational institutions. The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal and all its possessions due to their ties to the nobility, an untenable position in a country embracing Enlightenment ideals favored by the antagonistic bourgeoisie. A new theological vision was adopted which Siqueira dubs a Teologia da Ilustração (Enlightenment Theology), a movement towards Enlightenment ideals represented by figures such as Friar Manuel do Cenáculo Vilas Barata, Sentinela da Liberdade, 472-473.

Ibid., 652, 671.


Siqueira, Os Padres, 39-42, 69-70.
Boas. Vilas Boas is put in charge of helping reform education to reflect an appreciation of the new sciences and a faith tied to pragmatic needs, concepts transmitted to the Seminary of Olinda in Brazil, which would educate many of the participants in the 1817 revolt, via Bishop Azeredo Coutinho, who had studied in Europe and brought these concepts to his seminary. As noted in the previous chapter, Caneca had studied at the Seminary of Olinda.

Caneca’s relationship to the ideas of one of the most important religious figures in Brazilian history, Padre Antônio Vieira, is important because Caneca presented his liberty faith as a response to Vieira’s ideas. In a letter to Andrés Fernandes, Bishop-elect of Japan, dated April 29, 1659, Vieira expressed his belief that Dom Sebastião I of Portugal would be resurrected, this king having disappeared in the Battle of Alcácer Quibir in 1578 in Morocco, conquering Constantinople after his return, leading to an age of world peace after the conversion of the world to Catholicism. This belief is known as Sebastianism. Vieira based his letter on verses of the prophetic poetry of the early sixteenth century Portuguese shoemaker and author Gonçalo Annes Bandarra, whom Vieira declared a true prophet. For Vieira, the colonization of northeastern Brazil helped prove that the entire world should be subjected to the Portuguese, all heads bowing before one Catholic king, a Portuguese Fifth Empire following the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks and Romans.

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41 Vieira, Obras Escolhidas Vol. 6, 1-66.

42 Ibid., 1-66.

43 Vieira, Obras Escolhidas Vol. 8, 25. Vieira writes: “Tudo que abraça o mar, tudo o que alumia o Sol, tudo o que cobre e rodeia o Sol, será sujeito a este Quinto Império” (“all which embraces the sea and all which the sun illuminates, everything the sun covers and circles, will be subject to this Fifth empire”) and “Todos os reinos se unirão em um ceptro, todas as
Caneca rejected this mythology of Sebastianism created by Padre Antônio Vieira. Caneca finds himself at odds “com gente terrível, com ignorantes, fanáticos, hipócritas, sebastianistas” (“terrible people, ignorant, fanatical, hypocritical, Sebastianist”) referring to the whole Sebastianist mythology as silly, but at the same time agreeing with Vieira’s assertion that Brazil was a land referred to by the prophet Isaiah in the Bible, but flipping the script and turning Sebastianism on its head by concluding that Brazilians are the chosen people - yet, one does not get the sense that he believes in this mythology as he does not develop it and goes on to mention other wild tales he does not put much faith into, such as the idea that the fleur-de-lis fell from the sky in France. He jokingly equates his own ability to predict the future with Vieira’s História do Futuro (history of the future), wherein Vieira discusses the Fifth Empire, at the same time as he argues that limits should be placed on any ruler to dismiss an elective body in contrast to Vieira’s utopian vision which depended upon an all-powerful Catholic king. Vieira believed in a sacred king who would spread the faith whereas Caneca denied that kings are chosen by God. Vieira’s defense of a marriage between state and Church power and of world conquest clashes with the ideas of Frei Caneca, who opposed militarism, believed in freedom of worship, and supported democratic institutions.

Caneca is responding to the notion that kings are divine, chosen by God to divulge the faith. Dom Pedro is referred to in his writings as an imperador constitucional (constitutional

cabeças obedecerão a uma suprema cabeça” (“All the kingdoms will be united under one sceptre, all heads will bow to a supreme head”).

44 Caneca, Frei Joaquim, 272-273. Caneca writes: “nós somos aquele povo terrível, que manda embaixadores por mar e em vasos de junco sobre as águas” (“we are that terrible people which sends ambassadors by sea and in vessels of reed over the waters”).

emperor) to highlight an earthly authority for the monarch’s power. Caneca asks “E que império então vem a ser o Brasil?” (“And what sort of empire will we see in Brazil”) and answers “até hoje é incognita a ordem das potências projetadas,” (“up until today projected empires are unknown”) rejecting utopian visions. Caneca also does not fear religious pluralism, embracing it as he believes that free exchange of ideas will strengthen his faith. Thus, a monarch was not needed to create an empire or divulge the faith but merely to serve the constitution.

The liberty faith generated by the participants of the Confederation of the Equator depicted civil society as sacred and protected by a holy constitution as opposed to religiões monarcais. Barata, criticized the Emperor’s constitutional project as a corrupt one being constructed to benefit “grandes ricaços” (“fat cats”) with little popular participation and that a new “fé política constitucional liberal” (“liberal constitutional faith”) had to be spread, a liberty faith based on the idea that God created men with reasoning capacities so that they could form civil society and trade ideas freely, newspapers serving a pedagogical purpose. In the following chapter, other revolts in nineteenth century Brazil will be discussed and priests participated in many of these revolts.

DISCOURSE AGAINST EXCESSIVE WEALTH:

46 Ibid., 340.

47 Ibid., 311-313. Caneca tells us that “a comunicação do cristianismo com as outras seitas opera a mudança delas, as converta e atraia ao seu grêmio” (“the communication of Christianity with other sects will cause a change in them, will convert them and bring them to its guild”) and that “[a]ntes este é um meio eficaz de estender o cristianismo” (“likely this is an effective way to extend Christianity”)

48 Barata, Sentinela da Liberdade, 208, 217, 222, 223. Barata calls newspapers “o Anjo tutelar da Espécie humana” (“the tutelary angel of humanity”) manifesting a belief in the pedagogical nature of ideological journalism.
In the 26th of September 1835 issue, Cipriano Barata discourses on aristocracy and republican government, arguing that monarchical aristocracies are made up of the unproductive connected and officials who administer jurisdictions on their behalf in order to extract wealth from the productive and pass it on to the unproductive as well as “aspirantes” ("aspirants") outside of these networks who are willing to spy, cheat and commit crimes to displace others, while republican aristocracies tend to be comprised of productive persons who rise and fall on their merits and not based on connections and others respected for their merits. He is concerned about excessive wealth, believing that extreme riches are harmful to republics and that laws need to be implemented to generate a primarily middle class nation, including laws to limit the size of estates and land holdings, to address the latifúndio. Montesquieu himself believed that the unequal distribution of wealth corrupts the governments of republics. Some explicit examples of discourse against excessive wealth might be useful right here. Barata wrote an article published on the 22nd of June in 1823, for example, citing the case of a poor farmer named Jõao Antonio de Oliveira who had a horse confiscated from him by a military

49 Ibid., 907-909.

50 Ibid., 910. Barata writes: “mesmo nas Repúblicas, as grandes riquezas costumam fazer mal, por isso que trazem consigo o luxo de grandes casas, ou palácios, carruagens, móveis pomposos, ouro, prata, etc… é bom evitá-las por leis sábias, o que se pode conseguir, obrigando por essas Leis a que os bens nunca sejam amontoados permanentemente e sim divididos pelos herdeiros e não consentindo que um só indivíduo possua imenso território” ("even in republics, great riches are usually bad, for this reason they bring with them the luxury of large houses or palaces, carriages, pompous furniture, gold, silver, etc... it is good to avoid them via wise laws, which can be achieved, forcing through these Laws that possessions never be collected permanently but yes divided by heirs and not consenting that one individual possesses immense territory").

51 Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws Vol. I*, 104. Montesquieu writes: “We have observed that in a republic, where riches are equally divided, there can be no such thing as luxury...this equal distribution constitutes the excellence of a republican government.”
official and was not reimbursed for the horse, Barata commenting that “se o cavalo fosse de um Senhor de Engenho já estaria talvez pago” (“if the horse had belonged to a mill owner, it would have perhaps been paid”) and then tossing in religious language as he laments “Ah! Meu Senhor JESUS Cristo! Seja pelas vossas divinas chagas! Sobre os pobres cae todas as coisas com rigor!” (“Ah! My Master Jesus Christ! Be it from your holy wounds! On the poor falls everything with rigor”) 52. In the following issue, he refers to the “sanguessugas” (“bloodsuckers”) at the court in Rio, powerful interests he claimed were draining national wealth 53. Cipriano Barata initially published articles in the Gazette of Pernambuco, capping his articles with a quote from Camões about the need to have laws that do not expropriate wealth from the poor and allow the rich to live off the public purse 54. Barata also argued that the latifundary structure of the country resulted from the colonial practice of granting large tracts of lands to administrators and cooperating clergy and that such large land grants should never be gifted to the wealthy but that land illegally taken by the powerful, such as land possessed by small farmers adjacent to larger estates, should be returned to their rightful owners and that land should not be allowed to lie fallow 55. As discussed in the introduction to this work, scholars have identified unclear property bounds as a source of instability in imperial Brazil.

52 Barata, Sentinela da Liberdade, 299-300.

53 Ibid., 306.

54 Ibid., 167, 170-171, 174. The Camões quote Barata uses is “Dai na paz as leis iguais, constantes/Que aos grandes não deem o dos pequenos/E todos tereis mais, e nenhum menos” (“give in peace equal laws, constant/that to the great give not that of the little/and everyone will have more, no one less”). He criticizes the cooperation of religious authorities with corrupt absolutist states and aristocrats and nobles wanting to live “ociosos,” literally ‘ossified, inactive, unproductive.’

55 Ibid., 854-855. Barata includes the following quotation: “a forma absoluta…só é favorável a seus vícios, corrupção, poderio e posse injusta dos terrenos de certo modo usurpados…por
Barata argues for jury trials in not only criminal cases but civil cases to stop the rich with connections to judges from utilizing the legal system to extract wealth from the poor and middle class, relying on jurors from the middling classes to check abuse in the courts\textsuperscript{56}. The creation of various offices for magistrates generated a number of corrupt, ineffective clients that Barata felt the public had the right to disobey if they were pursuing private gain and not tending to their public duties, and he wanted to drastically reduce the number of public employees\textsuperscript{57}. The law had been utilized to create monopolies for particular companies and this abuse of the law had to stop\textsuperscript{58}. The laws were structured to serve as “teias de aranha e meros nadas para o povo” ("spider webs and nothing for the people") to structure a nation that should not be “patrimônio de ninguém” ("no one’s patrimony")\textsuperscript{59}. He describes the legal structure as one where citizens are animals herded about.\textsuperscript{60} Discourse against excessive wealth is present in every issue of the publications of these journalists in some form.

**AMERICANISM:**

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 508-509. Barata writes that the courts “arrancam grandes riquezas dos povos por meio das Causas Civis, e por isso é que se embrulham com mistérios, a fim de as excetuar” ("tear great riches from the people via civil law suits, and for this reason they wrap themselves in mysteries, to the end of creating exceptions") using the law “para se enriquecerem” ("to enrich themselves") the “Aristocratas” ("aristocrats") abusing the system.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 518-519, 520.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 522.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 527, 528.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 672.
The journalists of the Confederation often embraced an ideal of “americanness” in their writings. Caneca cites the English Pennsylvanian William Penn as an example of someone who treated natives so well that Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love, was named to emphasize the link between native and European, compared to colonizers in South America who had behaved in brutal fashion with natives\footnote{Caneca, *Frei Joaquim*, 60. Caneca criticizes “os lusos europeus e os estabelecidos nesta provincia, tratando os indígenas dela, não como irmãos e compatriotas” (“the European Portuguese and those settled in this province treating the natives not as brothers or countrymen”) but “reputando-os inábeis” (“labeling them as incapable”).}. Cipriano Barata on more than one occasion draws a clear parallel between the fall of Augustín de Iturbide, who had attempted to declare himself the emperor of Mexico and ruled the nation as Emperor Augustín I very briefly before abdicating under pressure from opponents, and Dom Pedro, as if to inform Dom Pedro that tyrannical behavior could have consequences, he could be deposed much as Augustín had been\footnote{Barata, *Sentinela da Liberdade*, 311, 346-348, 448. In those pages, one can find multiple instances of parallels between Augustín I and Dom Pedro.}. In his 13th of September of 1823 issue, Cipriano Barata not only rejects the notion that Brazil should be subject to kings as in Europe because it is an American nation but also states that if the constitutional assembly should be dissolved, one brave province should write a manifesto explaining their opposition to the measure and convene an independent constitutional assembly, inviting other provinces to join, such that representatives could write a constitution and then demand that Dom Pedro swear allegiance to it\footnote{Ibid., 441-442.}. The participants of the Confederation of the Equator ultimately took him up on this proposal, separating from Rio while portraying themselves as national saviors.

Caneca published United States President James Monroe’s speech enunciating the Monroe Doctrine and believed Gran Colombia would come to rival North America in terms of
power and was familiar with Argentine newspapers and a general outline of the Mexican
collection derived from newspapers, concluding that “[o]s estados europeus são monárquicos,
os Americanos federados e republicanos, os asiáticos despóticos” ("European states are
monarchist, Americans are federalist and republican, and Asiatic states are despotic") 64. To
Cipriano Barata, the “abominável governo central” ("abominable central government") was
created by the union of moderate liberals with the centralist faction, cooperating for the purpose
of funneling money into their own pockets while the heroism present in “todo Americano”
("every American") required a faith that would free Americans from such a system, and free
speech was required to divulge the faith65.

Americanism, for the journalists of the Confederation, implied an ideological struggle
tied to the struggles of other peoples in other American states but the precise movements the
journalists of the Confederation were referring to did not correspond to a particular political
orientation. They referred to centralist figures like Bolívar and to anti-centralist movements in
Argentina. In the 1st of July of 1824 issue, aside from publishing a “Bases para a Formação do
Pacto Social Redigidas Por Uma Sociedade de Homens de Letras” ("Basis for the Formation of a
Social Compact Edited by a Society of Men of Letters") which argued for a constitution
protecting the right to act as long as one does not harm others and to speak and publish one’s
opinions, equality under a well-defined and pre-established system of laws without special
privileges in government work and advancement, security and prosperity in terms of limiting
taxation and ending commercial monopolies, and the right to resist those who would oppress

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64 Caneca, Frei Joaquim, 373-375, 440, 446, 450, 466-467, 504. Caneca discusses the
qualities of American states.

65 Barata, Sentinela da Liberdade, 738, 772, 790.
others while also abolishing the right to acquire slaves in the future, Caneca published an
anonymous letter from a reader claiming that “[t]odos sabem que a América do Sul está toda
livre” (“everyone knows all of South America is free”)\(^{66}\). South American governments varied,
however. The readership and the journalists of the Confederation were most likely referring to
freedom from monarchism. In other words, Americanism likely implied a government without a
monarchy whereas Europe was associated with monarchical government. Brazil was, indeed,
anomalous in that a European monarchy had been transplanted into the Americas.

LOCALISM:

Supporting Local Production and Northeastern Nationalism

Caneca rejects Europeanness as the definition of Brazilianness, claiming that native tribes
mixed with Europeans give the country a natural thirst for wild liberty, the people of the country
gaining a religious faith from the Europeans and a spirit of independence from the native
peoples\(^ {67}\). The use of the figure of the indigenous man and woman, subjugated and largely
exterminated as a distinct group, a culture already only a vestige of its former self, was

\(^{66}\) Caneca, \textit{Frei Joaquim}, 490-491, 494-495, 496-497.

\(^{67}\) Ibid., 228, 229. Caneca writes: “Então o Brasil é Europa? O clima do Brasil, a sua posição
geográfica, a extensão do seu território, o caráter moral de seus povos, seus costumes, e todas
as demais circunstâncias que devem influir…sãò as mesmas que as das potências
constitucionais da Europa, para que o espírito da Constituição desta seja o mesmo que o das
constituições daquelas?” (”So Brazil is Europe? The climate of Brazil, her geographic
position, the extent of her territory, the moral character of her peoples, her customs, and all
other circumstances which should be considered...are the same as the constitutional powers
of Europe, for the spirit of the constitution of this nation to be the same as that of those
others?”). Caneca answers in the negative because “a nossa Constituição há de ser brasileira
no espírito e no corpo” (”our constitution should be Brazilian in spirit and body”) and “[o]
osso império há de ser brasileiro por dentro e por fora” (”our empire should be Brazilian
inside and out”), the Brazilian people being distinct from Europe as “descendemos dos
primeiros indígenas deste continente, e dos europeus transplantados nele” (”we descend from
the first natives of this continent, and from the Europeans transplanted on it”).

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convenient in that it provided a firm tie to the American continent, to a fervent local nationalism, but also avoided the issue of African slavery, although Caneca does ridicule the fact that many people waste time feeling ashamed of having African roots and looks forward to a day without slavery.

The following dispute with a journalist over race shows just how far ahead of his time Caneca was:

Pois a pureza de teu sangue! Tem seu peso!!! Que entendes, Cachorro, por sangue puro? És o primeiro filósofo que deu com esta melgueira…Na espécie humana se reconhecem cinco variedades…Pergunta-se qual destas diferenças é a mais perfeita!... Qual delas é a mais pura?

(The purity of your blood! It has weight!!! What do you understand, Dog, pure blood to be? You’re the first philosopher to come up with this foolishness…In the human species we can see five varieties…Ask yourself which of these is more perfect!...Which one is more pure?)

He addresses the relative nature of beauty, its tendency to be ethnocentric, writing “isto é gosto, é capricho, e capricho dos europeus, e não realidade” (“this is taste, its infatuation, it’s a European infatuation, it isn’t reality”)70. In a slavery-based society, admittedly with many slave owners of a mixed background, a society wherein everyone was eager to earn a title and place himself above others, he writes: “Infere-se do exposto que é estúpida a tua bazofia de branco, e que pelo lado do sangue não és mais puro que o samoeda, o chines, o kalmoulk, o housouana, o noolk; que o negro da Guiné; que o da Nova Zelândia” (“we can infer from this that your white...”)

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68 Ibid., 255. Caneca proclaims that “é a maior infâmia e indignidade ter um cidadão no seu vigésimo avô uma sutil porção do sangue africano, como já foi dos caboclos” (“it is the greatest infamy and indignity for a citizen in his twentieth grandfather to have a mild portion of African blood, as it once was with indigenous people”) and remarks that there may be a time “quando se destruir a escravidão dos africanos” (“when the slavery of the Africans shall be destroyed”).

69 Ibid., 153-154.

70 Ibid., 154.
bravado is stupid and that your blood is not more pure than the Samoyedic, Chinese, Kalmyk, Hausan, Norfolk; than the black man from Guinea-Bissau; than he from New Zealand”\(^{71}\).

Caneca is affirming a non-European Brazilian identity. The journalists of the Confederation of the Equator make frequent references to seventeenth century *Pernambucanos* who repelled a Dutch occupation without aid from Portugal, many of the participants in that event described as of indigenous and African descent. The references to race appear as a form of northeastern self-affirmation.

Aside from cultural and racial self-affirmation, which would indicate a northeastern nationalism, the participants also wanted to create a local economy. Some of them suggested protectionist measures. Cipriano Barata worried about the waste of money and emphasis on importing goods, about debts owed to the British, wearing a locally manufactured cotton coat to emphasize the need to move away from imported products to what was necessary, his straw hat and sheepskin boots symbols of the national man, the middling farmer\(^{72}\). After he had moved back to Bahia later in his life, Cipriano continued to believe he was being persecuted by a conspiracy of elites and foreigners as a result of his support for a domestic market, encouraging people to only buy locally manufactured products\(^{73}\). He questions the patriotism of those who

\(^{71}\) Ibid., 155.


\(^{73}\) Barata, *Sentinela da Liberdade*, 704. Barata writes: “Os Franceses e Ingleses dessa Bahia têm escrito e formado intriga aqui contra mim por via dos seus; pois só que quero destruir o comércio deles introduzindo o uso de casacas e demais roupas de algodão, chapéus de palha da terra, etc.” (“The French and British of this Bahia have written and instituted plots here against me via theirs; only for the reason that I want to destroy their commerce introducing the use of coats and other clothing made of cotton, hats from the straw of this land, etc.”).
refuse to build domestic productive capacity, to escape a condition he terms dependency\(^{74}\). He suggests that people “cortem o luxo” ("cut the luxury") meaning people should buy fewer imports\(^{75}\). The economy should be locally controlled via democratic institutions to avoid luxury, as, according to Barata, the keys to a good society would be “boa moral, economia e virtude” ("good morals, saving and virtuousness") and investing in the province as opposed to purchasing foreign goods\(^{76}\).

In this chapter and the prior chapter, the history and ideology of the Confederation were discussed in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the 1824 movement. The following chapter shows that the ideas of the 1824 movement survived into the late nineteenth century.

\(^{74}\) Ibid., 688. Barata writes: “De que serve aos Brasileiros ricos dizerem – eu sou um bom patriota - , se eles não fundam fábricas que adiantem o país e nos resgatem da dependência estrangeira?” (“what does it serve for rich Brazilians to say - I am a good patriot - if they do not establish factories which further the country and save us from dependence on foreigners?”)

\(^{75}\) Ibid., 687.

\(^{76}\) Ibid., 687-688.
Chapter 3:
The Confederation of the Equator in the Early-to-Mid-Nineteenth Century

No academic study has attempted to measure the influence the Confederation exercised on revolts in nineteenth century Brazil. Each of these revolts are discussed below. The *Cabanos* revolt occurred in the northeastern state of Pará from 1835 to 1840. The *Sabinada* revolt lasted from 1837 to 1838 and occurred in the northeastern state of Bahia. The *Farroupilha* revolt took place in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul from 1835 to 1845. Finally, the *Praieira* revolt took place in Pernambuco and lasted from 1848 to 1850. Participants in each of these revolts published short, ideological newspapers known as *pasquins*. Anti-centralism, understood as state autonomy, was the main theme in each of these revolts. These revolts also involved different factions competing for power over state government in the form of two factions supporting different state presidents but conflict among factions was usually tied to the centralism/anti-centralism debate because state presidents were chosen by Rio such that the faction opposed to the president appointed by Rio tended to deploy anti-centralism as a theme.

In terms of cultural production, *pasquins* are the only form of literature discussed in this chapter. Novels, such as the 1843 novel *O filho do pescador* (the son of the fisherman) by Antônio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, the 1844 novel *A moreninha* (the brunette) by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, and the 1854 novel *Memórias de um Sargento de Milícias* (memories of a militia sargeant) by Manuel Antônio de Almeida were hallmarks. All three of these novels were published in Rio and they do not discuss the Confederation. Similarly, Brazil did possess a school of fine arts in Rio which trained a small number of painters but no painting during this time period depicts the Confederation. I could not locate a poem about the 1824 movement.
**Pasquins**, four to eight page newspapers, were widely published in every province and authors of *pasquins* did address the Confederation. This chapter, therefore, involves the presence of the Confederation in the production of *pasquins* in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century to illustrate the survival and continuing impact of the ideology of the Confederation prior to its marking cultural production in a more ample artistic sphere in the late nineteenth century - thus, particular attention is paid to revolts which occurred decades after the 1824 movement had been suppressed, specifically the *praieira* revolt discussed below which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century.

The purpose of this work is not to argue that the ideas of the Confederation helped frame post-1824 political debates and that, therefore, cultural producers had to engage with the ideology of the Confederation as part of national political discussions. Rather, this work argues that some of the most important cultural producers in the nation’s history chose to address the Confederation and its ideas such that engagement with the ideology of the Confederation has marked the arts in Brazil. For the most part, the authors and painters discussed in subsequent chapters are part of a national cultural canon and require no defense as to their importance to the arts. With regards to *pasquins*, Professor Nelson Werneck Sodré’s influential 1998 book *História da imprensa no Brasil* (history of the press in Brazil) discusses the *Cabano* revolt, the *Sabinada*, the *Farroupilha* and the *Praieira* revolt, claiming that the *pasquins* produced by these anti-centralist revolts form part of an important literary corpus. Borges da Fonseca is discussed multiple times and is described by Professor Sodré, in the context of the 1830s, as “[o] jornalista do momento” (“the journalist of the moment”)¹.

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Professor Sodré discusses *pasquim* authors and their participation in the revolts discussed below in a series of chapters in a section of his book he titles “O Pasquim” wherein the form of the *pasquim* is depicted as a precursor to the “grande imprensa” ("grand press"), the literary, historical and news periodicals developed in the late nineteenth century which published novels in episodic form and poems. He draws a line from the pamphlets of the 1824 Confederation to the *pasquins* of subsequent anti-centralist revolts to the development of an ample press divulging Brazilian literature.

No academic has ranked the most important *pasquins* of the early-to-mid-nineteenth century in terms of influence on literature, however. Professor Sodré devotes much of his work to anti-centralist journalists. In order to lessen the impact of unavoidable subjectivity and the impossibility of reading all *pasquins* published in early-to-mid-nineteenth century Brazil, the following imperfect approach was adopted for this chapter. The largest-scale revolts of this time period and their leaders were identified via secondary sources. Then, the periodicals produced by the leaders of these revolts, famous historical figures who published *pasquins*, were searched for mentions of the Confederation. It might be argued that historical episodes do not need to be violent to be important and that authors of *pasquins* who were not involved with revolts were left out of this analysis. These objections are valid but establishing that the leaders of the largest-scale revolts in Brazil in the early-to-mid-eighteenth century adopted the Confederation as a banner in their *pasquins* and reproduced the ideology of the 1824 movement proves that the Confederation influenced well-known *pasquim* authors during this time period and that the ideology of the Confederation survived into subsequent periods when, as discussed in the following chapters, the Confederation took on a life of its own in the arts.

*The Revolta dos Cabanos (1835-1840)*
After 1824, another significant revolt took place in Northeastern Brazil lasting roughly five years. The revolt known as the *Revolta dos Cabanos* (revolt of the shack-dwellers) involved journalists who were closely tied to the events which took place in 1824. The Canon and journalist Jôao Batista Gonçalves Campos, who had been arrested during the 1824 Confederation of the Equator after the governor of Pará had moved to quell support for the Confederation movement, along with other men known as *Filantrópicos* (philanthropics) opposed the wealthier conservatives supporting centralization, Campos publishing a newspaper with the journalist Vicente Ferreira de Lavor, ak.a. *Papagaio* (parrot), until the authorities drove them into the countryside where they continued to agitate the opposition, the shack dwellers then rising up to kill the governor - they made the mistake, however, of installing a moderate member of the opposition, a wealthy landowner who moved to repress popular elements of the revolt and was then himself overthrown and replaced by a more popular leader who opened up a *Conselho Cabano* (shack dweller council) to the lower classes².

Rebels based out of Fort Epicuiranga, a tenacious point of resistance, and other rebels in the countryside, dubbing themselves the *Forças dos Brazileiros Reunidos* (Force of the Reunited Brazilians), sometimes painted crosses on their hats, their name and their appearance indicating they were not separatists and viewed their cause as a sacred one, a cause they ultimately died for as a brutal repression left thousands dead³. During the *Cabanagem*, the presidency of the province went back and forth between people representing the *cabanos* and appointees of the central authorities until Rio sent Francisco José de Souza Soares de Andrea, a military man, to take charge of the province in 1836 and suppress the revolt once and for all but the fighting

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² Santos, *Cabanagem*, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 92; Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon*, 5.

persisted until 1840, by which time most of the opposition to the Court in Rio had been soundly defeated⁴.

Anti-centralism was one of the main themes in their periodicals, and the cabanos (shack dwellers) also deployed a great deal of discourse against excessive wealth. We can see the ideological influence of Cipriano Barata in Papagaio’s work. He names his periodical after Barata’s periodical. Papagaio's newspaper was titled A Sentinela Maranhense na Guarita do Pará (the sentinel of Maranhão in the sentry-box of Pará) and displayed the masthead “SALVE SANTA FEDERAÇÃO” (“Salute the Sacred Federation”) and a poem in the same masthead reading “Sem despotas existe Povo, Sem Povo não há Nação; os Brazileiros só querem Federal Constituição.” (“Without despots there is the People, without the People there is no Nation; the Brazilians only want a Federalist Constitution”) the issues using the phrase “Governo Central” (“Central Government”) to refer to the royal court in Rio. One issue insults the governor in 1834 as a patronage seeker, the sort of man who shamelessly begs for appointments for himself and his friends. In the same issue, Papagaio refers to the “Causa Brazileira” (“Brazilian Cause”) with its “Lista dos Immortaes” (“List of Immortals”) including “Baratas,” “Carvalhos” and “Canecas”.⁵ The references to the 1824 movement in these periodicals, the members of the Confederation of the Equator referred to as Immortals, indicate that the author was influenced by

⁴ Santos, Cabanagem, 66, 68.

⁵ Papagaio, A Sentinella Maranhense, 386, 311. Papagaio writes in the same issue: “O Machado, como militar atrasado em sua carreira, e outros pobretões como ele, que andão aventureiros mendigando Presidencias, e caballando para serem Deputados de Provincias, em que não nascerão, precisão mais do Duque de Bragança para lhes conferir accessos e empregos” (“Machado as a military man behind in his career and other beggars like him, who walk about adventurously begging for presidencies, and leaping at the opportunity to be representatives of provinces in which they were not born, need more than the Duke of Braganza to grant them access and jobs”).
the periodicals of Cipriano Barata and Frei Caneca, and perhaps others he does not name. The use of the descriptive “immortal” implies a certain supernatural reverence.

The *Cabanos* wrote about anti-centralism guaranteed by a federalist constitution and abolishing the national guard, indicating that their cause was a sacred one. The ideology of the Confederation was reproduced here without changes, as is the case with most of the movements discussed in this chapter. The journalists who authored these *pasquins* passed on the ideas of the Confederation, guaranteeing that these ideas and the figures associated with them survived as an active force.

**The Revolta Farroupilha (1835-1845) and The Sabinada (1837-1838)**

The *Farroupilha* or Raggamufin revolt in the southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul taking place from 1835 to 1845 involved another attempt to produce an anti-centralist constitution with rebels rejecting a president appointed by Rio. Although the revolt began in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the rebels attempted to export their message into the neighboring state of Santa Catarina by invading and declaring that state a separate republic and forming a confederation. The very term *farroupilha* (raggamufin) was one applied to *exaltados* regularly, as Barata makes clear in the 17th of December 1831, number 27, issue of the *Sentinela* when he writes that he dislikes the label when used against *exaltado* authors.

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6 Barata, *Sentinela da Liberdade*, 814, 815. Barata writes: “não posso deixar de levantar a voz contra a animosidade com que acomete os Escritores Liberais...tratando-os por desprezo pelo epíteto de *farroupilhas*” (“I can't refrain from raising my voice against the animosity directed against Liberal Authors...treating them with the disdain of the epithet 'farroupilhas'”) and “denominar *farroupilhas* a esses beneméritos Escritores como pessoas da canalha...Pelo contrário o apelido de *farroupilha* recai sobre muitos Aristocratas de chinelos” (“denominating 'farroupilhas' these meritorious Authors as people of the rabble... On the contrary the nickname of 'farroupilha' falls upon many aristocrats in sandals”).
The influence of Barata in Rio Grande do Sul can be seen in the formation of newspapers unaffiliated with him calling themselves *sentinelas* such as the *Sentinella da Liberdade na Guarita ao Norte da Barra do Rio Grande de S. Pedro*. This *sentinela* features a poem as a header. I editorially replace a symbol of what appears to be praying hands, perhaps indicating “sacredness” in the poem with the word *sagrada* (sacred): “Viva a Patria Libertada/A Sabia Constituição;/Vivão o [sic] Rio-Grandenses/ Amigos da [sagrada] Federação” (“Hail the Free Homeland/the Wise Constitution/Hail the Rio-Grandenses/Friends of [sacred] federation”) as a header\(^7\). The recurrent themes in other Farroupilha publications such as *O Povo* (the people) include eliminating arbitrariness in law and federalism\(^8\). A review of the periodicals associated with the *Farroupilha* also indicates that these journalists were influenced primarily by the anti-centralist model of the Confederation and presented their revolt as carrying the banner first raised in Pernambuco in 1824.

The *Farroupilha* influenced another revolt known as the *Sabinada*. The manifesto of the participants of the *Sabinada* mentions the dissolution of the constitutional convention which set off the Confederation of the Equator as one of the causes leading up to their own revolution as well as the *Farroupilha*, and opposition to the appointed president of the province for being a blind servant of Rio\(^9\). As indicated by correspondence studied by Paulo Cezar Souza in *A Sabinada: a revolta separatista da Bahia (1837)*, some of the soldiers who participated in the *Sabinada* revolt were concerned about being shipped to wage war against the *Farroupilha*\(^10\).

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\(^7\) Castro, *Sentinella da Liberdade*, 487.

\(^8\) Gonçalves, "Liberais sim," 16-20, 37, 41, 42, 43.


From November 1837 to March of 1838, a group known as the \textit{sabinos} after one of their leaders, Fernando Sabino Álvares da Rocha Vieira, editor of the newspaper \textit{O Novo Diário da Bahia} (the New Daily of Bahia) which clamored against aristocrats tied to Rio, took over the city of Salvador in Bahia with the goal of spreading their revolution to the rest of the state, their revolt coming after other attempts at separation from the Court in Rio in the towns of Cachoeira and São Félix in 1832, wherein a manifesto had been announced aiming to form a new confederation of states, and at a prison fort known as \textit{Forte do Mar} (the Fortress of the Sea) in 1833, another revolt aiming at a national confederation\textsuperscript{11}. The Fortress of the Sea revolt may have involved Barata as noted in the first chapter. Barata was inside the prison fort at the time that revolt occurred and may have interacted with the prisoners to spur them on to revolt. No study has been produced linking Barata to this revolt, however, despite the fact that he was the most famous prisoner of the time. The governor of the state had sent samples of Sabino’s newspaper to the Court and made a proclamation to the people of the state to avoid the disorders of the \textit{Cabanagem}\textsuperscript{12}.

Attempts to spread the revolution to locations such as the city of Itaparica mostly failed, although the revolt found some support in areas where small farmers predominated, such as Vila de Barra and Vila Nova da Rainha\textsuperscript{13}. The \textit{Sabinada} attempted to incorporate poorer elements as well, Sabino railing against the central powers in Rio, describing Salvador as a periphery, the movement attracting intellectuals such as Professor Jôao da Veiga Muricy who advocated that

\textsuperscript{11} Leite, "Sabinos e diversos," 9, 14, 21, 23, 104; Souza, \textit{A Sabinada}, 168.

\textsuperscript{12} Souza, \textit{A Sabinada}, 25, 28.

\textsuperscript{13} Leite, "Sabinos e diversos," at pages 25-27; Souza, \textit{A Sabinada}, 68, 80.
the revolution should do whatever it had to do to succeed, a point taken to heart as the new
government ordered the formation of a Batallhão Libertos da Pátria (Batallion of Freed Men of
the Fatherland) made up of slaves\textsuperscript{14}. As in the Confederation of the Equator, the Sabinos
attempted to create their own navy and to break the blockade imposed upon them but failed and
lost the city, resulting in a brutal repression of subversives by March of 1838.

Despite announcing the complete separation of Salvador from Brazil, the revolt was not
separatist as the rebels indicated that their separation would only be effective until the young
emperor, now Dom Pedro II as his father had returned to Portugal, reached the age of majority
and could take the reigns, indicating their opposition to the aristocrat-controlled ministry that
would presumably yield power during the emperor’s prepubescence, but they also had plans to
use the interim to organize a confederation\textsuperscript{15}. Their revolutionary plan states that the government
had taken its power and distributed it among many small tyrants without any respect for equality
as a principle, empowered little despots who do not engage in productive labor, focusing on
gaining positions of power to reduce the country into one massive latifundio\textsuperscript{16}. The language is

\textsuperscript{14} Leite, "Sabinos e diversos,“ 30, 34, 40, 42, 46, 51.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 61-62, 105.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 127. Guimarães Leite was able to obtain a copy of this plan and included it in his
work: “Tirou-se a vara do tirano para se subdividi-la infinitamente por déspotas pequenos,
ambiciosos, turbulentos e sem o menor vislumbre de igualdade e do bem de seus semelhantes
que, cuidando só de seus pequenos interesses, nada pensam, nada empreendem que não seja
para sua elevação, e de seus parentes, de seus amigos e de seus apaniguados...Neste sentido
eles têm à custa de baixezas e ignominias, sentar-se nos bancos parlamentares, e daí não
tardarão que não reduzam o miserando Brasil a um governo feudal, ou de pedaços de terra e
distritos pertencentes a juizes de direito por ora e logo donos ou senhores desses mesmos
terrenos.” (“the staff of the tyrant was taken away to be infinitely subdivided by small
despots, ambitious, turbulent, and without the least hint of equality and of the good of their
fellow man who, caring only for their little interests, do not think and do not attempt anything
which is not for their own elevation, of their parents, of their friends, and of their minions...In
this sense they have at the cost of ignominy and treachery seated themselves on
similar to the Confederation’s language regarding excessive wealth mentioned in the second chapter. Sabino mentions the struggles of other exaltados throughout South America in his newspaper, indicating Americanism influenced this revolt. We see clear ties here to the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator: anti-centralism, discourse against excessive wealth, and Americanism. Bahia and Pernambuco were Barata’s two home states, and Barata had been nominated by the people of Bahia to represent them in the constitutional assembly prior to its dissolution, and his writings were well known.

We know not only that Barata lived in Bahia and was popular enough there to be elected as a representative to the constitutional assembly but that his brother, Francisco José Barata de Almeida, signed the petition establishing the Sabinada revolutionary regime and that the participants were almost exclusively middle class individuals, the same audience as in Pernambuco in 1824, and that the United States and the Swiss were cited in their writings as good examples to follow. A clear line linking the sabinos to the Confederation of the Equator can be detected in the figure of one of its leaders, the journalist Domingos Guedes Cabral, who published the newspaper O Democrata (the democrat) from 1833 until the Sabinada. Guedes Cabral then went on to publish a newspaper titled O Guaycurú (the Guaycuru). The 29th issue of O Democrata, published in 1834, transmitted news of the Farroupilha Revolts and a notice about the jailed Barata: “A Sentinella da Liberdade recolhe-se por se achar doente; mas logo que

parliamentary benches and from there will not delay in reducing miserable Brazil into a feudal government, or of pieces of land and districts belonging to legal judges for now and soon owners and masters of these same lands”)

17 Ibid., 140

18 Souza, A Sabinada, 34, 43.

19 Ibid., 130, 131, 163.
se restabelessa tornará a aparecer [sic]” ("The Sentinella da Liberdade recoils because it is sick; but as soon as it heals it will return")\textsuperscript{20}. In the same issue, we have a clear sense of Americanism, where the site of the Farroupilha Revolt, the state of Rio Grande do Sul, is praised as “irmão” ("brother") to the “República Oriental do Uruguai” ("oriental republic of Uruguay") and “Democratas Argentinos” ("Argentine Democrats") hoping that Rio Grande do Sul would rise up to “abrir as portas do Brasil à Democracia” ("open the doors to democracy for Brazil") and that “O Americano Brasil marcha aos seus destinos” ("American Brazil marches to its destiny") while we also have a sense of anti-militarism as the author notes that armies have always been the tool of despots\textsuperscript{21}.

Lest we have any doubt that the writings of the participants of the Confederation of the Equator inspired Domingos Guedes de Cabral, he lets us know the truth in the 4th of October of 1834 issue, published by the publisher “PATRIOTICA-FEDERAL” ("patriotic federal"): \textit{...}

O Brasil por toda parte ergue altares aos martyres do Republicanismo, e por toda parte apparece o jubilo e a sympathia no semblante Brasileiro ao pronunciar a palavra 	extit{Republica}: as honras conferidas as [illegible] ilustres de um Roma, de um Martins, de um Caneca, de um Ratekelif, de um Tristão, de um Filgueiras, as homenagens [illegible] a um Carvalho, a um Barata, não poderão ainda convencelos de que o Brasil pertence a America...
(Brazil everywhere raises altars to the martyrs of Republicanism, and everywhere is shown the joy and kindness on the face of Brazil upon pronouncing the word Republic: the honors conferred to [illegible] illustrious of a Roma, of a Martins, of a Caneca, of a Ratekelif, of a Tristão, of a Filgueiras, the homages [illegible] to a Carvalho, to a Barata, will not still convince them that Brazil belongs to the Americas...)\textsuperscript{22}

Guedes Cabral mentions Tristão de Alencar Araripe and José Pereira Filgueiras who participated in the 1817 revolt but also the Confederation of the Equator. Guedes Cabral also mentions Caneca, João Guillherme Ratcliff, Manoel Carvalho Paes de Andrade, and Barata – the major leaders and ideologues of the 1824 movement. Guedes Cabral describes them as martyrs, indicating a symbolic status, but he also indicates that the public possesses much more enlightened reasoning than in 1824, indicating a rapid shift in public opinion from 1824 to the \textit{Sabinada}.

We can fast forward to \textit{O Guaycurú}, named after the indigenous Guaycuru peoples of Northern Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia and Brazil, to issue 68 in 1844 and see that the Confederation of the Equator is still an influence, as he refers to Caneca and Agostinho as illustrious martyrs to be emulated\textsuperscript{23}. In the same issue, we have criticism of centralization, of what the author describes as an antisocial state with systemic anarchy, as well as religious language, and a clear recognition that “duas grandes eppocas dão partida ao estabelecimento social do Brasil – 1817, e 1824” (“two great moments gave birth in Brazil to its social establishment – 1817 and 1824”) but it was only in the latter movement that there was an attempt

\textsuperscript{22} Cabral, \textit{O Democrata}, 4 Oct. 1834.

\textsuperscript{23} Cabral, \textit{O Guaycurú}, 7 Dec. 1844. Cabral writes: “Marres de Caneca e Agostinho, e de tantos martyres illustres, que derramaram seu generoso sangue por amor da liberdade, não excitareis mais os brios pernambucanos!!!!! a ambição, o ganho vil e mesquinho vencerão a tudo!!!” (“Charging horns from Caneca and Agostinho, and from so many illustrious martyrs who shed their generous blood for love of liberty, will not excite the proud people of Pernambuco anymore!!!!! ambition, vile gain and cheapness will win everything!!!”)
to create “regras da nova sociedade” (“rules of the new society”)\(^{24}\). In issue number 69, we see reference to this liberty faith as well as references to the Swiss canton system as desirable and criticism of government corruption, as well as discourse against excessive wealth\(^{25}\). In the same issue, there is a mention of the Confederation of the Equator: “os que combatêrão para sufocar a confederação do Equador, e o que mais he, os que fizerão derramar nos cadafalsos o sangue dos briozos pernambucanos e searenses…não serão jamais por nós considerados” (“those who fought to suffocate the Confederation of the Equator and, even worse, spilled blood on the scaffolds of the proud pernambucanos and cearenses…will never be considered by us”)\(^{26}\).

The names of the participants of the Confederation of the Equator are so sacred to Domingos Guedes de Cabral that in issue number 72 in 1844, carrying the customary header of\(^{24}\) O Guaycurú “Os princípios são tudo, os homens pouco” (“principles are everything, men are little”) that every issue carried, he cited an article published in Antônio Borges da Fonseca’s paper O Nazareno (the Nazarene) in which Borges da Fonseca capitalizes Caneca’s and Agostinho’s name, along with the word for God: “Que! Reunidos hoje na patria de CANECA, e

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\(^{24}\) Ibid.

\(^{25}\) Cabral, O Guaycurú, 15 Dec. 1844: “Sempre que qualquer subalterno fala ao superior com franqueza e energia, he isto tido como um desrespeito, insoburdinação [sic], ou altivez por aqueles que rodeiam e incensão as Authoridades, e então em falta de provas, e de meios para endoear os maos feitos dos falsos idolos a quem se adora, corre-se a invectivas e provocações contra aquelle que os patentea, sem se lembrar o parasita que assim obra, que sobre si recahe, com mais Justiça, a falta de educação e civismo…” (“Every time any subaltern speaks with a superior with frankness and energy, this is treated as disrespect, insubordination, or excessive pride by those who surround and fawn over the Authorities, and then without proof, in order to deify the bad deeds and false idols of those they adore, they rely on invective and provocation against he who reveals them, without the parasite who so works remembering that upon him falls more justly the charge of a lack of education and civic responsibility”).

\(^{26}\) Ibid.
para governa-la, os seus principais algozes!!!...e havemos sofrer tamanho insulto mudo e
quedo!!!... Por DEOS que antes morrer do que supportar tanta ignominia” (“What! Reunited
today in the homeland of Caneca and to govern it his principal executioners!!...and we should
suffer such an insult silent and still!!!...By God that it is better to die than live with such
shame”) 27. And again: “Vemos n’ estes actos o propozito do ministerio [illegible] em velipendiar
a patria de AGOSTINHO e de CANECA…esse chefe da confederação do Equador” (“we see in
these acts the ministry’s purpose [illegible] to villainize the homeland of Agostinho and
Caneca…this leader of the confederation of the Equator”) 28. Borges da Fonseca was one of the
main leaders of the Praieira Revolt discussed below.

The Revolta Praieira (1848-1850)

The revolt known as the Revolta Praieira (revolt of Praia street), borrowed heavily from
the Confederation of the Equator. In the revolts discussed in this chapter occurring prior to the
Revolta Praieira, anti-centralism had been the main item for which the Confederation had been
cited. The Confederation represented a sacred federation, to use the terms of the periodicals
discussed above. In the Revolta Praieira, the journalists involved with this rebellion also focused
on developing a domestic economy. Recall the discussion in the prior chapter about Barata
supporting the need for a domestic economy, wearing locally-manufactured clothes and arguing
for measures diversifying crops and developing manufactures. Barata was convinced that foreign
interests were persecuting him for these positions and were ultimately responsible for his being
jailed. The participants of the Revolta Praieira argued for measures aimed at diversifying the
local economy.

27 Cabral, O Guaycurú, 8 Jan. 1845.

28 Ibid.
Two radically different accounts about the *Revolta Praieira* lasting from 1848 to 1850 in the state of Pernambuco have been passed down from two figures who lived through the events. An account known as *Crônica da Rebelião Praieira* (Chronicle of the Praieira Rebellion) was written by a man charged with suppressing the revolt, Jerônimo Martiniano Figueira de Melo, who claimed that the tumult was started by journalists exploiting resentment against foreigners, particularly on the part of artisans who demanded the expulsion of their foreign competitors and prohibition of European imports, and envy directed at the wealthiest families to instigate the lower classes against the wealthier elements and that, through intrigue, these elements ended up getting one of their own, Antônio Pinto Chicorro da Gama, appointed president of the province, and that da Gama immediately fired a great number of employees and staffed these positions with people loyal to himself who were then fired when a man tied to large landowners and who had acted as president of many provinces, Herculano Ferreira Penna, was appointed in 1848, and fired and replaced local law enforcement officials. Figueira de Melo’s account represents the rebels as using discourse against excessive wealth and localism, supporting development of a local economy through restrictions on imports, to attract adherents.

The second account, known as *Apreciação da Revolta Praieira em Pernambuco* (Appreciation of the Praieira Revolt in Pernambuco), by a participant and representative in the national assembly named Urbano Sabino Pessoa de Melo, denies that there was a revolt, the Penna faction comprising the true revolutionaries with their mass firings of local officials, sending “hordas selvagens” ("savage hordes") who were not legal authorities but instruments of death into every town, forcing da Gama supporters into action for their self-defense as a violent repression fell upon them, impressment abused to the point where anyone from farm workers to

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29 Melo, *Crônica da rebelião*, 2-3, 4-5, 15, 16, 24-25, 26-27.
students to landowners were targeted. In de Melo’s account, we see anti-centralism as a theme as he accuses the opposition of using the ability to recruit into a national military for their own arbitrary ends.

The members of the Partido Nacional de Pernambuco (national party of Pernambuco) were known as praieiros because of the name of the street where their newspapers were published and they claimed to represent a larger portion of the population than their opponents. In 1849, the Praieiro Manifesto ao Mundo (manifesto to the world) was released demanding not only freedom of the press and the exclusion of foreigners from participation in retail but a confederation organization and the end to the military recruitment system. Antônio Borges da Fonseca is considered by Professor Sodré to be one of the most important journalists in Brazilian history. He was one of the leaders of the Northern column of the rebels, seizing the opportunity when the Regos Barros-Cavalcanti faction reclaimed power and began a campaign of suppression, the province exploding into civil war, and he was one of the few who received no offer of amnesty once it became clear the conservative faction was going to retain power.

Borges da Fonseca and Cipriano Barata knew each other and had a complex relationship. While Borges da Fonseca had nominated Barata for the Senate, Barata believed he was working against him and regretted having defended him simply because they shared the same ideas.

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31 Marson, Revolução Praieira, 8-9, 12, 18-20, 21.


33 Marson, Revolução Praieira, 75, 90-91.

34 Barata, Sentinela da Liberdade, 703, 708. Barata regrets defending the “injusto e leviano Republico só porque falava a bem das reformas federativas” (“the unjust and frivolous Republican only because he spoke well of federalist reforms”).
that the two men shared the goal of decentralization, that they had once been allies, but that they at times clashed. In an issue published after the issue in which Barata claimed Borges da Fonseca was working against him, Barata comes to the defense of Fonseca again after Fonseca was insulted by a conservative publication, again emphasizing that they shared the same ideas. The men influenced each other, read each other’s works, and agreed on the need for decentralization as they were both part of the radical wing of the republican movement.

A sense of nationalism was present in the praiéira as well as the Confederation of the Equator. Public works in Pernambuco had been entrusted to Frenchmen who wanted to build bridges with imported materials and favored developments benefitting larger estates, resulting in growing anti-immigrant sentiment, the court in Rio viewed as such a foreign institution that some anti-centralists opposed efforts by the central authorities to build universities in the provinces as a plan to centralize and Europeanize intellectual production, the praiéiros favoring a ban on immigrants working in the retail sector. They also favored the growth of national industry, of domestic production, opposing the mere accumulation of luxury goods by the wealthiest residents of the province as well as eliminating taxes small producers could not afford to pay, protectionism for domestic manufacturing, and, sometimes, questioning the importation of immigrants into Southern Brazil. They affirmed equality under the law and they removed

35 Barata, 719-720. Barata writes: “Finalmente, termino esta gazeta defendendo o Republico contra a Aurora, e lembro de corrida a federação como remédio único que pode sarar nossos males políticos” (“Finally, I end this gazette defending the Republican against the Aurora, and quickly remind that the federation is the only medicine which can heal our political ills”). The Republican was Borges da Fonseca's pen name at times.


37 Ibid., 266-270, 278.
the wealthiest elements of the province from power and tied themselves to owners of small and midsize operations, and defended local efforts at education, their writings containing the language of Christian moralism and discourse against excessive wealth. In the 16th of June issue of his publication, Borges da Fonseca makes his admiration for the leaders of the Confederation of the Equator explicit, mentioning the executed 1824 participant and comandante do batalhão dos pretos (commander of the black battalion) Agostinho Bezerra Cavalcanti, among others:

Quantas vezes não temos visto o perverso opressor da humanidade, o carrasco do gênero humano ser canonizado, e vilipendiado o Sílpaturo virtuoso, e probo? Aqui mesmo não temos inumeráveis exemplos? Periodicos vendidos ao Partido não enxem de oprobrios o Incomparável, o Virtuozo, o Erôe BARATA? O nunca asaz xorado o Imortal CANECA, que nele perdeu Pernambuco, e o Brasil todo um Erôe, um sabio não tem sido menos prezado? O Virtuozo AGOSTINHO (digam suas virtudes os negosiantes do Recife) não tem sido infamemente boquejado? Tantos martires, tantos Erôes que de invectivas não sofrem?

(How many times have we not seen the perverse oppressor of humanity, the executioner of the human race be canonized and vilanized the virtuous and responsible citizen? Here, have we not innumerable examples? Do not sell-out periodicals insult the Incomparable, the Virtuous, the Hero Barata? The never sufficiently mourned Immortal Caneca, in whom Pernambuco and all of Brazil lost a Hero, a wise man never been less appreciated? The Virtuous Agostinho (the merchants of Recife can tell you of his virtues) has he not been infamously defamed? Do not so many martyrs, so many Heroes suffer invectives?)

Note that the descriptive “immortal” is used here and that the names of the participants of the Confederation are capitalized, a practice commonly reserved to words such as DEUS (god). In the Praieira, we see elements of the ideology of the Confederation: religion; anti-centralism; localism; discourse against excessive wealth; and religious language. Praieiro periodicals deploy the Confederation to further the same goals that the 1824 movement pursued.

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38 Ibid., 239, 263, 272-273, 282, 283.

39 Fonseca, Abelha Pernambucana.
The leaders of the revolts in early-to-mid-nineteenth century Brazil published periodicals and these periodicals mentioned the Confederation of the Equator as an inspiration. The revolts themselves reproduced the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator without much modification, indicating that the ideology of the Confederation survived and was well-known as the nineteenth century progressed. Rebel periodicals in anti-centralist revolts mention the ideology of the Confederation and monarchist periodicals reacted, as was the case with the monarchist *Sentinella do Throno* (Sentinel of the throne) published during the 1840s. Despite the fact that the title reflects Barata’s publication, the *Sentinella do Throno* is a response to liberal publications. In its 4th of April 1849 issue, the publication addresses the *exaltado* movement in Pernambuco: “Repillamos com horror essas doutrinas subversivas” (“we reject with horror these subversive doctrines”) based on a “fantasma chamado –liberdade-fantasma pernicioso e devorador da ordem e da tranquilidade” (“phantom named liberty, a pernicious phantom devouring order and tranquility”)⁴⁰.

In terms of cultural production involving the Confederation over the course of the first half of the nineteenth century, we find that the Confederation appears in propagandistic periodicals as opposed to novels or plays, in part because relatively few novels and plays were published in Brazil until the late nineteenth century, with some notable exceptions. Famous authors of *pasquins* adopted the ideology of the Confederation and adopted the 1824 movement as symbolic banner for their own causes, including: Papagaio, Domingos Guedes Cabral, and Antônio Borges da Fonseca.

As we reach the latter half of the nineteenth century, more periodicals are produced, including periodicals focusing on politics, history and literature. The Confederation becomes a

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⁴⁰ *Sentinella do Throno.*
subject discussed in these periodicals but also depicted in paintings. In fact, the Confederation is adopted as a symbol of the new republican regime. In this cooptation, however, certain elements of the ideology of the Confederation are ignored, particularly the anti-centralism, discourse against excessive wealth, Americanism and support for democratic representative institutions of the original movement. While the radical republicans of the early nineteenth century followed the ideas of the Confederation, the cultural producers tied to the First Republic of the late nineteenth century deployed the Confederation for their own purposes, modifying its original message. As the cultural sphere expands, the Confederation takes on a life of its own, the ideology attributed to the Confederation aligning with the original ideas of the 1824 movement in some ways but not others.
Chapter 4:

The Confederation of the Equator in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

On the 15th of November of 1889, Brazil becomes a republic as the monarchy is overthrown and replaced by a military regime. The First Republic is ruled by military officials and center-south oligarchs. Historians such as Jeffrey D. Needell and Nicolau Sevcenko have described this period as the *belle époque tropical* (tropical belle époque), associating most of the cultural production of the period as focusing on aesthetics including witty and playful sentence construction, Europeanism, irreverence, and elitism. Methodologically, I reviewed the publications *Kosmos*, *Fon-Fon!*, and the *Almanaque Brasileiro Garnier*, periodicals which discussed politics, literature, the visual arts, and history. I selected these periodicals because their regular contributors included some of the most well-reknown cultural producers of the First Republic, including Olavo Bilac and Gonzaga Duque. Furthermore, following the methodology described in the first chapter, other works focusing on the Confederation are addressed.

The first part of this chapter discusses depictions of the Confederation of the Equator during the First Republic, arguing that whereas early nineteenth century depictions of the Confederation reflected the ideology of the Confederation in its totality First Republic cultural producers coopted the Confederation while adopting elitist, Europeanist, centralist, anti-democratic language distinct from the discourse against excessive wealth, Americanism, anti-centralism, and support for democratic representative institutions of the 1824 movement. A shift in meaning occurs as the Confederation is no longer the symbol of forces opposed to the government but the symbol of the government itself.
The second part of this chapter addresses depictions of the Confederation during the *Estado Novo* (new state) fascist regime following the First Republic which lasted from 1889 to 1930. The *Estado Novo* era is marked by the leadership of Getúlio Vargas, president from 1930 to 1945. Cultural producers associated with a growing nationalist movement known as integralism rejected the ideology of the Confederation as dangerous. The Confederation is rejected as part of Enlightenment theories viewed as a corrupting influence on society.

Methodologically, I reviewed periodicals associated with the integralists but did not find frequent mentions of the Confederation. Two of the main authors associated with integralism, Câmara Cascudo and Gustavo Barroso, did address the Confederation in their writings. Câmara Cascudo, in particular, felt the need to write a short book about Cipriano Barata. Gustavo Barroso dedicated a significant portion of his history of Brazil to addressing the Confederation. Barroso's history and Cascudo's biography are less academic works than diatribes against international capitalists and republicanism.

From the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, the Confederation takes on a life of its own. A modified version of the ideology of the Confederation is adopted to suit the First Republic and is then rejected by a nationalist movement which rejected the First Republic as a cosmopolitan regime serving the interests of wealthy global capitalists. The nationalists of the *Estado Novo* could have deployed the localist and religious language of the Confederation to bolster their plan for dirigism and a return to traditional mores but the cooptation of the Confederation by the First Republic and the centralist tendencies of the nationalists led the integralists to reject the ideas of the Confederation and attack its participants.

**First Republic (1889-1930)**
Professor José Murilo de Carvalho notes, in his 1990 book *A formação das almas* (the formation of souls), that the 1889 declaration of a republic in Brazil was an upper-class affair and that the new government was based on a republican dictator not too far removed from Iberian theories of enlightened despotism, a militaristic regime supported by officers who had fought the monarchy’s wars\(^1\). Professor Carvalho discusses why Tiradentes, a man executed for plotting against Portugal in the pre-independence era, was chosen as the main symbol of republicanism after 1889 when Frei Caneca had been viewed as a possible candidate, asserting that Caneca was relegated to second place because Frei Caneca was from the Northeast and Tiradentes was from Minas Gerais, closer to the political center, Frei Caneca allegedly showed signs of separatism in his thinking, and Frei Caneca died as a leader of a resistance movement which had shed blood in a revolt against an internal power while Tiradentes had died immaculate, killed before he could take action against a foreign power\(^2\). The Confederation became a symbol of the republic but the message of the Confederation could not be fully endorsed because of its anti-centralist and democratic ideas.

The Confederation did become a symbol of the First Republic regime, however. Many streets in Brazil acquired names celebrating the figures of the Confederation of the Equator during the First Republic. In fact, the majority of cities and towns in Brazil have a street named Cipriano Barata, Frei Caneca, Sentinela, Jôao Soares Lisboa, or Jôao Ratcliff. In Rio, for example, the *Rua Conde d’Eu* (Street of the Count of Eu) was renamed *Rua Frei Caneca* (Frei Caneca Street) after the municipal council met and changed the name on the 21st of February of

\(^1\) Carvalho, *Formation of Souls*, 1, 16, 24, 37.  
\(^2\) Ibid., 74-76, 78.
1890, less than four months after the First Republic had been proclaimed\textsuperscript{3}. Professor Oswaldo Rodrigues Cabral, a historian of the city of Florianópolis in the southern Brazilian state of Santa Catarina, writes that the street known as *Travessa Ratcliff* (Ratcliff lane) in that city received its name in 1889 as a result of the declaration of the First Republic\textsuperscript{4}.

Visual representations of the Confederation include a bust of Frei Caneca placed near the site of his execution by the city of Recife in 1917 to commemorate the centenary of the 1817 revolt against Portuguese rule. Caneca was a leader of the 1824 movement and one of its main ideologues, and died as a result of his participation. Yet, he is associated with the 1817 movement as opposed to a movement against the government in Rio, a feature of some of the works of art about Caneca described in this chapter. Tying Caneca to a revolt against Portugal as opposed to Rio avoids the anti-centralism forming such an important part of the ideology of the Confederation and the revolts inspired by the Confederation.

The 1918 painting by artist Antônio Parreiras titled *Estudo para Frei Caneca* (study of Frei Caneca) is a work of art by a well-regarded artist. Parreiras was one of the most popular artists of the First Republic, a professor at the *Escola Nacional de Belas Artes* (National School of Fine Arts), and earned multiple prizes during his life. The National School of Fine Arts itself was known as the *Academia Imperial de Belas Artes* (Imperial Academy of Fine Arts) until the proclamation of the First Republic, when its name was changed and its professors were encouraged to paint national republican figures. Parreiras’s painting of Caneca is a realistic, oil on canvas depiction of the Friar in a cowl standing near a soldier, presumably a guard, leaning on his musket, in front of a group of well-dressed men sitting in high chairs behind a table with

\textsuperscript{3} Berger, *Dicionário histórico*, 59.

\textsuperscript{4} Cabral, *Notícia histórica*, 117.
green table cloth. One of the men is standing, pointing accusatorily at Caneca. Standing behind Caneca is a group of men, one of them wearing a rag on his head. The painting is one of a series of historical scenes Parreiras was commissioned by the government to paint, Parreiras painting Tiradentes in Estudo para Prisão de Tiradentes (study of the imprisonment of Tiradentes) as well as the Jesuit priest, José de Anchieta, and a painting depicting the conquest of indigenous peoples titled Conquista (conquest) as well as Zumbi, a leader of a community of escaped slaves known as the Palmares. According to Karia de Marco, director of the Antônio Parreiras Museum in the state of Rio de Janeiro, Parreiras was closely tied to the government of the First Republic, having painted works for one of the presidents of the regime, Campos Salles, as well as for various government officials during this period of time, and was voted the most noted Brazilian painter by the readership of the magazine Fon-Fon, associated with a position in favor of the government, in 1925. Art historian Antônio Gasparetto Júnior describes Parreiras in the following terms: “Antônio Parreiras foi o pintor que mais participou da construção da visualidade republicana, a ponto de ser considerado o mais representativo do estilo nas três primeiras décadas da República” ("Antônio Parreiras was the painter who participated the most in creating a republican visual style, to the point of being considered the best representative of the style during the first three decades of the republic")

In terms of his painting of Caneca, some elements of the ideology of the Confederation present themselves but others do not. The juxtaposition between the upper class men judging the Friar and the men in rags behind him indicates a conflict between the wealthy and less wealthy. The Friar in his cowl and sandals appears saintly, standing at the center of a square of light being projected from an unseen aperture directly above him, a religious icon. He is not in a courthouse

5 Gasparetto, "A Jornada de Parreiras."
but in an informal setting, a room with tables and table cloth, leading to the conclusion that the eight figures judging Caneca may also have been eating during the trial, the setting indicating arbitrary application of laws, unbound by constitutional limitations. The figures all have light skin, the painting as a whole reflecting a scene that could as easily have occurred in revolutionary France as in Brazil, reflecting Europeanism. As will be discussed below, depicting Parreiras as a Europeanist in all of his paintings does not reflect his full body of work. This depiction of the Confederation, when compared to visual depictions discussed in subsequent chapters which include the flag of the Confederation and regional symbols from northeastern Brazil, however, fails to reflect one of the main tenets of the 1824 movement: anti-centralism. In fact, this painting by Parreiras contains no visual clues as to the region depicted, avoiding the fact that the Confederation was a movement for regional autonomy.

The Parreiras painting of Caneca can be contrasted with other paintings by Parreiras. His painting of Zumbi depicts a black man holding a rifle, his face resolute, his head covered by a multicolored rag. Zumbi is depicted as a person of color with a multi-colored headscarf associated with northeasterners such that the painting contains regional elements. Similarly, Parreiras depicted the trial of a leader of an anti-Portuguese revolt in the state of Minas Gerais occurring in 1720 led by an immigrant from Portugal named Filipe dos Santos Freire. In his painting of the trial of Filipe dos Santos Freire, a colonial administrator is trying Santos Freire in a public square, churches of the city of Ouro Preto visible in the background, a crowd watching including people of various colors, some wearing straw hats and bright shirts, the painting depicting the specific region where the revolt took place. Parreiras painted the Farroupilha revolt in southern Brazil described in the previous chapter, depicting horsemen wearing typical gaúcho (southern South American) garb carrying the flag of their new republic, not the national flag.
Parreiras included regional elements in his depictions of revolts but chose not to do so with the Confederation in contrast to his other works. Parreiras never addressed his reasons for failing to include regional cultural elements in his painting of Caneca but, given that the Confederation had been coopted by the First Republic as one of the chief symbols of their regime based out of Rio, it is likely that he purposefully omitted any hint of regional nationalism and anti-centralism against rule by the government in the center-south.

The painter Murillo La Greca, born to Italian immigrants in Pernambuco, was commissioned to paint historical paintings during the First Republic. His choice of subjects is telling. Aside from his painting *A Execução de Frei Caneca* (the execution of Frei Caneca) produced in 1924 as part of the centenary of the 1824 revolution, La Greca painted Tiradentes as well as two presidents of the First Republic, Deodoro da Fonseca and Floriano Peixoto. La Greca’s painting of Caneca realistically depicts a stoic man in robes tied to a pole surrounded by soldiers in uniform. The audience is entirely comprised of government officials as opposed to the popular classes which are absent from the painting. The depiction is detailed but the scene it represents could just as easily have occurred in France as Brazil. Caneca is depicted here as the hero of the First Republic and he is painted without the presence of any anti-centralist flag, such as the flag of the Confederation of the Equator.

In terms of written works addressing the Confederation written during this time period, the anti-centralist ideals of the Confederation are similarly omitted. Professor Nicolau Sevcenko, in *Literatura como missão: tensões sociais e criação cultural na Primeira República* (literature as mission: social tensions and cultural production in the First Republic), divides First Republic-era authors into three categories with regards to their attitudes towards the First Republic: a small group opposed to the First Republic because of its elitist configuration, such as author Lima
Barreto, who sometimes wrote for anarchosyndicalist newspapers protesting against inequality; the ardent supporters of the First Republic, including Olavo Bilac, a contributor to the literary magazine *Kosmos*, this group adopting Europeanism, elitism, and aesthetic linguistic configurations; and a group which became disengaged with systemic politics and adopted a bohemian style focusing on the popular experience without a formal program. In describing this South American belle époque, historians such as Professor Sevcenko and Jeffrey Needell have represented the First Republic as an elitist institution. Carolina Vianna Dantas analyzed the issues of republican publications *Kosmos* and the *Almanaque Brasileiro Garnier* and concluded that the picture was more complex, noting references to people of color such as Zumbi. In fact, articles reflecting Europeanism and elitism appear with much greater frequency in *Kosmos*, *Fon-Fon!* and the *Almanaque Garnier*, whereas mentions of Afro-Brazilian and indigenous figures appear intermittently.

The authors featured in these publications frequently did not ascribe to classical republican ideals. Democratic institutions, for example, were repudiated by some republican authors, along with anti-centralism. In his 1907 essay "Tiradentes e os precursores da independência nacional" (Tiradentes and the precursors of national independence) published in issue 4 of that year in the magazine *Kosmos*, Antônio dos Reis Carvalho lauds Tiradentes as the hero of independence movements including the 1817 movement in Pernambuco. Reis Carvalho also writes, in the same essay:

> a sociedade humana evolue segundo duas correntes paralelas: a da confraternização religiosa, caracterizada pela unidade cada vez mais coesa de sentimentos, convicções e costumes, e da independencia politica, manifestada pela fragmentação das grandes nacionalidades e subsequente formação de pequenos estados.

(human society evolves in two separate currents: religious fraternity, characterized by the increasingly cohesive unity of sentiments, convictions and customs, and political
independence, manifested by fragmentation of great nationalities and the subsequent formation of small states)\(^6\)

The phrase is as much a warning about the possible splintering of Brazil into smaller republics as it is about independence from Portugal. Reis Carvalho would subsequently publish the book *A ditadura republicana* (the republican dictatorship) in which he argues that a successful republic requires a dictator to maintain order, suggesting that the protection of individual rights such as freedom of religion and expression can coexist with non-democratic institutions. Reis Carvalho views the republican dictator as part of *centralização temporal* (temporal centralization), certainly a concept that Frei Caneca and Cipriano Barata would have rejected. Professor Angelita Matos Souza sees a tendency towards increasing centralization during the First Republic\(^7\).

Authors supportive of the First Republic did not mention the anti-centralism of the Confederation, as we can see from the second part of the poem "A musa anônima" (the anonymous muse) by Mario Behring published in the 6th issue of *Kosmos* in 1908, wherein Behring identifies Cipriano Barata as “um dos maiores agitadores dos tempos que precederam a independência” ("one of the biggest agitators of the time period preceding independence") and an opponent of unity with Portugal whereas Caneca is an “immortal revolucionario pernambucano” ("immortal revolutionary of Pernambuco") and “martyr do absolutismo” ("martyr of absolutism") – but no mention is made of the Confederation of the Equator, leaving the reader with the impression that the two figures only struggled against Portuguese domination and not for anti-centralism\(^8\). Behring depicts the Confederation of the Equator as having been waged

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\(^6\) Carvalho, "Tiradentes e os precursores."

\(^7\) Souza, *Estado e dependência*, 69.

\(^8\) Behring, "Musa anônima."
against Lisbon, not Rio. Another regular Kosmos contributor, one of the most famous authors in the country, Gonzaga Duque, published the book Revoluções Brasileiras (Brazilian revolutions) in which he creates a progressive vision of national revolutions culminating with the proclamation of the First Republic, failing to mention the goal of the Confederation: separation from Rio. All of these authors depict the Confederation as a movement against foreign rule by Portugal.

In terms of discourse against excessive wealth, we have an embrace of elitism in terms of how the Confederation is described by Kosmos contributors. Gonzaga Duque describes the Confederation in curious terms: “eram prestimosos brasileiros, dos mais conceituados por seus nomes de família, por suas posições sociais e por suas riquezas” ("they were prestigious Brazilians, among most well-respected for their family names, social positions and their riches")⁹. In fact, the Confederation journalists deployed discourse against excessive wealth attacking the wealthiest men in the province with reknown family names regularly and they were from middle class as opposed to upper class backgrounds. In the early nineteenth century, the Confederation had been described as being waged against fatcats and aristocrats. Gonzaga Duque’s representation of the Confederation lacks any mention of the anti-centralism and discourse against excessive wealth of the 1824 movement. The participants are painted as general “republicans.”

Mário Melo, a noted historian and contributor to Kosmos, wrote a short work about Caneca also focusing on republicanism, tying it to the notion of a constitution¹⁰. Melo also wrote the work Dentro da História (inside history), a collection of fictional versions of historical

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⁹ Duque, Revoluções brasileiras, 89.

¹⁰ Melo, Frei Caneca, 24.
episodes with an episode titled "O suplicio de Frei Caneca" (the suffering of Frei Caneca),
describing Caneca as a poet and patriot, preaching liberty, without any mention of anti-
centralism or discourse against excessive wealth. The story "Episodios da Revolução de 1824"
(episodes of the 1824 revolution) found in the same book, describes Manoel de Carvalho Paes de
Andrade as an anti-monarquist as a young boy, refusing to kiss the king’s ring, but does not
mention anti-centralism. Mário Melo’s historical and fictional depictions of the Confederation
during this point in time use the term “liberty” to describe the republican system, but the system
described is not necessarily democratic or federalist in nature.

The ideology of the journalists of the Confederation of the Equator clashes with the
ideology of the cultural production of the First Republic about the Confederation. As identified
by Professor Sevcenko, the cultural production of the First Republic was primarily governed by
Europeanism as opposed to Americanism; frivolity and anti-clericalism instead of religiosity;
elitism instead of discourse against excessive wealth; and cosmopolitanism and global business
instead of localism. Publications such as Fon-Fon!, Kosmos, and the Garnier included racist
language, praise for the bohemian cosmopolitan life, opposition to anti-centralist tendencies, and
support for the regime. The title of Fon-Fon! implies silliness in French while Garnier evokes
the Paris Palais Garnier (Garnier Palace), reflecting a point of view based on Europeismo.
Vianna Dantas is correct, however, when she points out that these magazines also included
support for formal equal rights and some anti-elitist language – hence, the images of Zumbi
represent the values of formal equality under the law.

The 1933 work by Mário Melo titled Frei Caneca is instructive. Melo praises Caneca as
one of the most brilliant figures from Pernambuco but spends more pages describing Caneca’s
poems than Caneca’s ideas, noting “[n]ão era a poesia o seu forte” (‘poetry was not his
Melo also describes Caneca’s religious views about prayer, noting that Caneca did not believe that prayer could relieve anyone from the familial and social duties. The full depth of Caneca’s religious thought, particularly his belief that civil society and democratic institutions are sacred, is absent. Caneca is described as a product of French ideals, a patriot, and an anti-monarchist, but even the description of the reasons Caneca was executed does not mention Caneca’s anti-centralism aside from a note at the bottom of the page quoting trial documents verbatim. Considering that Caneca inspired anti-centralist movements throughout much of the nineteenth century, the omission of a discussion about Caneca’s vision for national organization is ominous. Melo’s focus on Caneca’s poetry reveals a preoccupation with aesthetics. Melo’s description of Caneca’s anti-monarchism did not imply support for democratic institutions.

The 1824 movement had involved various participants, but Caneca becomes the primary symbol of the Confederation during the First Republic. Caneca was executed and was a clergyman. The parallel with Jesus Christ is clear. Martyrs represent doctrines. The First Republic, described by academics such as Professor Sevcenko as elitist with its eyes directed towards Europe and by Professor Carvalho as authoritarian and militaristic, deployed Caneca as the symbol of the regime. Intellectuals who opposed the First Republic regime, therefore, depicted the Confederation in a negative light.

The Vargas Era and the Estado Novo (1930-1945)

As we reach the latter portion of the first half of the twentieth century, the ideology of the journalists of the Confederation of the Equator is attacked by fascist authors at the same time as some of the participants are upheld as symbols of the national raça (race). The Confederation’s

11 Ibid., 8.

12 Ibid., 13.
tenets of decentralization, individual rights, democratic institutions, and limits on executive power are repudiated by these fascist authors in favor of the *estado forte* (the strong state), derived from integralist ideology. The intellect of the journalists of the Confederation is depicted as proving the worth of the bloodlines comprising the Brazilian people.

Authoritarian nationalism, during this period, was advocated by a number of literary figures. Gustavo Barroso, who had worked at *Fon-Fon!*, turned to Integralism via his participation in groups such as the *Ação Integralista Brasileira* (Brazilian Integralist Action or AIB), led by the journalist Plínio Salgado. Perhaps the most famous of the members of the group was Luís da Câmara Cascudo. The participants were known as *camisa-verdes* (green shirts) because of their uniform, a green shirt with a tie and a band around the arm with the integral symbol, and they regularly used the Roman salute while shouting “anauê,” a Tupi word for brother. Hundreds of Integralist periodicals were published throughout the country, tied to the AIB. Plínio Salgado writes in his book *Primeiro, Cristo!* (christ first): “as teorias da violência justificadas ou prègadas no século XIX por Darwin, Nietzche, Marx, Sorel, Lenin foram precedidas pelo libertarismo dos costumes, oriundo da Renascença, de que Rousseau se fez intérprete máximo no século XVIII” (“the theories of violence justified or preached in the nineteenth century by Darwin, Nietzsche, Marx, Sorel, Lenin were preceded by the libertine habits arising in the Renaissance, of which Rousseau made himself prime representative in the eighteen century”) ¹³. Thus, he is not merely anti-communist but he goes farther and repudiates the Enlightenment itself. The republican regime of individual rights masculinizes women and destroys the institution of marriage ¹⁴. Salgado names the fathers of problematic philosophies:


¹⁴ Ibid., 21.
Rousseau, Diderot, d'Alembert, Helvetius, Holbach, Hobbes and Locke. He names the “salão” ("salon") the locale for discussion of new ideas, as the place where the fodder of revolutionary Enlightenment thinking took place, leading to secularism and moral degredation. Hierarchy, religion, dirigism, and national pride were elements of integralism.

Integralism in Brazil was influenced by the theories of Frenchman Charles Maurras. Maurras’s own lack of faith did not stop him from viewing a strong Catholicism as useful to fascism because Maurras believed that the Catholic Church had been infused with Romanism and Hellenism and was more Roman than truly Christian – to him, Catholicism carried the authoritarianism and respect for hierarchy of the Classical World, an influence present in the very structure and art of the institution. For Maurras, the Reformation was a threat to this civilization so that the Counter-Reformation had been the moment when the Church had decided to protect hierarchy and tradition at the Council of Trent, and he favored the French monarchy as a tool to protect this legacy, the king ruling without political parties, many of these ideas influencing the Integralist and Catholic l’Action Française (French Action) which would have South American counterparts. Maurras rejected the Enlightenment and supported centralist ideals. Integralism, based on his ideas, was therefore antithetical to the democratic, anti-centralist, Enlightenment-influenced Catholicism represented by the Confederation of the Equator. The integralists rejected the Confederation’s ideas.

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15 Ibid., 71.
16 Ibid., 72-74.
17 Buthman, The Rise of Integral Nationalism, 152.
18 Ibid., 153, 251, 260, 261.
Gustavo Barroso’s *A História Secreta do Brasil* (The Secret History of Brazil), which he published in installments beginning in 1937, is one of the classic works of the integralist movement. Barroso edited a number of mainstream newspapers as well as integralist publications and he served as federal representative and as director of the *Museu Histórico Nacional* (National Historic Museum). Liberal revolutions, for Barroso, tended to be the product of occult forces: “O povo não passa de pretexto ou de força bruta posta em movimento para se conseguirem certos fins” (“the public is nothing but a pretext or brute force put in motion to gain specific ends”)\(^{19}\). A decentralized, democratic state would allow international business interests to dominate the nation but a strong state with national syndicalism could protect the country from these foreign interests: “O Estado Forte é o pavor das forças ocultas, que tiram partido da confusão das assembléias e buscam prestígio na anemia dos Estados democráticos” (“the Strong State is the bane of occult forces which take advantage of the confusion of assemblies and seek rewards in the anemia of democratic states”)\(^{20}\).

In his nationalistic history of Brazil, Barroso spends much of the second volume discussing the liberal revolutions of Pernambuco, revolutions he views as sewing the seeds of the country’s domination by foreign capital. The purpose of the Confederation of the Equator, according to Gustavo Barroso, was to create a nation which could be conquered by international financiers and businessmen: “A Confederação do Equador, em 1824, nada mais foi do que a quarta fase duma revolução claramente maçônica” (“The Confederation of the Equator in 1824 was nothing more than the fourth phase of a clearly masonic revolution”) with the objective of

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\(^{20}\) Ibid., 38.
trying to “desmoralizar o poder central” ("demoralize central power")\(^{21}\). We see here the primary obstacle faced by leaders of fascist movements attempting to coopt the Confederation for their purposes: the Confederation is strongly tied to individual rights, democracy, and anti-centralism while fascists believe power should be concentrated in the hands of a powerful protector. Furthermore, the *Estado Novo* ideologues rejected the First Republic and the First Republic had coopted the 1824 movement as a symbol by naming streets after the participants in most of the nation’s cities, commissioning paintings focusing on the event, and referring to the Confederation as part of the history of movements leading to the declaration of the First Republic in 1889. Rejecting the Confederation, therefore, meant rejecting the First Republic.

Defenders of the First Republic clashed with defenders of Integralism. Barroso therefore disagrees with Mário Melo and Mário Behring that priests who participated in these revolutions were interested in liberal ideals benefitting the public, arguing that Mário Melo was a mason and Mário Behring was a lodge grand-master covering for a cosmopolitan predatory group of businessmen desirous of a weak state\(^{22}\). Mário Melo and Mário Behring had written about liberal revolts, including the Confederation, during the First Republic and Barroso takes issue with their version of the facts. Barroso’s history, however, is less an academic historical study than a diatribe against republican movements.

Barroso states that Jewish free masonry groups from England had made ties to groups in Colombia to spread revolt in Brazil in 1817 and 1824\(^{23}\). The journalists of the Confederation of the Equator utilized discourse against excessive wealth for the purpose of arguing for democratic

\(^{21}\) Ibid., 2, 52, 53.

\(^{22}\) Ibid., 20, 27-28.

\(^{23}\) Ibid., 15-16.
institutions and decentralization but Barroso deploys anti-elitist language to depict the Confederation as a coup tied to cosmopolitan forces. The defenders of the working people of the country, for Barroso, are the nationalists who support a strong government capable of protecting the masses from exploitation. According to Barroso, only nationalist dirigist governance can protect the average person from national and international predatory forces.

Despite the fact that the journalists of the Confederation argued for measures to create a domestic economy, Barroso does not view them as representing an authentic localism, perhaps because of the appropriation of the Confederation by the previous regime. Barroso’s description of Carvalho Paes de Andrade, president of the Confederation, is telling: “Manuel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade era um brasileiro desenraizado, sem verdadeiro sentimento nacional e sem amor às tradições do país…opulento e insinuante, percorreria muitos países, pondo-se em contato com os agitadores cosmopolitas da época…” ("Manuel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade was a rootless Brazilian, without true national sentiment and without love for the traditions of the nation…opulent and winsome, he traveled many nations, putting himself in contact with the cosmopolitan agitators of the time")24. He was “o Americano” ("the American") tied to Colombian groups25. Jõao Guilherme Ratcliff was a mason and “decerto, cristão-novo”("certainly a new christian")26. Cipriano Barata was just a “revolucionário profissional” ("professional revolutionary") spreading his ideas via his Sentinelas, with Sentinelas in London and Buenos Aires arising27. Barroso mentions the Sentinelas in other nations to indicate the

24 Ibid., 54.
25 Ibid., 54.
26 Ibid., 58.
27 Ibid., 70.
international scope of the liberal movement in contrast with his ardent nationalism. The
Confederation actually contained localist elements but Barroso is responding less to the ideas of
the 1824 movement than the First Republic, the Confederation now synonymous with that
regime.

Barroso acknowledges that those who lost their lives in the Confederation should be
viewed as martyrs and that the nation should respect them as patriots but argues that they were
misguided patriots, fooled by international forces beyond their control.\(^{28}\) He indicates that the
participants can be praised as examples of the essence of the national *raça* but that their ideology
has to be rejected. Barroso’s understanding of the ideology of the Confederation seems to have
been shaped by *Kosmos* contributors Mário Melo and Mário Behring so that Barroso does not
mention the anti-elitist and localist elements of the Confederation at all. The rift between the
integralists and the First Republic authors with regards to the Confederation illustrates the
distance between the Confederation as depicted by the *pasquim* author Antônio Borges da
Fonseca during the *Revolução Praieira*, wherein the development of a diverse local economy
and protection from imports and the prohibition of participation in commerce by foreigners was
understood as part of the message of nineteenth century anti-centralist movements following the
example of the Confederation, along with discourse against excessive wealth, and the
understanding promulgated by depictions of the 1824 movement during the twentieth century.
The Confederation had lost its anti-elitist language and localist elements.

\(^{28}\) Ibid., 62.
In terms of religiosity, Barroso claims that the Catholicism of the Confederation was a “disfarce” ("disguise") for secret anti-Christian movements\textsuperscript{29}. In terms of Americanism, Barroso rejects what he calls cosmopolitan “continentismo” ("continentalism") in favor of a true “brasilidade” ("Brazilianess")\textsuperscript{30}. Barroso’s rejection of the Confederation as anything but symbol of the creative potential of the raça is interesting because the populist elements of the ideology of the 1824 movement, such as its anti-elitist language, religious activism, and support for developing a domestic economy, could actually have served a nationalist movement. Reviewing Barroso’s sources, he relies heavily on First Republic historians and not on Confederation periodicals such that he may have been unaware of the writings of the participants of the Confederation and was rejecting the First Republic vision of the Confederation. Furthermore, the dirigism supported by the integralists involved a centralized state apparatus whereas the Confederation symbolized attempts at disaggregation of the country.

The effects of the adoption of the Confederation as a symbol of the First Republic, are also apparent in Câmara Cascudo’s 1938 book \textit{O Doutor Barata: político, democrata e jornalista}. Cascudo was a notable integralist who distanced himself from fascism during the Second World War but he was still an integralist in 1938. He begins his book by noting that he had come across a street in the city of Natal in his home state of Rio Grande do Norte named “Doutor Barata” ("Doctor Barata") and had become curious about the figure, struggling to find materials about Barata’s ideas. Barata was a symbol but Cascudo wasn’t exactly sure what Barata had actually written. He embarks on a project to find the real Barata.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 63.

\textsuperscript{30} Barroso, \textit{História secreta} Vol. 4, 20.
After reading what he could find, he concludes: “tirando toda a flamejante retórica que enrolava o Doutor Barata, fica muito pouco” ("without all the flaming rhetoric wrapped around Doctor Barata, little is left") because Barata “[n]ão tem ideas, não tem programa, não tem direção” ("has no ideas, program or plan") aside from the “ideologia anti-humana que 1789 espalhou pelo mundo” ("the anti-human ideology 1789 spread throughout the world") and “[e]le é, politicamente, uma figura secundaria e espiritualmente um mediocre” ("he is politically a secondary figure and spiritually mediocre") merely “uma repercussão demagica [sic] da revolução francesa” ("a demagogic repercussion of the French revolution") and a “sonhador de povos irmãos, de homens iguaes” ("dreamer of brotherly peoples, of equal men")\(^{31}\). The reference to the French revolution of 1789 as having poisoned ideas in the country was typical of integralist periodicals rejecting liberalism. Cascudo notes: “Penso justamente ás avessas do doutor” ("I think the opposite of the doctor")\(^{32}\). The answer to the question as to why Cascudo would write a book about a figure he does not agree with is never explicitly answered.

Cascudo’s biography of Barata is odd because he felt the need to write about a public figure, relating the various episodes of Barata’s life, but he simultaneously insults Barata throughout the biography. He says that, like Robespierre, Barata “guardava o Povo, á distancia, contentando-se em ama-lo teoricamente, em massa, em bloco, em abstrato” ("protected the People, at a distance, happy to love them theoretically, as a mass, as a block, in abstract")\(^{33}\). Barata is a “maçon e conspirator nato” ("mason and born conspirator")\(^{34}\). Cascudo describes

\(^{31}\) Cascudo, \textit{O doutor Barata}, 1, 2.

\(^{32}\) Ibid., 4.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., 5.

\(^{34}\) Ibid., 10.
Barata as a pitiful figure, full of energy and potential but constantly failing in his ambitions because of the doctrine he represented. Thus, Barata’s ideas lead to the revolution of 1824 to dismember the nation and Barata is jailed, spending most of his years behind bars, constantly publishing his pamphlets. Barata had been taken in by the ideology he preached and continued to remain an ideologue even as the ideology he preached began losing adherents.

Cascudo’s *O Doutor Barata* is a morality tale about the separation of revolutionary intelligentsia from the nations they seek to save. Cascudo is simultaneously lampooning the First Republic, with its fashionable elite working under the positivist ideals of republican dictatorship, and budding communist movements led by figures such as Luis Carlos Prestes, a military officer who had led revolts in the country and was part of the opposition to the Vargas regime. Barata is an intelligent, capable individual who could have accomplished many laudable objectives. He is determined, aggressive and heroic in his willingness to sacrifice himself for a goal he believes is right. As he ages, he remains vibrant and engaged. He is a prime example of the *raça*, the national essence. The implication is that Barata could have been an important historical figure had he not been dedicated to the wrong ideology. Barata is unable to achieve any concrete goals, however, because he is blinded by a world view simultaneously excessively individualistic and aggregative. For Cascudo, as an integralist, formal individual rights and anti-centralism weaken the nation and a vision separating the intelligentsia from the “masses” via class-based discourse splits the nation apart by taking a cohesive whole and dividing it into parts. As opposed to supporting a weakening of the nation, Barata should have aided the strengthening of the nation via a strong central authority and, as opposed to viewing the “people” in abstract, below him as an object to be rescued, Barata should have viewed himself as part of the people as a cohesive
but hierarchical unit. *O Doutor Barata* is a tragic tale of wasted potential and a condemnation of the ideology of the 1824 movement as coopted by the First Republic.

Not all authors of the time rejected the ideas of the Confederation quite so thoroughly. In the classic work on Frei Caneca, Lemos Brito’s 1937 *A gloriosa sotaina do Primeiro Império (Frei Caneca)* (the glorious cassock of the first empire Frei Caneca), Brito discusses the ideology of the Confederation in detail, having read the periodicals. Caneca did not have a problem with monarchy per se as long as it was a constitutional monarchy without an absolute veto or control of the armed forces by the monarch, with a free press and jury trials and other personal freedoms, without aristocratic titles and a royal court comprised of thousands of government employees, with provincial autonomy wherein Pernambuco not only maintains its own navy and popular militias but does not need to send its taxes or military recruits to Rio to sustain a governing apparatus – Caneca wanted a system wherein states were not controlled by the Center-South, a system similar to the pre-constitution system of the United States. Lemos Brito is referring here to the Articles of Confederation, a loose aggregation of sovereign nations and not the Constitution of the United States that was eventually adopted with a more centralist format. Lemos Brito does not tie the ideology of the Confederation to the ideology of the First Republic and he does not condemn the ideology of the Confederation.

Nationalism does affect his narrative as Lemos Brito describes Caneca as a “Gloriosa sotaina” ("glorious cassock"), a national symbol, claiming that Caneca volunteered to fight in the 1817 revolts despite the lack of evidence allowing conclusions about the role Caneca played,

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35 Brito, *A gloriosa sotaina*. 96-98, 101, 113, 121, 135, 136-137, 138, 139, 140-141. Lemos Brito writes: “Dos documentos que compulsamos, o que se conclui é que Frei Caneca prefere a organização norteamericana anterior à federação” ("From the documents we gathered, what one concludes is that Frei Caneca prefers an organization like the North American prior to the federation").
revealing the duality of Caneca as historical character and cultural symbol of national heroism. Lemos Brito also dedicates the book to “um dos maiores jornalistas de nossa raça” ("one of the greatest journalists of our race") and uses the word raça throughout the work. Overall, however, Lemos Brito is faithful to the deology of the Confederation in his descriptions and he makes no attempt to insult the 1824 movement.

While Lemos Brito’s work contains references to patriotism and the national raça, he has a different purpose than Gustavo Barroso and Câmara Cascudo. Lemos Brito deploys the language of Americanism to criticize mass movements led by demagogues of left and right:

Na America lusa e hispanica os povos deixam-se seduzir pelas exterioridades. Preferem a forma à substancia… Permanece esta, assim, com um caracter diferente do que possue nas verdadeiras democracias, tornando-se um mero ponto de relacao nos debates politicos, apathica e passiva, ou então explodindo estimulada pelos demagogos em manifestações tumultuarias de rua…

(in Portuguese and Spanish America the people allow themselves to be seduced by external appearances. They prefer form to substance…It continues, in this manner, with a different character from true democracies, turning itself towards points of rhetoric in debate, apathetic and passive, or instead exploding, stimulated by demagogues in tumultuous street protests…)

Lemos Brito describes Getúlio Vargas as gaining popularity via his ability to inspire the masses. He denounces the theatrical mannerisms of Hitler, Mussolini, Lenin, and others, claiming they wanted to turn people into “cordeiros” ("lambs"). Lemos Brito then contrasts Caneca and the emperor, but he may as well have been contrasting Caneca and Vargas, product of a wealthy family: “Um é o autocrata de nascença, o outro o plebeu que traz no sangue todas as reinvidicações das multidões anomas, e que por isto odeia a aristocracia, e a vencer

36 Ibid., 143-145.
37 Ibid., 15-16.
38 Ibid., 23-24.
39 Ibid., 25.
transigindo com o despotismo prefere morrer abraçado ao estandarte das liberdades” ("one is the autocrat from birth, the other the plebe who brings in his blood the claims of anonymous multitudes, and for this reason hates the aristocracy, and rather than winning by working with despotism he prefers dying embracing the banner of liberties") ⁴⁰.

While Lemos Brito regrets the rise of populists in Latin America, viewing the continent as suffering from a cultural tendency to gravitate towards strong personalities, integralists like Gustavo Barroso embrace the strong leader as an embodiment of the national essence capable of resisting international interests and republicans like Reis Carvalho praise republican dictatorship. The legacy of the 1824 movement goes far beyond street names, the Confederation resulting in a cultural obligation for authors to take a position as to the ideas of the movement, appropriating them for their own purposes or repudiating the movement. Cascudo’s biography of Barata and Barroso’s history of Brazil are less academic works than novels based on actual events wherein their own views of the 1824 movement are presented.

As described over the course of this chapter, post-monarchy Brazil resulted in the appropriation of the Confederation by intellectuals supportive of the government. The Confederation was no longer the banner of movements opposed to the government. The 1824 movement became a historical step in the birth of the First Republic but the First Republic did not deploy the discourse against excessive wealth or the support for democratic representative institutions or the anti-centralism of the 1824 movement and its followers for most of the nineteenth century, cultural producers depicting the Confederation as having been primarily concerned with independence from Portugal, anti-monarchism, and constitutionalism. The integralist authors who supported the Vargas coup bringing an end to the First Republic rejected

⁴⁰ Ibid., 26.
the Confederation as a symbol of the previous regime. As we proceed into the post-Vargas era, however, the Confederation movement is coopted once again, becoming the banner of socialist and anti-dictatorship movements.
Chapter 5:
The Confederation of the Equator in the Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Centuries (plays)

A period of democracy lasting from 1946 to 1964 followed the end of the Estado Novo, leftists building up sufficient momentum during this period to elect the reformer Jôao Goulart as president. At a March 13, 1964 rally organized by labor unions in Rio, Goulart announced a series of reforms, including nationalization of oil refineries and expropriation of land within ten kilometers from federal railways and highways, and he followed the announcement with pledges of more land reform. Claiming Goulart was a Communist, the United States cut off loans and aid to Brazil, and military elements in Brazil overthrew Goulart and established a military dictatorship, receiving congratulations from Lyndon Johnson. The military regime lasted from 1964 until 1985. After this period of dictatorship, Brazil returned to a democratic form of government, electing its first working class president and first female president, both tied to the anti-dictatorship movement organized in the sixties, seventies, and eighties.

In terms of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, a significant amount of material is available referencing the participants of the Confederation of the Equator. The increase in the number of works referencing these figures may have been due to an increase in the size of the reading public. Caneca, in particular, is deployed as a symbol by the anti-dictatorship movement opposing the post-1964 military regime. He becomes a character in plays by authors opposed to the government, these plays concluding with Caneca’s execution, a Christ-

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1 Burns, *A History of Brazil*, 500.

2 Ibid., 503-504.
like moment where Caneca becomes a martyr for his liberty faith but his liberty faith is now socialism. I focus on these plays herein because two of Brazil’s most famous authors associated with opposition to the dictatorship wrote plays about Caneca during this time period: Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto and Carlos Queiroz Telles.

These plays quote heavily from Caneca himself, citing his *Typhis Pernambucano*.

Whereas the *pasquins* of the early nineteenth century mentioned various participants of the Confederation, the First Republic appropriated these figures but placed a particular emphasis on Caneca to transform him into the religious martyr who sacrificed himself for the First Republic and its ideals. The paintings of Caneca generated during the First Republic obviously do not cite or refer to the *Typhis* but even authors associated with literary publications such as *Fon-Fon!*, the *Almanaque Brasileiro Garnier* and *Kosmos* who wrote about the Confederation did not cite extensively from Caneca himself, describing him as a general republican and sometimes as primarily a participant in the 1817 revolt. The integralist author Gustavo Barroso who attacked the 1824 movement cited First Republic authors Mário Melo and Mário Behring as sources with regards to the Confederation. Câmara Cascudo’s integralist biography of Cipriano Barata noted the author did not know much about Barata’s ideas but began to research his periodicals to discover the identity of the man a street was named after in his home town of Natal – but Cascudo does not cite frequently from Barata’s *Sentinela* but simply rejects Barata’s ideals as part of French revolutionary ideals. Plays written about Caneca post-1964 rely heavily on direct quotes most likely to protect the authors from persecution by the military regime such that an author suspected of authoring a subversive play could respond by stating that the play was historical and that the content was comprised of direct quotations from the historical subject himself.
Yet, Caneca’s quotes are deployed in a context in these plays wherein Caneca’s original ideas are changed in the following manner:

- Support for formal legal rights becomes support for effective rights.
- An Americanism originally including the United States becomes a revolutionary Latin Americanism where the U.S. is the enemy.
- A republican discourse against excessive wealth becomes a class-based socialist discourse.
- A republican liberty faith becomes liberation theology, a form of Catholicism influenced by Marxism.
- Support for localism becomes support for policies to develop the nation through national central planning.

Whereas authors writing during the First Republic and the Estado Novo rarely engaged directly with the original writings of the Confederation, the engagement with the original sources is much more pronounced during the period discussed in this chapter and, as is discussed herein, this engagement represented not only an attempt to protect oneself but to “take back” history. Thus, this chapter is organized following the ideological themes of the Confederation presented in the second chapter to illustrate the rejection of previous representations of the Confederation and the active engagement with one of the publications of the 1824 movement, Frei Caneca's *Typhis Pernambucano*. This “taking back” of history from regimes utilizing national history to legitimize their rule, however, did not reproduce the original ideas of the history “taken back” but reflected a socialist project.

The presence of Caneca on the stage as a subject for plays reflects the fact that this genre did not require literacy, could be presented to viewers of all ages and classes, and received
special attention from communist and socialist groups as discussed below, theater directors such as Fernando Peixoto, one of the members of the central committee of the Communist Party in Brazil who directed a play about Caneca during this time period, dedicating themselves to German Marxist Bertold Brecht’s concept of a theater which would prepare the masses for revolution. Caneca thus becomes the subject of anti-dictatorship, revolutionary plays.

Plays were not the only genre of literature finding inspiration in the Confederation, however. Anti-dictatorship periodicals also mentioned figures tied to the 1824 movement. Sérgio Cabral, who helped establish the leftist *O Pasquim* (the lampoon) and, in 2010, symbolically pressed the button detonating explosives destroying the Frei Caneca prison complex in Rio where many leftist elements had been jailed, had ties to socialist state representative and author Heloneida Studardt, who wrote a play about Caneca. Academics Jôao Guilherme Bastos dos Santos and Danielle Veras Souza dos Santos argue that the name *O Pasquim* was a reference to the revolutionary pamphlets which were published in the nineteenth century and that headers such as “*O Pasquim – Sentinella de Saint Roman*” (The Pasquim – Sentinel of Saint Roman street) contained in issues such as issue 246 indicate that the cultural producers tied to *O Pasquim* self-consciously cast themselves in the role of the journalists of the Confederation. The articles in *O Pasquim*, aside from occasional references, do not address the Confederation in any detail, however. The plays about Caneca received prizes, were performed in many parts of the country, and are considered by academics to comprise some of the more important works in the country’s history—Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto, in particular, is considered one of the most important authors in Brazil and *Auto do Frade* has been written about extensively as discussed herein. Thus, this chapter focuses on the plays about Caneca written during this time period.
The increasing personification of the Confederation in Frei Caneca reflects the lack of fidelity exhibited by cultural producers who appropriated the Confederation. Authors of *pasquins* in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century mentioned several participants of the Confederation because the Confederation symbolized a specific set of ideas embodied in a specific event, the anti-centralist revolt of 1824 in Pernambuco. During the First Republic, the Confederation is no longer depicted as an anti-centralist revolt but as a precursor to the First republic regime and Caneca is deployed as the martyr who personifies that regime. Caneca is “taken back” by post-1964 socialists but engagement with his publications do not reproduce his ideas and he is the martyr who personifies a socialist movement which did not exist in 1824. Thus, the almost exclusive focus on Caneca extracts the martyr from his original context, a war for regional autonomy, and allows for his original ideas to be manipulated to serve a purpose Caneca himself could not have imagined. The extensive engagement with Caneca’s writings by playwrights in post-1964 Brazil did not imply an accurate representation of the Confederation movement.

Any play produced after passage of the law known as the *Ato Institucional Número Cinco* (Institutional act number five) or AI-5 allowing for the jail and torture of subversives in 1968 could lead to the arrests of authors, directors, and actors, such that using historical figures to transmit ideological concepts becomes a technique to protect the anti-dictatorship artistic community. Thus, plays written about Caneca post-1964 quote directly from Caneca himself with long quotes. Caneca’s ideology, a version of classical liberalism, is used to support the ideals of individuals who self-identified as socialists or communists.

Caneca’s discourse against excessive wealth, for example, serves as code for a socialist revolution, the takeover and use of the state via democratic centralism as opposed to Frei Caneca’s effective elimination of the state and anti-centralism. In the post-1964 regime, Caneca
is represented as a working class intellectual tied to the culture of the poorest region of the country who decided to wage war against established power without walking away from his roots in popular culture.

Caneca is tied to a history of revolts in the country, establishing a precedent for revolt against the military regime. In Cláudio Aguiar’s 1977 *Suplicio de Frei Caneca: Oratório Dramático*, for example, the audience watching Frei Caneca’s farce of a trial make it clear that they understand that the revolt known as the *Revolta Praieira* (Revolt of Praieira Street, where the rebel publications were published) was ideologically tied to the Confederation of the Equator:

Todos (*Cantam*) – Oi Jôao!/Atira no gavião, meu nego./Não me mate, praieiro, não./Praieiro não, praieiro não!

(Hi Jôao!/Shoot at the hawk, my brother/Don’t kill me, praieiro, no/Praieiro no, praieiro no!)³

Frei Caneca is one among many rebel figures representing a class struggle the anti-dictatorship leftists depict as stretching back to the early nineteenth century. The choice of Caneca as subject matter reveals a belief that class struggles began during the Confederation.

At the same time, however, that many of the authors writing about Caneca were involved with the clandestine Communist Party, a party with a platform calling for a dictatorship of the proletariat, Caneca is used to criticize the authoritarian tendencies of the post-1964 military regime. In Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto’s 1984 *Auto do Frade*, for example, the audience to Caneca’s execution commented on the purpose of the killing: “Enforcar um homen que soube opor ao Império um duro não” (“hanging a man who knew how to impose a hard ‘no’ on the

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³ Aguiar, *Suplicio de Frei Caneca*, 74.
Empire*)⁴. References to an empire post-1964 may have been intended as opposition to the United States, often referred to as an empire in Marxist-Leninist writings, but it was certainly a reference to a militaristic, authoritarian capitalist domestic regime. Unfortunately, many of the authors of these plays have passed such that as author of this work I was not able to interview them.

Via personal conversation, I was, however, able to interview a theater director named Vilma Dulcetti who worked with Heloneida Studardt, one of Brazil’s most famous feminists, an anti-dictatorship activist, who directed plays about Frei Caneca in the early twenty-first century, after the fall of the military regime and she shed light on the theater scene during the dictatorship years. Vilma Dulcetti, like Caneca, is a redhead, known to the people of the shanties where she worked as mãe ruiva (redheaded mother) who sees her life’s mission as education, stating that “eu vim para, neste mundo… porque sou uma educadora” ("I came to this world…because I’m an educator"), and we should remember that Frei Caneca also viewed his newspapers as serving a pedagogical as opposed to purely informative purpose, a purpose Vilma Dulcetti sacrificed for to the point of risking her own life against “caras do trafego” ("drug traffickers") who would show up armed to rehearsals much as Caneca risked his life for his beliefs⁵. The interview with Ms. Dulcetti is referenced in this chapter. Heloneida Studart, before passing away, gave an interview to a foundation in 1999 wherein she identifies the impact the Confederation of the Equator had on her life as an author of multiple books and one of the first feminists in the country: “Meu trisavô Antônio Marcos Bezerra de Menezes foi o ministro da guerra da Confederação do Equador, aquele famoso movimento libertário que houve no Nordeste, e foi

⁴ Neto, Auto do Frade, 484.

⁵ Dulcetti, Personal Interview.
condenado à morte pela Coroa” ("my great-grandfather was the minister of war for the Confederation of the Equator, that famous liberation movement in the Northeast, and was condemned to death by the crown")\(^6\). She also had ties to liberation theology, discussed below, as she published her first book with a publishing company run by liberation theologian Frei Ludovico, a publisher which also published books by liberation theologian Frei Betto\(^7\). As Studardt notes above, the Confederation of the Equator is turned into a *movimento libertário* (liberation movement) but Studardt was a member of the Communist Party and, even after moving to the Worker’s Party, she associated herself with socialism, not classical liberalism. Liberation, therefore, means socialism.

In *Carlos Queiroz Telles: História e Dramaturgia em Cena (Década de 70)*, Marco Antônio Guerra argues that from an active, ecstatic leftism pre-1964 with groups influenced by the clandestine Communist Party such as the *Centro Popular de Cultura* (Center of Popular Culture or CPC) founded in 1961 and associated with a student movement dedicated to revolutionary art with real hopes for taking over, the left moved away from theater aimed at producing a revolution and more towards denunciation of the military regime increasingly coded as censorship became harsher and the government attempted to coopt the opposition via programs to fund the arts\(^8\). Explicit references to socialism are replaced with coded references and the critique of the government focused on its use of torture and censorship. Guerra views the playwright Carlos Queiroz Telles as an author who attempted to reappropriate the historical themes being deployed by the dictatorship to generate a sense of nationalism via a national-

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\(^6\) Studart, Interview, 3.

\(^7\) Ibid, 16.

\(^8\) Guerra, *Carlos Queiroz Telles*, 18-19, 21.
security-based state in constant fear of subversives and appropriated these same themes to deconstruct the mythologies surrounding militaristic nationalism. Queiroz Telles creates a “Teatro de Eficiência” ("Theater of Efficiency") based on what was possible for him to write during that time period, working at the São Pedro Theater in São Paulo with opposition theater figures such as Maurício Segall to make sure his plays were actually watched – he actually won prizes from the Associação Paulista de Críticos de Arte (Association of Art Critics of São Paulo) and the Academia Brasileira de Letras (Brazilian Academy of Letters), and the Molière Prize, among others, for his 1972 play Frei Caneca⁹.

According to Guerra, Queiroz Telles does not share the idealism about the state other writers of the time possessed, differing from the CPC artists who wanted to integrate into popular contexts to create art purely for indoctrination, their manifesto calling for artists to step away from the capitalist system to immerse themselves in local communities, adopting community mannerisms and generating plays less focused on entertainment or intellectual value than passing on scientific communism¹⁰. Queiroz Telles was not the artist going into rural communities to spread the communist gospel, a position based on the vanguard as tasked with stimulating and controlling a revolution, but a writer trying to work against the state by working within the bounds of the possible. In an atmosphere where the Comando de Caça aos Comunistas (Command of Communist Hunters or CCC) was shutting down theatrical productions and subversives were being sent to jail via the AI-5 law, historical themes allowed writers to mask their subversiveness¹¹.

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⁹ Ibid., 23, 25.

¹⁰ Ibid., 31, 33, 34-36.

¹¹ Ibid., 52, 53, 66.
Marco Antônio Guerra’s view that anti-dictatorship activists could not openly preach socialist revolution and therefore focused on criticizing the dictatorship should not be taken to mean that plays about Caneca were not aimed at stimulating a socialist revolt. In fact, Fernando Peixoto, who directed the Queiroz Telles play about Caneca, was dedicated to Brecht’s ideas and plays about Caneca, as discussed herein, did refer to the need for revolution as allusions to a socialist revolt. Plays about Caneca did denounce the authoritarian tendencies of the dictatorship but they also proposed socialism as a solution to the problems of the country.

Following Caneca’s emphasis on civil society, the plays about him do focus on the right to form opposition. When the São Pedro Theater in São Paulo opened its doors with Mauricio and Beatriz Segall, they furthered their goals of creating a new pole of resistance by committing themselves to a theater that would not be blindly commercial, declaring their autonomy from market forces and sowing the seeds of their eventual inability to pay the bills that led to their shutting down\(^\text{12}\). Frei Caneca was perfect for this task and the play was put on in the São Pedro in 1972 under the direction of legendary theater director and leading Communist Party member Fernando Peixoto\(^\text{13}\). Queiroz Telles notes that Recife-born congressman Roberto Freire, a former member of the Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (Brazilian Democratic Movement) opposed to the dictatorship and then a member of the Communist Party and now, still a representative, the president of the center-left Partido Popular Socialista (Popular Socialist Party), first informed him about the importance of Frei Caneca\(^\text{14}\). In an interview with Guerra, Queiroz Telles reflects

\(^{12}\) Ibid. 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., 105.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., 131.
on the impact of a particular sentence he created for his version of Frei Caneca, referring to one of the most popular TV programs in the country:

_E uma vez, eu estava algum tempo depois vendo o programa do Silvio Santos uma questão lá para seu público: Quem disse a frase “Quem bebe água nas minhas canecas numca [sic] sentirá sede de liberdade”? E o auditório todo falou: “Frei Caneca!” Frei Caneca numca [sic] disse isso realmente._

(And one time, some time later, I was watching the Silvio Santos program and a question appeared there for the public: who said the phrase ‘He who drinks water from my mugs will never thirst for liberty?’ And the whole auditorium said: ‘Frei Caneca!’ Frei Caneca never really said that.)

Frei Caneca is suddenly more than a classical liberal but he is not merely a national symbol either, and is associated with a movement promising liberation.

In her _Jôao Cabral e o poema dramático_, Níobe Abreu Peixoto discusses Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto’s 1984 _Auto do Frade_, arguing that the liberty represented by Frei Caneca in the poem is not a theoretical liberty but the freedom to choose in the most profound sense, a topic to some degree addressed in Cabral’s previous work _Morte e vida severina_ (The Death and Life of Severino) about a migrant who attempts to choose his path with his impoverished circumstances limiting his choices, and ties in this vision of freedom to the other plays about Caneca by Carlos Queiroz Telles in 1972, Cláudio Aguiar in 1977, and José Pimentel’s street performances of _O calvário de Frei Caneca_ in Recife in 1982, the figure of Caneca standing for a freedom to choose. All of these works are discussed in this chapter. The word _auto_ automatically begs the question – if medieval autos were meant to teach about the gospel, what is the lesson we are supposed to learn here? What is the gospel of Frei Caneca? Peixoto does not discuss how these works deploy the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator.

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15 Ibid., 132.

16 Peixoto, _Jôao Cabral_, 26, 32, 48, 50-51.
Abreu Peixoto sees the *Auto* as an attempt to use the language of domination – all religious language, we are to presume, is the language of domination in her view, implicitly - to subvert relations of domination\(^\text{17}\). The problem with attributing this innovation to the *Auto* is that Frei Caneca himself was already doing precisely the same thing by using religious language to question the idea that rulers are chosen by God and that the Church should serve as an appendage of the state, by arguing for the sacredness of civil society, by associating his doctrine with equal treatment under the law. Like Caneca, the *Auto* does not shy away from quoting foreign authors, the *Auto* quoting Shakespeare, using linguistic structures at times popular and at other moments erudite, or from the regionalism present in all of the plays about Caneca, mentions of local scenery and history, as if to reaffirm a battered, discriminated against Northeastern identity during a time of starvation and internal southward migration.

This chapter discusses how authors during and in the aftermath of the dictatorship appropriated the ideology of the Confederation for their purposes. The chapter is organized via the tenets of the ideology of the Confederation identified in Chapter Two. In terms of individual rights, democracy, the separation of powers, and equality under the law, socialist movements criticized the dictatorship but their vanguardist ideology itself was based on a Castroist model which was not friendly to electoral politics and freedom for reactionary elements to express themselves. In terms of discourse against excessive wealth, the authors deploy the Confederation to argue for an anti-latifundary revolution. In terms of localism, the authors in this chapter support democratic centralism but they oppose foreign influence in domestic policy and support the creation of domestic industries.

**CONSTITUTION:**

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 87.
A Constitution Reflecting Anti-Centralism, Democratic Institutions, the Separation of Powers, Individual Rights, Due Process of Law, and Equality Under the Law

I could not find any works about Frei Caneca in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries mentioning the need for a new constitution or focusing on anti-centralism as an important part of the narrative. This is astonishing to some degree because anti-centralism and constitutionalism were the main tenets of the 1824 movement. Most of the plays about Caneca written during the dictatorship criticize the military regime as lacking democratic institutions, due process of law, individual rights and equality under the law. The lack of any discussion of anti-centralism reflects the democratic centralist model many opponents of the dictatorship saw as an alternative to the military regime.

Jõao Cabral de Melo Neto, in his 1984 Auto do Frade, depicts Frei Caneca walking to his execution asking himself: “quem sabe um dia virá uma civil geometria?” ("who knows if some day a civil geometry will arrive")\(^\text{18}\). The word “civil” implies the growth of civil society, a sense of civil society restraining government action. Melo Neto, as with almost every playwright using Caneca as a symbol of opposition to the military government between 1964 and the mid-to-late eighties, goes out of his way to describe the torture Caneca suffered as a result of his political participation, creating a parallel between the tortured friar of Pernambuco and figures such as Frei Tito, psychologically and physically tortured in the seventies to the point where he committed suicide after being released, and Frei Betto, jailed for years, figures who suffered as a result of their stand against the military government:

-Em dezessete na Bahia de fome e sede ele sofrera.
(In seventeen in Bahia of hunger and thirst he suffered)

\(^\text{18}\) Neto, Auto do Frade, 492.
-Viveu piolhento, esmolambado, guardado quase como fera.
(He lived covered in lice, ragged, stored away almost like a wild animal)\(^{19}\)

Torture is the incarnation of a government unbound by legal restraints. Opposition to arbitrariness would imply opposition to a regime governed by the AI-5, a law allowing for the abolition of due process of law, empowering a small number of individuals to legislate at will by designating particular individuals subversives.

In his 1960 play, before the 1964 coup negating the 1961 election of reformist Jôao Goulart with his plan for agrarian reform and extension of education programs, during a time when movements seeking to address disparities were gaining momentum, the playwright Lúcio Fiuza presents us with his *Frei Caneca (Drama Patriótico em 3 Atos e 7 Quadros com Prólogo e Apoteose)* (Frei Caneca Patriotic Drama in 3 acts and 7 scenes with prologue and apotheosis), the “voz da história” (a sort of Hegelian “voice of history”) introducing the drama by stating: “Todos os Povos, guiados por leis divinas e humanas, têm o direito de viver em regime de liberdade! O Brasil, como todos os países, na antiguidade, ao se constituírem em sociedades, passaram por um período de opressores e oprimidos” (“All of the peoples, guided by divine and human laws, have the right to live in a regime of freedom! Brazil, like the ancient nations upon constituting themselves, passed through a stage of oppressors and oppressed”)\(^ {20}\). Fiuza goes on to announce, through the voice of history that: “Os clarões rutilantes das vitórias democráticas são o reflexo do suor, sofrimento, do muito sangue derramado e de incontáveis mortes!” (“the shining glares of democratic victories are the reflections of sweat, suffering, much blood spilled and

\(^{19}\) Ibid., 495.

\(^{20}\) Fiuza, *Frei Caneca*, 12.
We thus have a play praising democracy, praising the expanding circles of freedom and opportunity the sixties initially promised. In Fiuza’s play, remarkably little time is spent depicting Frei Caneca as a political actor, the work focusing on Caneca’s role as community member, helping a wife with a cheating husband get the wayward man back to the roost – we have Frei Caneca as quotidian figure, as an integral part of a biological entity resolving comical domestic disputes. Fiuza’s play is celebratory, full of hope for the future, with a levity not present in plays written after the coup.

Caneca stood for equality under the law such that we should not be surprised that the plays about him sometimes paint him as a champion against discrimination, a hero for the budding movimento negro (Afro-Brazilian Movement). Caneca opposed formal legal discrimination but he is deployed to oppose discrimination in the culture at large. In Fiuza’s play, the author chooses to insert a character named Jovita, described as a “preta velha” ("old woman of color") who served as Caneca’s wet nurse, Caneca greeting her by pronouncing “Nha Jovita! Minha querida Mãe preta!” ("Nha Jovita! My dear mother of color!") using the term “nha,” a common expression used in Africa and imported into Brazil used as a substitute for “senhora” ("madam"). Caneca’s mother figure is an old Afro-Brazilian woman and Caneca uses popular expressions, indicating a certain opposition to race-class divisions despite the fact that the play itself, in depicting the character of Jovita as speaking in a slave dialect and as somewhat subservient, structurally reproduces relations of domination. Fiuza depicts Caneca as standing up to slave drivers and as receiving his personal strength from Jovita’s milk. He is rooted in the

\[^{21}\text{Ibid., 12.}\]

\[^{22}\text{Ibid., 15.}\]

\[^{23}\text{Ibid., 16-17.}\]
nordeste, as his love for the tropical fruit sapoti, also known as sapodilla, emphasized at different points during the play, exemplifies\(^{24}\). His sense of rootedness in the region, loyalty to his class, appreciation for unappreciated persons, and belief in the nation as a whole give him the strength to refuse to ask for clemency during the execution scene, as he shouts: “Eu, Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca, jamais cairê em genuflexão ante um déspota! Nunca!” ("I, Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca will never bow before a despot! Never!")\(^{25}\). He is opposed to authoritarianism, a figure used to celebrate the democracy of the early sixties which would lead to Goulart’s election. Caneca repeatedly states that the nation is calling for more liberty and that the arrival of this liberty would usher in a better future for the country.

Plays written in subsequent decades continue to focus on the theme of equality. Equality was also a theme for the women’s rights movement. The feminist author Heloneida Studart inserts women into one of the many versions of her play about Caneca, introducing the character of Marília, a woman Caneca has taken on as his wife, taught to read by Caneca. We can speculate that, as a feminist, Studart was attracted by Caneca’s liberating ideals, as were members of the gay rights movement who made the neighborhood around Frei Caneca Street in São Paulo a gay neighborhood with a Shopping Frei Caneca with a theater inside, the street located on the border of the Bela Vista neighborhood which includes the Bixiga area where subversive plays were put on during the dictatorship, attracting individuals who may have been seen as subverting patriarchal structures. Caneca is turned into a hero of the growing Movimento

\(^{24}\) Ibid., 17.

\(^{25}\) Ibid., 57.
Negro, as one of the versions of the Studart play makes clear by introducing Pedroso, the general who is a proud man of color, and Mãe Mirinha, a priestess of the African Candomblé religion:

PEDROSO (dirigindo-se a Frei Caneca)
-Salve Caiado!
(Greetings creole)

FREI CANECA
-Caiado?
(Creole?)

PEDROSO
-Para mim, todo branco é caiado. Porque no nosso Brasil não tem branco de verdade!
(To me, all lighter skinned people are just caulked over. Because in Brazil we don’t have real whites!)

PADRE JÔAO RIBEIRO
-E se tivesse, você ia querer acabar!
(And if there were, you’d want to end them!)

….

PEDROSO
-Por mim, não fazia só uma revolta de brasileiros contra portugueses, fazia uma revolução de negros contra brancos! Isso! Como aconteceu no Haiti.
(For me, we wouldn’t have a revolt of Brazilians against Portuguese, but a revolt of blacks against whites! That is it! Like in Haiti.)

The mention of Haiti is an interesting one because fear of Haitianism, meaning a revolutionary anti-slavery mentality, was a fear present in both Gran Colombia and Brazil during the early nineteenth century, a fear turned into a call to arms in the sixties and seventies afro-latin movements. We see a tremendous change from the depiction of Jovita, the submissive slave, in the early sixties to the militant Pedroso in the early 2000s, and from the jocular narrative of Fiuza and the confrontational plays that came after.

26 Studart, Frei Caneca, 3-4.
References to the elimination of formal legal discrimination are present in post-1964 plays to educate the audience about the history of social movements and the victories they had produced. In Studart’s play, we have the figure of Mãe Mirinha, a Candomblé priestess, denouncing the prohibitions against African religions in a Catholic nation, common in Brazil until the arrival of democracy, asking Caneca: “E o que quer saber de uma pobre negra? De uma ialorixá que sua religião não respeita?” (“And what do you want to know of a poor woman of color? Of a ialorixá priestess that your religion doesn’t respect?”) 27. In a nation where, at various times, music associated with African religions such as samba and axé had been banned or excluded from public events, the power of this statement affirms the role movements organized to oppose formal legal discrimination played. Frei Caneca supported the right of protestant cults to worship in Brazil but here he is transformed into a figure not only supporting freedom of worship for western religions but also non-western ones, a figure who speaks for the right of all traditions to present themselves.

While post-1964 playwrights highlight the role formal legal discrimination played in Brazilian history, the vision of social equality presented by these authors is focused on effective rights, such as the need to address class disparities, even when discussing race. Studart’s version of Frei Caneca presents the friar as standing for a more ample and ambitious form of equality:

**CENA**
*Três meninos negros com cartazes onde está escrita a palavra liberdade.*
(Scene: three boys of color with signs where the word “liberty” is written)
...

**PRIMEIRO MENINO**
-Frei Caneca está pregando a liberdade para as meretrizes no bairro de Santo Antônio.
(First boy: Frei Caneca is preaching liberty to the sex workers in the Santo Antônio neighborhood)

27 Ibid., 16.
The stage instructions specify that the individuals carrying the signs be young boys and that they have to be negros. They describe Frei Caneca as preaching liberty to everyone, including sex workers. Studardt is using Caneca’s support for formal legal equality to justify an agenda based on a liberation which is far less legalistic and more effective.

At times, this twentieth and twenty-first century form of equality is anti-capitalist and we see this in the earliest depictions of Caneca in the sixties. Caneca does not charge for his tutoring in Fiuza’s play, explaining that “saber mercantilizado não deve ser lá muito assimilável” ("sold knowledge is not readily absorbed") Anti-capitalist movements were gaining members and began deploying Caneca as a symbol despite the fact that the friar himself had never expressed opposition to the capitalist order. We should not forget that the drama of the Cuban Revolution victorious in 1959 as an example, before its dictatorial aspects were fully understood, when it seemed to promise economic liberation for a number of people, presented itself as an alternative model when Fiuza’s play was being performed and that references to a revolution which would be “violenta e radical” ("violent and radical") and to a column of guerrillas making their way through the countryside may have been references to such communist movements.

In 1977, the playwright Cláudio Aguiar released his *Suplício de Frei Caneca: Oratório Dramático* (suffering of Frei Caneca: dramatic oratory) with financial support from the

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28 Ibid., 11-12.


30 Ibid., 48.
government. Yet, we can see in his work an emphasis on popular resistance, such as when Caneca addresses participants in the 1817 revolt before the beginning of the 1824 Confederation of the Equator:

Frei Caneca – Eles crêem que a benéfica tendência da presente Revolução liberal tem por fim a emancipação indistinta dos homens de cor que são escravos…
(They believe that the beneficient direction of the present liberal revolution has as its end the emancipation without exceptions of men of color who are slaves…)

Coro – 1817 Viva o Leão Coroado! 1817 Abaixo a Escravidão!
(1817 Glory to the Crowned Lion! 1817 Down with Slavery!)

Frei Caneca - …mas a emancipação deve ser geral porque foi feita para o povo…
(…but the emancipation must be all encompassing because it was done for the people…)³¹

Aside from this notion of general emancipation, implying political and economic freedom, of effective equality as opposed to formal legal equality, the play contains a denunciation of torture or suplício as applied at that time by the military government, also a feature of almost all plays written after 1964 about Frei Caneca. Aside from his martyrdom, post-1964 plays about Caneca all focus on the time Caneca spent in prison after 1817 and how bad conditions were:

Frei Caneca – Major, aqui vê o Senhor um grupo de presos caídos nos cantos, uns por sobre os outros, em andrajos, rasgados e cheios de doenças. O Senhor aqui caiu do céu. Somos tratados como animais. Nem animais, Senhor, creio eu…
(Major, you can see a group of prisoners here collapsed into the corners, one on top of the other, in rags, torn and full of diseases. You fell from Heaven. We are treated like Animals. Not even animals, Sir, I believe…)³²

Thus, while the equality favored by these authors extends beyond formal legal equality, legal norms are also affirmed. The anti-dictatorship authors deployed the class-based and equality under the law themes of the Confederation to propose an anti-capitalist, feminist, socialist

³¹ Aguiar, Suplício de Frei Caneca, 31.
³² Ibid., 36.
revolution along the Cuban model, but they also deploy the Confederation to affirm due process and individual rights.

Formal legal and effective rights, therefore, are affirmed jointly. In the 1972 play *Frei Caneca: cinco episódios da vida de Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca*, for example, the playwright Carlos Queiroz Telles depicts the figure of Agostinho, leader of a battalion in the Confederation, by presenting him as man killed for refusing to kill Caneca:

Soldado – Vai cumprir a tua obrigação, carrasco.
(Go do your duty, executioner)

Agostinho – Podem me matar, mas eu não mato o padre!
(You can kill me, but I will not kill the priest!)

Soldado – Você foi escolhido para matar o padre. Tem que matar. Quer queira ou não queira.
(You’ve been chosen to kill the priest. You have to kill him. Whether you want to or not)

Agostinho – Que o execute quem o condenou. Eu não mato.
(Let those who condemned him execute him. I will not kill him)

Soldado – Mata sim, negro vagabundo. Ou mata ou vai você mesmo para a forca (tentam fazê-lo subir para o patíbulo inutilmente).
(Kill him, black bum. Kill him or you’re going to the hangman’s noose [they try to make him get up to the scaffolds in vain])

When Agostinho refuses, the soldier yells at him: “sobe animal” ("get up there, animal") and “obedece, negro!” ("obey me, black man") and “negro insolente!” ("insolent black man")

They severely beat Agostinho. Agostinho is not suffering an additional legal penalty because of his race – in fact, others are brought in to execute Caneca after Agostinho refuses to do so and their race is never mentioned. Agostinho suffers discrimination in the real world, not as formal legal discrimination, suggesting the need for a form of equality beyond formal legal equality. At the

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33 Telles, *Frei Caneca*, 66.

34 Ibid., 67, 68.
same time, the use of torture – the beating and insults– against Agostinho suggest the need to affirm formal legal rights, evoking unbound state power.

In summary, we can see a few trends with regards to the themes of equality under the law, individual rights and due process. First, Caneca’s emphasis on formal legal equality is replaced with an emphasis on a form of equality reaching beyond formal equality. Second, the humane treatment of prisoners, free speech, and a critique of torture are affirmed via Caneca as symbol of due process of law and individual rights. Caneca was an anti-statist figure and the Brazilian socialists called for and continue to call for the use of state power to decrease inequalities. Thus, Caneca and the Confederation are deployed to justify restraints on state power where state power is used to repress popular movements but to affirm state power if it is utilized to aid a project based on universal effective equality.

**DISCOURSE AGAINST EXCESSIVE WEALTH**

In his 1972 play *Frei Caneca: Cinco Episódios da vida de Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca* (Frei Caneca: five episodes in the life of Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca), Carlos Queiroz Telles imagines the participants in the 1817 revolt pondering their mistakes and plotting a more working-class-based revolution to follow:

Frei Caneca – Erro foi confiar demais em todos que conspiravam conosco.  
(It was a mistake to trust excessively in those who conspired with us)

Padre Miguelinho – Principalmente nos abastados. Esses, pouco ou nada tinham a perder com qualquer governo. Eles nunca chegariam a arriscar a pele apenas por um pouco mais de imposto sobre suas mercadorias.  
(Principally the rich. These individuals had little to lose with any government. They would never risk their skin because of having to pay a little more tax on their goods)

Frei Caneca – Eles estavam do nosso lado apenas por cobiça. Liberdade para eles era sinonimo de lucro e economia. Mais Nada.  
(They were on our side for kicks. Liberty for them is synonymous with profit and the economy)
Padre Miguelinho – Desde o começo, nós devíamos ter nos apoiado mais nos alfaiates do que nos mercadores; nos barbeiros do que nos donos de engenhos; nos soldados do que nos oficiais; nos noviços do que nos superiores gerais; nos miseráveis do que nos pobres; nos pobres do que nos remediados; nos remediados do que nos abastados; nos escravos do que nos dignos cidadãos livres desta capitania. Os Palmares resistiram cinquenta anos. Nós não aguentamos três meses. (From the beginning, we should have relied more on tailors than merchants, barbers than mill owners, soldiers than officers, initiates than superiors, the miserable than the poor, the poor more than the well off, the well off more than the rich, the slaves more than the dignified free citizens of this province. The Palmares resisted fifty years. We couldn’t resist three months)\(^{35}\)

The mention of the Palmares community of slaves who resisted being captured and returned into slavery, forming a community that survived in the state of Alagoas despite attempts to eliminate it, creates a sense of solidarity with slaves and free people of color, but also reinforces the notion of a bottom-up revolt led by the “masses,” and may also have been a coded reference to Africanist and Afro-Latin movements in Brazil in the sixties mentioned above.

In Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto’s 1984 play *Auto do Frade*, Frei Caneca is an inspiration to lower class residents of Pernambuco, as the voices of those watching him as he is paraded to his execution, during his walk to his calvary, make clear:

- Crê no mundo, e quis consertá-lo.
  (He believes in the world, wanted to fix it)

- E ainda crê, já condenado?
  (And he still believes, now condemned?)

- Sabe que não o consertará.
  (He knows he can’t fix it)

- Mas que virão para imitá-lo.
  (But others will come to imitate him)\(^{36}\)

\(^{35}\) Ibid., 39-40.

\(^{36}\) Neto, *Auto do Frade*, 470.
Here, Caneca serves as an invitation to revolt, calling the audience to engage in the kind of revolt that Caneca staged in the 1824 movement.

The theme of religion is discussed below but it is also tied to class-based politics in post-1964 plays about the Confederation. Frei Caneca is a religious figure but the religious establishment is against him, as the clergy observing his execution make clear in the play, dubbing Caneca a “frade levantadiço” (“impertinent friar”)\(^{37}\). Caneca’s embrace of traditionalist, religious language removes him from the realm of esoteric intellectualism as he represents an impetus for popular revolt, officials watching the spectacle commenting that “Andar como padre é dar vez à gente baixa que protesta” (“him walking like a priest will provide an opportunity for the lower people to protest”) and complaining that “Padre existe é para rezar pela alma, mas não contra a fome” (“priests exist to pray for the soul and not against hunger”)\(^{38}\). The author makes clear the juxtaposition between a weak, frail Caneca and the military forces escorting him, oppressing him much as they oppress the audience to the execution and as much as the military regime post-1964 oppressed many of its opponents. Caneca’s liberty faith is therefore tied to a pursuit of the interests of the working class. In Melo Neto’s poem, Caneca is described by the audience witnessing the walk to the cavalry forming the bulk of the play as a “santo sem andor caminhando, é um homem sereno” (“a saint walking without a litter, he’s a calm man”) such that one does not get the sense that Caneca is positioned above the audience, preaching stentorian

\(^{37}\) Ibid., 471.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., 472, 473.
from his soapbox\textsuperscript{39}. Unlike a typical saint, he is not an object to be worshipped. He is an organic intellectual, connected to the region, as Caneca himself makes clear in the poem during his walk to the cavalry: “Tanto passei por essas ruas que fiz delas minhas amigas” ("I walked through these streets so much that I made them my friends")\textsuperscript{40}. The people discussing Caneca on the sidewalks, watching the slow walk to the execution understand Caneca’s power lies in his anti-hierarchical style, such that the playwright does not reproduce relations of hierarchy in his narrative:

- Por que será que nesse frade mais do que em santos, tenham crença?  
  (Why do they believe in this friar more than saints?)

- Viveu lado a lado com eles, conviveu-os, na saúde e doença,  
  (He lived alongside them, with them, in sickness and health)

- Viveu sempre como eles todos, nunca se isolou com sua ciência.  
  (He always lived with them all, never isolated himself with his reasoning)\textsuperscript{41}

We see here some reflection of a Castroist ideal wherein the leader embodies the voice of the people and follows certain principles but is not isolated from the community, exemplified in this case by a helpless, beaten-down old friar, profoundly connected to his surroundings, and dangerous only in the fact that those who care for him might act to protect him, as the discussions of the audience to the execution make clear:

- Dizem que todos tinham medo de que pudessem seqüestrá-lo.  
  (They say they were afraid that he might be set free)

- Tirá-lo do meio da tropa e então conduzi-lo a sagrado.

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 473.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 477.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 479.
(Taking him from the troop to sacred safety)

-Ou se arrancasse de repente da sela em que ele vai, cercado.
(Or tearing him suddenly from the saddle on which he goes along, surrounded)\textsuperscript{42}

Caneca himself rejects a status superior to his station in life: “Não sou ninguém para ser mártir, não é distinção que eu mereça” ("I am nobody to be a martyr, it isn’t a distinction I deserve")\textsuperscript{43}.

Class-based politics frequently involved Castroism in the post-1964 era. Before passing away in 2007, Heloneida Studart had lived an astonishing life, born to a wealthy and illustrious family in the northeastern city of Fortaleza in 1925, rejecting her privileged roots to become an advocate for syndicalism and feminism, publishing the 1974 book \textit{Mulher, objeto de cama e mesa} (Woman, object of bed and dining table), one of the first openly feminist books in the country, and then getting elected as a socialist state representative in Rio, establishing the \textit{Libertas Quae sera tamen} (latin for “liberty even if it comes late”) project in the early 2000s enlisting youth from the favelas to enact historical plays\textsuperscript{44}. One of the historical plays she worked on as part of the project was \textit{Frei Caneca, Além do Sonho} (Frei Caneca, Beyond the Dream) and, though Representative Studart had passed away before I had begun to write this study, I was able to locate and interview Vilma Dulcetti, a theater director who had worked with Representative Studart on a number of plays, speaking to her about her experiences as part of the anti-dictatorship movement. Ms. Dulcetti, a former history teacher describes how the dictatorship had begun to censor history and how she wanted to take that history back from them, using Frei Caneca to accomplish this goal:

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 482.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 490.

\textsuperscript{44} Cunha, "Uma escritora feminista."
E dai, de repente, eles começaram a modificar os currículos de história, passou a ser organização social e política, depois começou a ser estudos sociais apenas. Eles diminuíram, é claro, não podiam lidar com uma coisa, isso, como é história, né? É tão...que faz parte do presente muito mais do que do passado, né? Ela constrói o presente, e ai foi indo, a coisa ficando cada vez pior.

(Then, suddenly, they began to modify the history curriculum and it turned into social organization and politics and afterwards it began to be called social studies only. They diminished it, obviously, not being able to deal with something like history, right? It's so...it is a part of the present much more than the past, right? It builds the present and from then on things kept getting worse)

...

Então eu comecei a montar peças que na minha opinião, assim como as do Brecht, entre aspas, Deus que me livre a palavra falta de modéstia, é...podiam representar alguma coisa para mudar o país, né? Para mudar a cabeça das pessoas, né? Para dizer alguma coisa que tivesse implícita.

(So I began to put on plays that, in my opinion, similar to Brecht’s, in quotes, God forgive me for labeling myself as having false modesty, would...could represent something to change the country, right? To change people’s minds, right? To say something implicitly)\(^{45}\)

Her reference to Marxist German theorist, theater director and playwright Bertolt Brecht reveal a belief in theater as a tool for teaching the working classes about socialist theory. In our interview, Ms. Dulcetti makes no attempt to mask her ties to the communists in the sixties and seventies and, in our personal conversation, she read to me the following description of her Frei Caneca play put on in the early 2000s:

A montagem concebida por Vilma Dulcetti para o espetáculo é inovadora. Podemos dizer mesmo, revolucionária. Trabalhar de uma vez com a comunidade do Morro da Babilônia estabelece um paralelo entre os meninos de rua de hoje e a população que seguiu os ensinamentos de Frei Caneca. Este, após ser fuzilado, foi emparendado na Igreja do Carmo em Recife. No Rio, diante da Candéllaria, menores de rua foram cruelmente assassinados recentemente. A peça tem na verdade duas narrativas, que correm paralelas em torno de uma mesma temática, a opressão, a violência, e a luta por melhores condições de vida.

(The setting conceived by Vilma Dulcetti for the presentation is innovative. We can say, really, revolutionary. Working with the community of the favela Morro da Babilônia, she establishes a...)

\(^{45}\) Dulcetti, Personal Interview.
parallel between today’s street youth and the population that followed the teachings of Frei Caneca. He, after being shot to death, was walled up in the Church of Carmo in Recife. In Rio, before the Candelária Church, underaged children were recently cruelly assassinated. The play has two narratives in reality, that run parallel around the same theme, oppression, violence and the fight for better conditions in life)\(^{46}\)

The reference to struggles for better conditions in life leaves no doubt that the discourse against excessive wealth of the Confederation of the Equator was imported into the early twenty-first century and turned into a Marxist discourse on class revolution. In the personal interview referenced above, Ms. Dulcetti joked about serving Champagne after the performance of her play:

VILMA – Vai servir champanhe depois do Frei Caneca – é ruim, hein…
(You’re going to serve Champagne after Frei Caneca – its bad, huh?)

PLÍNIO – Vamo, vamos servir… (risos)
(We’re going to, we’re going to serve it… (my laughter))

VILMA – Frei Caneca não tem nada que ver com champanhe, meu bem.
(Frei Caneca doesn’t have anything to do with champagne, my dear)\(^{47}\)

In reality, Caneca like most classical liberals focused primarily on formal legal equality but the versions of Caneca created by Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto and Carlos Queiroz Telles had already made Caneca a champion for socialists. Dulcetti made the purpose of her theatrical performances perfectly clear in our telephone conversation: “É isso, ó, Plínio, é…através do teatro nunca mais sai da cabeça de alguém” (its like this, oh, Plínio, its…through theater you never leave anyone’s head again)\(^{48}\). Her own impressions of Caneca, however, were shaped more by representations

\(^{46}\) Ibid.

\(^{47}\) Ibid.

\(^{48}\) Ibid.
by other artists than the actual Caneca because she had never actually read articles by Caneca
before working on the play.

Certainly no theater director was unaware of Jõao Cabral de Melo’s play and the
depiction of Caneca’s ideas in this classic work. In his 1984 *Auto do Frade*, Jõao Cabral de Melo
Neto discusses the need for economic autonomy as the audience watching the execution makes it

clear that the economics of dependence generate violence:

-Uma forca sempre precisa
de um enforcado e de um carrasco.
A forca não vive em monólogos:
dialética, prefere o diálogo.
Se um dos dois personagens falta
Não pode fazer seu trabalho.
O peso do morto é o motor,
Porém o carrasco é o operário.

(A gallows always needs a condemned man and a hangman. The gallows does not live in
monologues, preferring dialogue. If one of the characters fails, it can’t do its work. The weight of
the condemned is the motor but the executioner is the worker)\(^{49}\)

Brutality depends on a lack of economic autonomy to a sufficient degree as to generate the hands
of the powerful, their appendages. In the context of the dictatorship, legal institutions can also be
said to have been coopted and class-based language necessary, as the audience to the execution
discusses:

-Por que não deixou para um lado
esse apelido de Caneca?
Ser do Amor Divino era pouco
para dignificar quem ele era?

(Why didn’t he forget this nickname “Mug”? Being do Amor Divino was too little to dignify
who he was?)

-Não quis esconder que seu pai
um simples operário era,

nem mentir parecendo vir
das grandes famílias da terra.

(He didn’t want to hide his father, a simple worker he was, nor lie as if he came from the great families of the land)\(^{50}\)

The choice of the term *operário* (worker) reveals an obvious worry with regards to class-related issues tying Brazil to a common Latin American condition. Caneca’s liberating message, once tied to classical liberalism, has now been transformed into liberation theology, an attempt to merge Catholicism and Marxist ideas discussed in further detail below.

Vilma Dulcetti and Heloneida Studart were also certainly aware of Carlos de Queiroz Telles, one of the most famous dramatists in the country. He introduced Caneca as the “Menino das Canecas” (“Mug Boy”) selling mugs on the streets by singing “caneca de rico a preço de pobre” (“rich people mugs for poor people prices”)\(^{51}\). In this play, Caneca’s connection to the forgotten are emphasized with the introduction of the figure of a blind man who sings on the steps of the church for money and befriends him, warning him: “Cuidado menino, Menino Caneca, que a vida do pobre também é barata” (“Careful boy, Mug Boy, a poor man’s life is cheap too”)\(^{52}\). The blind man, in a clear allusion to the police repression present in the 1970s, warns Caneca that going by a real name as opposed to a nick name is dangerous because a real name is a “nome bom para a polícia perseguir, prender, julgar e até mesmo enforcar” (“good name for the police to go after, arrest, try and even hang”)\(^{53}\). The blind man warns Caneca that his homeland isn’t Portugal or Brazil but the steps of the church where he begs, indicating that

\(^{50}\) Neto, *Auto do Frade*, 502.

\(^{51}\) Telles, *Frei Caneca*, 1.

\(^{52}\) Ibid., 3.

\(^{53}\) Ibid., 3.
changes in national regimes are meaningless when reality is constructed via economic relations. Caneca warns the blind man to be careful with what he says.

In this play, the relationship between class and race is also discussed as the Portuguese-born blind man sings on the steps of the church at different points of the narrative: “Marinheiros e caiados todos devem se acabar, porque só pardos e pretos o país hão de habitar” ("Portuguese and creole Brazilians should kill each other because only brown and blacks should live in the country"). Why would a poor, Portuguese-born beggar sing about the deaths of “marinheiros,” a term for Portuguese at the time, and “caiados,” 'creoles'? Certainly the message is one of solidarity, where class supercedes race, where the poor beggar is placed below any caste system, so low on the social totem pole that even such constructs cannot save him from being on the bottom of the pile. Thus, while a man speaking with the blind beggar insults opponents to the royal court as “mulatos impertinentes” ("impertinent mulattoes") the blind beggar speaks up and says that “[e]les só queriam a liberdade” ("they only wanted freedom"). The blind beggar speaks out against such racial notions in favor of autonomy, announcing that such men just want their liberty, their freedom to form their own identities and make their own lives without being affected by the same domination he, the beggar, experiences along with every other resident of Recife.

Class, liberation theology and revolution are tied together for Queiroz Telles in the 1970s. In response to comments by the blind beggar that the beggar influenced his decision to become a

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54 Ibid., 4.
55 Ibid., 5.
56 Ibid., 16.
57 Ibid., 19.
revolutionary, Caneca replies that seeing his father work a difficult job would have made him an agent for revolt: “Ver ele trabalhar o dia inteiro feito um burro de carga para ganhar uma miséria dava na mesma” ("Seeing him work all day like a work donkey to get paid nothing would have led to the same result")\(^{58}\). Caneca announces: “E quem bebe água das minhas Canecas, fica para sempre com sêde de liberdade” ("He who shall drink water from my Mugs will always thirst for liberty")\(^{59}\). Liberation may take time, but it will occur: “Daqui a cinco, dez, cinquenta ou cem anos, essa terra sera livre” ("In five, ten, fifty or a hundred years, this land will be free")\(^{60}\).

In terms of class language, we see that Caneca is a working class hero by the time Vilma Dulcetti directs her play about Caneca in the early 2000s. He is someone who does not drink champagne and no play about him should involve a champagne reception. Caneca certainly used a great deal of discourse against excessive wealth in his writings and the participants of the Confederation did suggest developing a domestic market but these tenets are taken steps forward into an anti-capitalism tied to the Cuban revolution.

**AMERICANISM**

During our personal interview mentioned above, without prompting, Vilma Dulcetti described her love for Latin America: “Eu gosto muito da história da América e ai eu fiz, eu tinha, é, eu estudava escavações no Peru, depois eu ia para a, a, digamos que República Dominicana…” ("I love the history of America and then I did, I had, yeah, I studied excavations in Peru and then I would go to, to, let’s say the Dominican Republic…")\(^{61}\). It was as if she was

\(^{58}\) Ibid., 27-28.

\(^{59}\) Ibid., 31.

\(^{60}\) Ibid., 38.

\(^{61}\) Dulcetti, Personal Interview.
on a journey to discover the common trauma of the region, the trauma dictatorial regimes had inflicted on so many people, sending exiles to France and other nations.

Although there were communist movements in Brazil before the Cuban Revolution, the growing power of these movements serving as a justification for the rise of a military dictatorship under Getúlio Vargas in the 1930s and 1940s, the impact of the Cuban Revolution and its goal of Latin American revolution cannot be measured. Ché Guevara defined Latin America less by culture than by a shared subjugation to latifundist interests and underdevelopment, a very appealing definition attracting many Brazilian followers as it applied very well to Brazil. The Cuban Revolution marked the nation so profoundly that Castro’s popularity did not disappear even after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the opening up of Cuba to investment by European interests and the end of the dictatorship in Brazil, such that, when Castro visited Brazil in 1990, he still found fertile soil for his Latin Americanist ideals, declaring to an audience in São Paulo that Brazil is a part of Latin America, sharing many interests in common with other nations, and that the Brazilian people should trust Cuba because Cuba is fighting for all of Latin America. Castro makes reference to the ties between Brazil and the other Portuguese-speaking nations, such as Angola, informing his audience that the Cubans

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62 Guevara, “Cuba, Historical Exception,” 177.

63 Castro, Fidel Castro en Brasil, 9, 20. Castro says: “pudimos descubrir que había muchos intereses comunes entre Brasil y Cuba, entre Sao Paulo [sic] y Cuba, entre los pueblos de América Latina, Brasil y Cuba” (“we were able to discover that there were many common interests between Brazil and Cuba, between São Paulo and Cuba, between the peoples of Latin America, Brazil and Cuba”) and “¡Confíen en Cuba! Cuba no solo está defendiendo allí en aquella trinchera su propia soberanía: nosotros entendemos que desde aquella trinchera estamos defendiendo también los intereses de los demás pueblos de América Latina” (“Trust in Cuba! Cuba is not only defending there in that trench her own sovereignty; we understand that from that trench were are also defending the interests of the other peoples of Latin America”).

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“combatimos juntos a los hermanos angolanos, un país que tiene la misma lengua que Brasil, que tiene gran carinô, grandes simpatías por Brasil” ("we fought with our Angolan brothers, a country with the same language as Brazil, whose people possess great care, great sympathy for Brazil") but ultimately Brazil must tie its fate to the rest of Latin America because the same situation that marks the Latin American countries during colonial times continues to exist – Castro engages his audience to emphasize a new period of Americanism, this one excluding the United States, forming a Latin Americanism, by referencing a previous period of Americanism in the early nineteenth century which had included the United states, the time period when Caneca was writing\textsuperscript{64}. The Americanism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the struggle against colonialism and for a constitution during that period, defines Latin Americanism in the twentieth century and even the twenty-first century. This time, according to Castro, the struggle is for the development of markets independent from a predatory, developed-world capitalism.

In one of the many versions of their play Frei Caneca, Além do Sonho (Frei Caneca, Beyond the Dream), performed multiple times in the early 2000s with children from shanty towns, feminist Heloneida Studart and theater director Vilma Dulcetti make a pretty thinly veiled reference to Cuba as a military official speaks with Caneca’s mistress:

PEDROSO – Ele está dentro da luta da Confederação do Equador! Está nas guerrilhas pelos sertões!
(He is in the fight for the Confederation of the Equator! He’s in the guerrillas in the wilds!)

MARÍLIA – Mas ele nem sabe atirar!
(But he doesn’t even know how to shoot!)

PEDROSO – Aprende comigo. Tirou a batina, anda barbudo, com blusa de chita e sandálias de couro! Vou me juntar a ele!...

\textsuperscript{64} Castro, \textit{Fidel Castro en Brasil}, 16-17, 21.
(He learned with me. He took off his religious garb, walks around bearded with a chint shirt and leather sandals! I’m going to join him!...)65

Here, we have Caneca, the bearded Latin American revolutionary wandering through the countryside like Ché Guevara, Fidel Castro and Camilo Cienfuegos.

Queiroz Telles also appears to reflect on the Cuban Revolution as the blind beggar character criticizes the intellectualism of the opposition, Queiroz Telles commenting on the armed leftist opposition to the military dictatorship in Brazil: “Esse povo não aprende. Em vez de ficarem recrutando soldados, ficam ensaiando discursos. Em vez de comprarem armas, ficam comprando livros de filosofia. Em vez de treinarem a pontaria, ficam redigindo constituição” (“These people don’t learn. Instead of recruiting soldiers, they practice speeches. Instead of buying arms, they keep buying philosophy books”)66. We see in these words a belief in the power of violence as essential to liberation. In 1972, communist groups were carrying out armed attacks throughout the country, kidnapping foreign embassadors to break through the walls of censorship, committing assassinations of government officials. Jõao Cabral de Melo Neto makes it clear why he refers to a ‘civil geometry’ in his work: “Essa idéia minha de civil geometria é a ideia do mundo comunista ideal” (“this idea of mine about a civil geometry is the idea of a utopian communist world”)67. Caneca wrote that civil society is sacred because it provides a pole of opposition to governments, and certainly civil society was being crushed by the dictatorship via censorship and the use of torture, but Melo Neto simultaneously deploys Caneca to criticize the dictatorship for its failure to respect civil liberties and to suggest a Communist world where

65 Studart, Frei Caneca, 21.
66 Telles, Frei Caneca, 25.
67 Peixoto, Jõao Cabral, 137.
civil society and the state merge to create a beneficient geometry. Castroism promised the
liberation of Latin America, the new Latin Americanism which would create such a geometry.

RELIGION:

Before being captured by the post-1964 dictatorship and tortured for his opposition to the
regime, before traveling to the Marxist regimes in Nicaragua, Cuba, China, the Soviet Union,
Poland and Czechoslovakia to advise on the relationship between religion and government,
before working with the anti-latifúndio movement for landless workers or Movimento Sem Terra,
Brazilian liberation theologian Frei Betto had been a 14-year-old leftist admirer of the Cuban
revolution and he ultimately ended up meeting Fidel Castro with future Brazilian President Lula
in Nicaragua, amidst Sandinista revolutionaries, in 1980 and then again in Cuba in 1981 at the
Meeting of Intellectuals for the Sovereignty of the Peoples of Our America. The United States,
not Portugal or Rio, was now the power viewed by most of the left in Brazil as perpetuating
misery and socialism promised liberation from this domination. Frei Betto met Castro yet again
in 1985 and that conversation was published as a book dedicated to fellow Brazilian liberation
theologian Leonardo Boff as well as to Latin Americans Christians preparing for the coming age
of Socialism, Betto viewing the role of Catholics to preach their faith within a Marxist view
based on serving the oppressed, the nonperson as systematized by Peruvian theologian and priest
Gustavo Gutiérrez. Most of the writings of Brazilian liberation theologians use the term “Latin
America” very regularly to imply a need for solidarity.

The playwright José Pimentel brought his play O Calvário de frei Caneca (the cavalry of
Frei Caneca) to the public on the streets of Recife from the 14th to the 17th of January in 1982

68 Frei Betto, Fidel and Religion, 2, 18-19.

69 Ibid., 7, 49.
and the 11th to the 15th of January of 1984 and then from the 5th to the 13th of January in 1985, 1986 and 1987, the play becoming a new years ritual in Recife as if, at the beginning of each year, one should remember the democratic lessons Caneca had to pass on. The published version of the play thanks Frei Tito, an anti-dictatorship clergyman dedicated to liberation theology who was captured, tortured by the dictatorship, and then subsequently released, taking his own life. The play begins with praise for Caneca’s own words, the faith he is passing on to this audience, two coryphaeus speaking amongst themselves:

CORIFEU I: No princípio, no meio e no fim estava o verbo.  
(In the beginning, in the middle and the end there was the word)

CORIFEU II: A palavra clara e precisa e corajosa.  
(The word clear and precise and courageous)

CORIFEU I: Tecendo o grande painel da liberdade.  
(Sewing the great sign of liberty)

Here, we have a reference to John 1:1, wherein the prophet declares that “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God” but with the intent of tying the Word of God to the form of liberty Pimentel believed in. The Word is the version of Caneca’s ideology Pimentel is going to present. The class language typical of plays about Caneca post-1964 is also present here:

CORIFEU I: Não exibiu títulos de nobreza e fidalguia, brasões e pergaminhos honríficos, mas somente o nome plebeu de seus avós, tão plebeu como o Caneca que incorporava ao nome.  
(He didn’t show off signs of nobility, family arms and honorable scrolls, but only the plebeian name of his grandparents, as plebeian as Caneca who incorporated the name)

CORIFEU II: Não se envergonhava do nome de seu pai e esta é a nobreza do plebeu.

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70 Pimentel, O calvário de Frei Caneca, Preface.

71 Ibid., 5.

72 Ibid., 7.
(He wasn’t embarrassed by his father’s name and that is what is noble about the plebeian)\textsuperscript{73}

We have praise for a Liberation Theology that positioned itself in favor of a merger between Marxism and Christianity to tackle economic issues and for the social gospel:

CORIFEU I: Assim, Frei Caneca foi um mártir-profeta, antecedendo de muito as teses do Concílio Vaticano II.
(In this manner, Frei Caneca was a martyr-prophet, much anteceding the theses of the Vatican II Council)

CORIFEU II: O que a teologia contemporânea ensina pela voz dos seus mais categorizados representantes, passava, na época de Frei Caneca, como comportamento que se desviava da ortodoxia católica.
(What contemporary theology teaches us through the voices of its best representatives passed during Caneca’s time as behavior detracting from Catholic Orthodoxy)\textsuperscript{74}

Given that the play is dedicated to Frei Tito, we can surmise that he is one of the best representatives the coryphaeus are discussing. Throughout the play, a group of military men debate censoring Caneca and when to arrest him, allusions to the military censorship of the period\textsuperscript{75}. One of the coryphaeus, just in case the audience missed it, states that Caneca stood for “libertação do homem de todos os condicionamentos ideológicos, políticos e sócio-económicos que inibem nos seus anseios de progresso e crescimento” (liberation of man from all ideological, political, and socioeconomic constraints limiting their own desires for progress and growth) the very definition of autonomy\textsuperscript{76}. The play serves as an argument for a progressive theology against traditional structures:

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 9.

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 12.

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 16.

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 18.
CORIFEU I: Como acontece ainda hoje, a forte tradição conservadora, tão favorecida e reforçada pela concentração do poder econômico nas mãos da elite proprietária, impedía a eliminação da opressão social, base da política dominante.

(As happens today, the strong conservative tradition so favored and strengthened by the concentration of economic power in the hands of the property-owning elite, impeded the elimination of social oppression, the basis of the dominant politics)

CORIFEU II: Os movimentos libertários sempre esbarravam diante de tais obstáculos.

(Liberation movements always clashed with such obstacles)\(^{77}\)

The play is therefore tied to \textit{movimentos libertários}, the same phrase used by Heloneida Studardt to describe the Confederation. Pimentel also focuses on a farse of a trial, including arrests without due process of law\(^{78}\).

The play ends with the execution of Caneca, but not before the author stages a scene where Caneca is tied to a post and whipped as he explains his views, the stage instructions provided by Pimentel making it clear that this is about divulging the gospel of Caneca in the most dramatic form possible: “\textit{ENTRE CADA ARTIGO DO PACTO SOCIAL, UMA CHICOTADA E UM GRITO}” (“Between each article of the social pact, a whipping and a scream”)\(^{79}\). Caneca discusses free speech, the right to resist oppressors, the right to equality, the right to education, and the right to \textit{socorros públicos} or ‘welfare’\(^{80}\). A prisoner is brought to execute Caneca but sees the Lady Mary, the stage instructions included in the published version of the play providing that a woman dressed like Mary should be lifted above the crowd via an elevator on the set with a cloud of mist produced by dry ice following her, and refuses to kill Caneca, suffering racial abuse, called a “negro desgraçado” (”damned black man”) and a “negro

\(^{77}\) Ibid., 20.

\(^{78}\) Ibid., 54-55.

\(^{79}\) Ibid., 57.

\(^{80}\) Ibid., 57-59.
miserável” ("miserable black man")\textsuperscript{81}. The play ends with a narrator identifying Caneca as a “fonte de luta” ("source of the fight") and hoping that he would serve as an example\textsuperscript{82}.

In the preface to the 1979 book \textit{A Liderança do clero nas revoluções republicanas 1817-1824} (the leadership of the clergy in the revolutions of Pernambuco, 1817-1824) by Gilberto Vilar de Carvalho, one of the intellectual giants of Liberation Theology, Leonardo Boff, makes it clear that he not only views parallels between the participants in the 1817 and 1824 revolts and opposition to the dictatorship and to capitalism but acknowledges the participants had become heroes to the socialist movement in the twentieth century, praising Vilar de Carvalho:

\begin{quote}
O autor assume o móvel da revolução de 1817 e 1824 que atualmente constitui a bandeira do povo e de todos os que se solidarizam com ele: “hoje não há homem do sertão mais interior que deixe de conhecer a dignidade do homem, seus direitos, seus deveres, sua liberdade e a origem do poder dos que governam.” Esta foi a inspiração de Frei Caneca de quem é a frase e de todos os que deram sua vida ontem e continuam dando hoje.
\end{quote}

(The author utilizes the vehicle of the revolution of 1817 and 1824 which currently serves as a the people’s banner and of all in solidarity with it: ‘today there is no man in the most remote backlands who ignores the dignity of man, his rights, his responsibilities, his freedom and the origin of the power of governors.’ This was the inspiration of Frei Caneca who wrote this phrase and of all who sacrificed their lives yesterday and keep sacrificing them today)

\begin{quote}
O móvel das revoluções era mais que político; era obediência a uma consciência sensível à paixão por Deus encarnada na paixão pelo povo contra sua expolião e tiranização pelo sistema imperial e colonizador…No Brasil e por toda a América Latina se elaborou e penetrou a assim chamada teologia da libertação…
\end{quote}

(The vehicle of these revolutions was more than political; it was obedience to a consciousness sensitive to God’s passion embodied in the passion for the people against plundering and tyrannizing by the imperial and colonial system…In Brazil and all of Latin American, the so-called liberation theology was thus elaborated and divulged…)\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 73-74.

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 80.

\textsuperscript{83} Carvalho, \textit{A Liderança}, 10, 11.
Leonardo Boff, one of the main divulgers of Liberation Theology seems to be identifying the origins of this doctrine in the revolutions in Pernambuco. While this might be a stretch because the roots of this theology came from multiple countries, Boff does note that the 1824 revolution had become symbols of the resistance to the military dictatorship post-1964, a banner as he calls it, and he compares Caneca’s struggle against a colonial relationship between Rio and the northeast to the struggle of Brazil against the developed world.

Vilar de Carvalho himself ties Liberation Theology to Caneca, saying it stretches back to the Confederation of the Equator. Both Boff and Vilar de Carvalho refer to the need to teach people their rights, as Caneca had done, using religion as a vehicle, but Caneca’s support for formal legal rights are transformed into a doctrine focused on effective rights.

**LOCALISM:**

Explaining the choice of a character from Pernambuco as subject matter, Ms. Dulcetti does not refer to Representative Studart’s own roots in the region but to the region’s historic revolutionary fervor during the nineteenth century: “sendo politizado naquela época, você não podia deixar de conhecer o nordeste, entendeu? Ou de não saber, porque o nordeste era um lugar abandonado, é um lugar completamente, era um…fervilhar de revolução, entendeu?” (“Being political at that time, you couldn’t help but know the northeast, get it? Or not to know, because the northeast was an abandoned place, a place completely, it was…uh…a boiling point of revolution, get it?”)\(^84\). Revolutions in Pernambuco tended to be anti-centralist in nature during most of the region’s history but federalism is not identified as a major theme in works about Frei Caneca written during the post-1964 period.

\(^\text{84 Dulcetti, Personal Interview.}\)
As highways are built connecting the country and transportation becomes more available, Northeasterners head to Southern Brazil, facing discrimination, giving rise to a whole genre of literature, songs and art about the travails of the trip down and about the discrimination and humiliation these migrants faced from around the fifties to the eighties, and the belief that who you are should not limit your possibilities leads some artists to appeal to Caneca to reaffirm the value of Northeastern Brazilian culture. Claúdio Aguiar, a native of the Northeastern region, incorporates elements of local folklore in his play as he makes clear in the introduction, his *nota prévia* (preface) identifying the *Bumba-meu-Boi* as an element he chooses to include because the *Bumba-meu-Boi* is an important local tradition.\(^85\)

In essence, people dressed as a bull represent a folk tale about a bull resurrected, in some versions by a slave with *curandeiros* (healers), with popular songs sung, Claudio Aguiar, criticizing the manipulated trials of the dictatorship, turning Frei Caneca’s trial into a farce with a jury made up of the comical figures typically used in these events, his trial presided over by the self-satisfied, egotistical *Mané-Gostoso* (Pleasant Fool):

**Mané-Gostoso** – Vocês me chamam gostoso/Eu não sou gostoso não/Gostoso é carne de porco/Misturado com feijão
(You call me pleasant/I’m not pleasant no/Pleasant is pork/Mixed with beans)

**Todos** – Mané-Gostoso, perna de pau,/Ele dança, ele toca seu birimbau/Mané-Gostoso, perna de pau,/Ele dança, ele toca seu birimbau
(Pleasant Fool, clumsy/He dances, he plays the birimbau/Pleasant Fool, clumsy/He dances, he plays the birimbau musical instrument)\(^86\)

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\(^85\) Aguiar, *Suplicio de Frei Caneca*, 17. Aguiar writes: “Ao desenvolver este Oratório Dramático, recorri a dois elementos válidos ligados ao contexto nordestino: o Pastoril e o Bumba-meu-Boi” (“in developing this dramatic oratory, I relied on two valid elements tied to the northeastern context: the pastoral and the 'Bumba-meu-Boi'”) explaining that the latter “é uma manifestação de teatro popular entremeado de cantigas e figuras repletas de situações hilariantes” (“is a manifestation of popular theater with intermittent songs and figures replete with hilarious situations”).

\(^86\) Ibid., 60-61.
Then, suddenly, Mané-Gostoso is no longer the comical character representing local culture but breaks into official, professional, government language: “Vendo-se nesta Comissão Militar, que tenho honra de presidir, o processo verbal do Réu Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca, religioso Carmelita, verifica-se, pelo que se diz respeito ao Réu…” (“As one can see this military commission, which I have the honor of presiding over, is a verbal process against the accused Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca, religious Carmelite, as is verified with respect to the accused…”)\(^{87}\). The fool is the official magistrate, hiding his stupidity behind legalese.

Aguiar affirms Northeastern culture via the combined effect of a popular festival and a local intellectual who is presented as a product of this culture, criticizes unfair trials limiting free speech, and places the types of individuals who would participate in popular festivities on the same plain as judges tied to powerful interests, demystifying authorities in the same manner the participants of the Confederation sought to demystify the Emperor by denying that he obtained his powers from God. In the published version of Aguiar’s play, woodcuts typically used for local literature published as pamphlets are included with a scene depicting Caneca’s death, a dove flying above his head as his executioner aims for his heart, prayer beads in Caneca’s hand\(^{88}\). These woodcuts are typically part of literatura de cordel (chapbooks). One of the most recognized authors of these chapbooks in the twentieth century in Pernambuco was Homero do Rêgo Barros, who passed away at 93 years of age in 2013, and one of his chapbooks was titled Frei Caneca-Herói e mártir republicano, wherein Caneca is described as preaching liberty and localism - “Por Amor ao nativismo/com seu gênio liberal” (“For the love of nativism/with his

\(^{87}\) Ibid., 62-63.

\(^{88}\) Ibid., 95.
liberal tendencies”) – but Caneca is described as having fought against the monarchy, not against starvation or oppression. Caneca comes up in many other chapbooks, the authors presenting Caneca as an anti-monarchist. I do not have data with regards to the prevalence of Communist ideas within the working class as compared to the wealthier classes in Brazil such that I cannot conclude that the fact that chapbooks describe Caneca as an anti-monarchist and well-educated authors like Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto describe Caneca as a symbol of the struggle for a Communist utopia is due to reluctance on the part of the poor to accept a Castroist program. I can say that, as far as the cultural production of well-known authors during the post-1964 dictatorship, Frei Caneca represented the possibility of a better world via socialist ideology.

As noted repeatedly in this chapter, Caneca was transformed into a figure who stood for a class-based revolution by artists who form part of the national cultural canon. Part of this class-based revolution, for socialists, involved the nationalization of industries. The participants of the Confederation did not propose nationalizing industries although they favored measures allowing for the development of local manufactures. Supporting some protectionist measures, however, is not the same thing as supporting the concept of a planned economy divulged by the Communist Party in Brazil. Central planning of the economy was viewed by socialists as a way of relieving class disparities and addressing the disproportionate power over politics exercised by latifundiary elites.

Other Genres During This Time Period

This chapter focuses on plays about Caneca because these plays are some of the most celebrated works of art about the Confederation. In order to simplify my argument that cultural producers tied to different movements have interacted with the Confederation and its ideas throughout the country’s history, I focused on well-reknown cultural producers. Câmara Cascudo
and Gustavo Barroso are among the most notable integralists, for example. Similarly, Heloneida Studart is one of the nation’s most famous socialist and feminist authors.

Some artists who have addressed the Confederation of the Equator do not fit into clear ideological categories but still demonstrated an attempt to engage with the ideology of the 1824 movement. The Pernambucan painter Cícero Dias, for example, rejected political labels and painted regional Northeastern figures and scenes using modernist techniques. Sociologist Gilberto Freyre, who supported the Estado Novo and post-1964 dictatorships, wrote about Dias: “Há mais de vinte anos Cícero Dias e eu nos aproximamos para nunca mais deixarmos de ser companheiros da mesma aventura: a de procurarmos chegar ao universal através do regional” ("For more than twenty years, Cícero Dias and I grew close to never cease being companions on the same adventure: that of looking to get to the universal through the regional")

Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto, the socialist, wrote the poem "Imitação de Cícero Dias" (imitation of Cícero Dias): “Cícero Dias…traçou na parede do hotel/de onde a porta dava, uma seta, que pela mã o levava a vista/da visita à palavra MERDA…Fosse possível o arrasamento, a ampliação dos muros…imitando-o, desenharia…outra seta, onde no centro-sul viajasse/um inventado cometa, o merda" ("Cícero Dias drew on the wall of a hotel, to which the door led, an arrow which directed one’s sight to the word shit. If it were possible the destruction and amplification of the walls, immitating him I would draw another arrow, sending to the center-south an invented comet, the shit")


90 Freyre, "Presença de Cícero," 58.

91 Neto, "Imitação de Cícero Dias," 56.
Both Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto and Gilberto Freyre are from Pernambuco and their praise for him involves a sense of regional pride, but Freyre views the painter’s works as looking inwards for a universal based on a national essence: “Cícero, hoje comanda, domina e é capaz de exprimir de modo a ser universalmente compreendido. Valores regionais. Valores brasileiros. Valores pernambucanos suscetíveis de universalização” (“Cícero, today commands, dominates and is capable of expressing in a manner which can be universally understood. Regional values. Brazilian values. Pernambucan values susceptible of universalization”)\(^{92}\). Melo Neto does not look inward for values that can be universalized and projected onto the foreign but focuses on regional domestic conflicts not only in "Imitação de Cícero Dias" but in the poem "Olinda em Paris," in which Cícero finds a hotel named Olinda in Paris and recommends never asking the owner why he chose the name because the owner might change the hotel’s name to something “insípido e vazio./exemplo: para Hotel do Rio” (“insipid and vacuous/example: to Rio Hotel”)\(^{93}\). In part, this reflects the fact that Cícero Dias was part of the modernist movement in Brazil which included both an inward-looking group of nationalist authors and painters tied to integralism and a group dubbing themselves the anthropophagics open to absorbing outside influences, citing the Bolshevik revolution as well as Rousseau as inspirations in their manifesto, proclaiming that before Portuguese colonization “já tínhamos o comunismo” (“we already had communism”). Artists in these different groups befriended each other and some, like Cícero Dias, seemed able to step into both poles simultaneously.

Dias painted two large paintings of Caneca in his colorful, geometric style in 1981. One, *Frei Caneca – Revolução de 1824* (Frei Caneca – Revolution of 1824) depicts a brown-haired

\(^{92}\) Freyre, "Presença de Cícero," 59.

\(^{93}\) Neto, "Olinda em Paris," 57.
and brown-skinned Caneca in tatters, his feet tied to a pole, a cross around his neck, his arms raised with images of a figure being beaten for refusing to execute the friar and a man on a horse with the words “Oh Pernambuco a par da tua gloria voarei à enterinidade” (“Oh Pernambuco, in keeping with your glory I shall fly to eternity”). Another, painted the same year, Frei Caneca – Revolução de 1817 has the Brazilian flag and the words “Typhis Pernambucano” with a figure on a boat and showcases chained prisoners. On the one hand, these paintings indicate a class conflict as the combatants are depicted wearing peasant garbs while the government troops wear uniforms. We see a Brazilian flag located above the regional republican flags, indicating nationalism and regionalism. As opposed to being depicted as a redhead, he is brown-haired and brown skinned. Simultaneously, the reference to Caneca’s newspaper suggests freedom of the press. The Caneca painted by Dias represents freedom of the press, localism, and class-based discourse but Dias himself was not part of the political movements of his time. The important point is that even someone as difficult to define ideologically as Cícero Dias felt the need to engage with the ideology of the Confederation because, as an artist, he could not forego his responsibility to present his interpretation of this moment.

This chapter has not included all cultural producers who have chosen the Confederation as a subject and interacted with its ideology because the number of works involving the Confederation has increased dramatically in recent years and most of this cultural production is not generated by well-known cultural producers – in fact, a great deal of works addressing the Confederation are generated through independent channels by virtually unknown individuals. Commercial books, comic artists, and independent filmmakers have all addressed the Confederation in recent years. In 2008, an illustrated young adults book titled Frei Liberdade: sonhos e lutas da independência (Friar Liberty: dreams and struggles of independence) by Luiz
Antônio Aguiar was released, ending with the following, describing the Confederation of the Equator: “Era, enfim, a população se levantando para afirmar sua condição de cidadania responsável e participante do destino do país, como sonhou Frei Caneca. Seu sacrifício e o de tantos como ele foi o quanto nos custou a realização desse sonho, por mais que ainda temos de lutar pela liberdade” ("It was, after all, the people rising up to affirm their status as responsible citizens participating in the destiny of the country, as Frei Caneca had dreamed. His sacrifice and of so many like him was what what realizing this dream cost, as much as we must still fight for liberty")⁹⁴. In 2013, a comic book was released by the artistic group Filhos de Marte (Sons of Mars) titled A morte e a morte de Frei Caneca (death and the death of Frei Caneca), directed at young adults, and Jôao Cabral de Melo Neto’s daughter, Inez Cabral, informed the newspaper Diario de Pernambuco (Daily of Pernambuco) that she is planning on making a film about Frei Caneca and that the film will be distributed free of charge to democratize learning for students⁹⁵. The independent filmmaker Osman Godoy released a fictional short about Caneca titled O mensageiro (the messenger) in 2003 and has also filmed a short documentary titled Caneca e a Confederação (Caneca and the Confederation). The documentary features interviews with a number of academic and religious figures providing different perspectives about Caneca’s ideas. In the documentary, literature professor Lourival Holanda states that Caneca represents the first step towards “consciência crítica nacional” ("national critical consciousness"). In 2015, the Museum of the City of Recife held a show called Um novo olhar sobre Frei Caneca (a new look at Frei Caneca), with photographs by local artists. The photos do not show Caneca’s face but only his feet walking over grass in a monk’s robe and sandals, or his hand holding a rosary, or a

⁹⁴ Aguiar, Frei Liberdade, 72.

⁹⁵ Torres, “Filha de Jôao Cabral.”
cross. The black and white images evoke religiosity but also class, the settings for the pictures being local streets. His anonymity, his face a blur or not a part of the picture, indicates that he is a symbol as opposed to a specific person. Frei Caneca, in this exhibit, could have represented the freedom of local democracy, the freedom of formal legal rights, or the freedom of effective rights. In fact, Caneca may have symbolized a different kind of freedom for each separate photographer.

In conclusion, the Confederation – Caneca, specifically- was deployed in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries by some of the most famous authors in Brazilian history. He is turned into a socialist hero, the formal equality he supported turned into effective rights. Caneca continues to represent individual rights and due process norms against censorship and torture. The works quote heavily from Caneca’s *O Typhis Pernambucano*. The original ideas of the Confederation may have been altered or expanded, but the basic elements of discourse against excessive wealth, individual rights, and religion are still present, deployed as criticism of the dictatorship. The crucial point is that the Confederation through Frei Caneca takes on a life of its own and inspires an increasing number of artists, as discussed in the conclusion, and gives rise to works by Melo Neto and Queiroz Telles among other important cultural producers.
Conclusion

Herein, I have sought to prove that the Confederation of the Equator and its ideas have impacted cultural production in Brazil. The list of individuals who felt the need to address the Confederation’s ideas includes some of the most well-known figures in the country: Câmara Cascudo, Gustavo Barroso, Mário Melo, Cícero Dias, Antônio Parreiras, Jôao Cabral do Melo Neto, Antônio Borges da Fonseca, and Carlos Queiroz Telles. In each case, the individual either interacted with the ideas of the Confederation by emphasizing particular tenets or by rejecting the ideals of the Confederation. The anti-centralists authors of *pasquins* of the nineteenth century emphasized opposition to the government in Rio, while the cosmopolitan authors of the First Republic emphasized constitutionalism, the integralists of the Estado Novo opposed the Enlightenment ideals of the Confederation as poisonous, and the socialists of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries turned the 1824 movement into a proto-socialist movement. The point is that cultural producers felt the need to interact with the message of the Confederation throughout the nation’s history, indicating that the event and the message carries permanent weight as a cultural pillar and that authors tied to political strains in the future will continue to engage with the ideas of the 1824 movement. A tradition of engaging with this movement has been formed.

In the first chapters, I sought to identify the ideology of the Confederation and in the succeeding chapters to show how authors and artists interacted with these ideas, to map out the cultural impact of the Confederation. I have not, however, attempted to answer why the Confederation of the Equator holds such tremendous sway in the country because such a question goes beyond seeking to prove the existence of a cultural tendency to address the ideas of the Confederation in the arts. The reason for the existence of a cultural obligation to address
the Confederation may include the following: the Confederation represents the amorphous concept of “liberty” due to the fact that this word was used in rebel periodicals during the 1824 revolt and the subsequent nineteenth century revolts citing the Confederation as inspiration; the Confederation represents a moment of national birth because it represents the beginning of a national dialogue about how the nation should be organized; and the Confederation represents rifts that have been continuous throughout Brazilian society.

The periodicals of the 1824 movement and subsequent nineteenth century movements use the word “liberty” repeatedly, promising that the Confederation credo will bring freedom. In a sense, the Confederation has come to represent the amorphous concept of “liberty” without precise contours. The source of the cultural obligation to engage with the ideas of the Confederation may therefore be found in its association with “liberty” as a malleable concept and artists and authors tied to movements have to engage with the ideals of the 1824 movement in order to argue that their vision of freedom represents the true realization of the concept.

The appeal of the Confederation may also have to do with the fact that Brazil had no 1776 as in the United States or cry of Dolores as in Mexico because independence was declared via a monarch as opposed to a sustained war effort. Furthermore, Dom Pedro dissolved the Brazilian constitutional convention so no national discussion about how to form the new nation occurred in the form it occurred in various other nations. Benedict Anderson has written that the development of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century nationalism in the Americas, particularly Central and South America, was not the result of lower classes participating in politics nor primarily of an Enlightenment-influenced colonial elite’s reaction to monarchical measures raising taxes and establishing monopolies in trade or of a government hierarchy favoring the peninsular born, but of creoles admittedly self-identifying as European, admittedly
fearful of indigenous and slave uprisings and thus seeking more control over their own populations, but developing a sense of a parallel identity born via the administrative independence and “self-contained character” of colonial units in the vastness and isolation of the Americas, the development of local newspapers focusing on local matters in local terms, notions of biology that viewed creoles as infected and transformed by their non-European physical environment into unique entities, and the fact that many creoles studied abroad and shared similar experiences with other expatriate creoles. Anderson’s conclusions may be correct or incorrect but he does touch upon the fact that the birth of a national dialogue may be tied to the birth of the nation itself. In the context of Brazil, a country lacking newspapers during its colonial history, a revolution in Portugal in 1820 guaranteed free expression and Brazilian independence arrived in 1822 via declaration by a monarch, and the discussion about national organization began thereafter as the first national debate between citizens of a sovereign country. In the case of republican and socialist movements, the proponents of these ideologies may have sought to appropriate the Confederation to argue that republicans or socialists represent the legacy of this national intellectual birth, while fascist movements might claim that integralists represent the first true birth and that the ideology of the Confederation did not represent a real birth at all because the ideology of classical liberalism weakened the nation and allowed predatory cosmopolitan forces to subjugate the country, hence the need for a new state, a new nation, to create a truly free people. Ironically, the 1824 movement, if it had been successful, might have led to disaggregation of the Brazilian nation much as occurred in the Spanish

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1 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 47-65, 188-189. Anderson discusses the role of the formation of identity to independence movements. He includes the birth of a national press as one factor to consider in terms of national identity.
Americas. Certainly, in periodicals such as those of Borges da Fonseca, the idea that 1824 and 1817 together represented the birth of the nation is explicitly stated.

Aside from symbolizing a moment of national birth and the malleable concept of freedom, the Confederation represents continuing rifts: centralism versus federalism, authoritarianism versus democratic institutions, rich versus poor, strong versus limited government, religiosity versus anti-clericalism, Americanism versus Europeanism, and the local versus the international. Historians will have to address how these rifts marked society at different periods of time but anti-centralist, democratic, class-based, religious, localist, and Americanist movements have existed in different combinations throughout the country’s history. Therefore, choosing sides with regards to the Confederation may be a way of positioning oneself with regards to these rifts. In some cases, particular tenets are obfuscated to hide one’s positions with regards to a particular rift. During the First Republic, for example, the discourse against excessive wealth of the Confederation is muted but the adoption of the Confederation as a theme allows an obfuscation of the elitist position academics such as Nicolau Sevcenko ascribe to authors associated with the First Republic belle époque tropical. Socialist opponents of the post-1964 military dictatorship did not mention localism or anti-centralism but they mentioned constitutional limits on government such as due process of law and free speech to denounce torture, unfair trials and censorship and they emphasized class-based discourse. The complete rejection of the ideas of the Confederation by the integralist writers can be explained by the fact that the system of government they proposed was centralist, strong and authoritarian, opposed to both Americanism and Europeanism because it was anti-cosmopolitan, and opposed to class-based discourse because such discourse divided the nation. In other words, integralist authors would have had a difficult time finding sufficient common ground to appropriate the movement,
not standing with the ideologues of the Confederation on the same side of the rift on almost any issue. In other words, each tenet of the Confederation described in the first chapters herein could be turned into a rift generating continuous debate over the course of centuries.

The fact that the Confederation represents the idea of “liberty,” the notion that the ideals of the 1824 movement presented themselves during the first national discussion about how the country would be organized and therefore represent a form of national intellectual birth via a national dialogue, and the possibility that the Confederation represents rifts that have marked the country since 1824 are not mutually exclusive ideas. The implications of the impact the Confederation has had on cultural production raises questions for historians to answer not the least of which involves a comparison between the role of the press in the formation of national identity in the Spanish Americas as opposed to Brazil.

An increasing number of cultural producers are engaging with the Confederation most likely, in part, because of an increase in the number of readers and other types of consumers of cultural production as a result of economic development and, consequently, the number of cultural producers generally as the market for cultural production has expanded. The increase may also be due to the fact that so many important cultural producers have chosen to engage with the Confederation in the past. Engagement with the Confederation might be a cumulative phenomenon. Thus, the fact that so many important artists addressed the 1824 movement may be inspiring young photographers, comic book artists, and filmmakers to engage with the event and its participants. Certainly, cultural producers of the current generation are familiar with the figures described in this work.

The Confederation profoundly impacted cultural production in the country, generating a significant body of artistic works. Given that more and more cultural production focuses on the
1824 movement, we can rest assured that other artists and writers will feel the obligation to address the ideas of the Confederation in the future, the 1824 movement providing fodder for works for decades to come.
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